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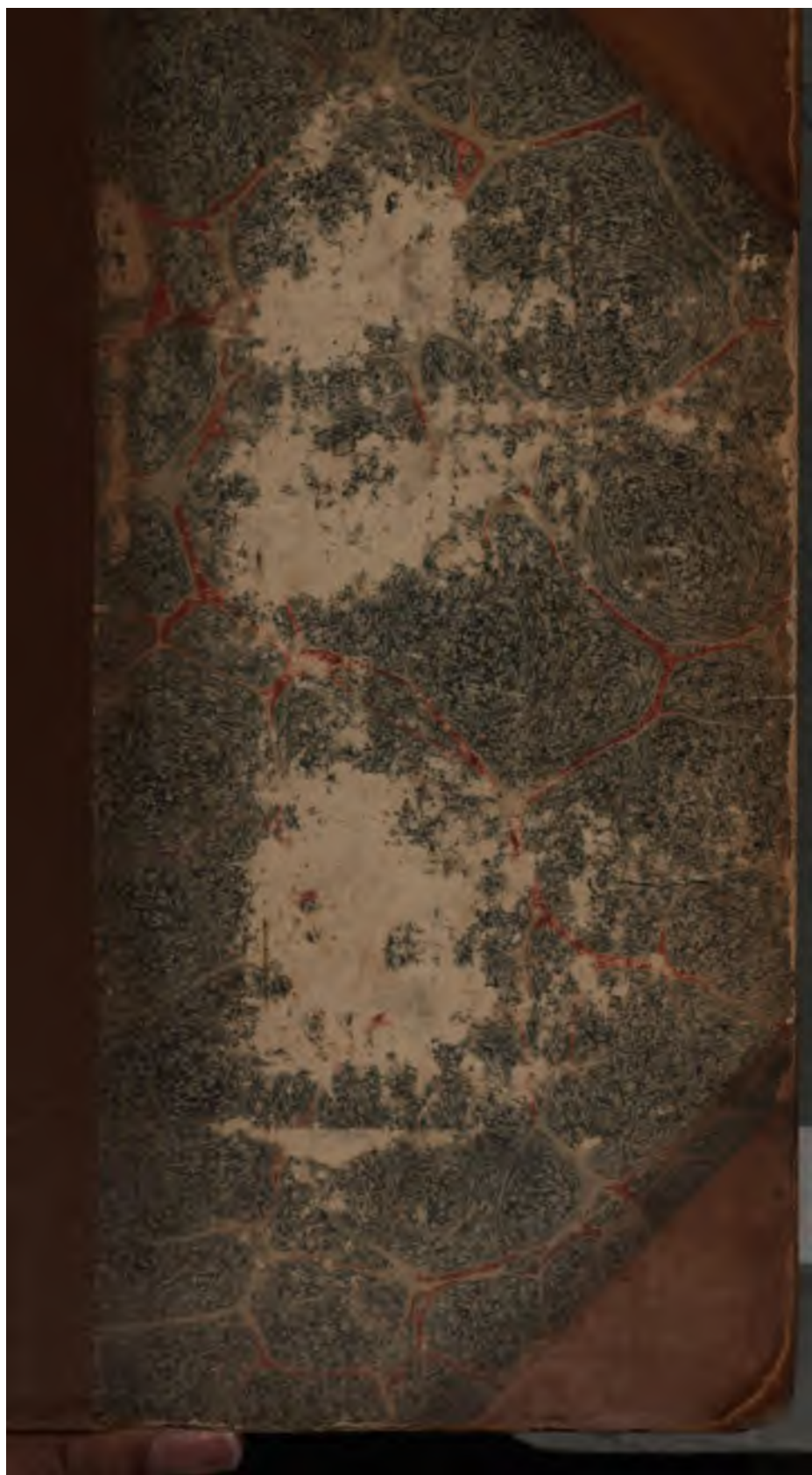
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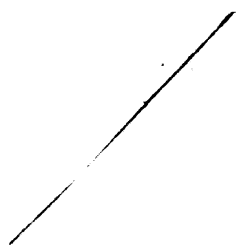




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THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—*Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society.*  
By Robert Southey. 2 vols. 8vo. With Engravings.

THIS is a beautiful book, full of wisdom and devotion—of poetry and feeling; conceived altogether in the spirit of other times, such as the wise men of our own day may scoff at, but such as Evelyn, or Izaak Walton, or Herbert, would have delighted to honour. Mr. Southey, or Montesinos, (for so he is here called,) is sitting alone in his library, on a November evening, musing upon the death of the Princess Charlotte, then a recent event, and suffering his mind to stray to the national prospects which this national calamity opened before him. It had just occurred to him that, on two former occasions, when the heir-apparent of England was cut off in the prime of life, the nation was on the eve of a religious revolution in the first instance, and of a political one in the second. Prince Arthur and Prince Henry being thus in his mind, an elderly personage, of grave and dignified aspect, of a countenance indicating high intellectual rank, entered, and announced himself, in a voice of uncommon sweetness, to be a stranger from a distant country. It was the ghost of Sir Thomas More; and a very judicious ghost (as might be expected) he proved himself, coping with his host in a melancholy fit, and finding him, as the Duke used to find Jaques at such moments, 'full of matter.'

Accordingly, the progress and prospects of society are then developed, in a series of dialogues between Montesinos and his disembodied visiter—the basis of all being a comparison of the present times with those in which Sir T. More lived and lost his head. It may be imagined, from the mere announcement of this introduction, that there is something of the dismal character of the scroll of Ezekiel impressed upon these volumes; and that, as the two friends, the living and the dead, enter upon the dark paths of futurity, (dark in every sense,) they seem the beings of whom Dante and Virgil were the prototypes when they descended to explore those hidden regions which the superscription over the gate proclaimed to be so full of woe. In many of the apprehensions here entertained, we confess that we ourselves participate; nor can we see how any man who watches the signs of these times can prophesy smooth things only. Hope, however, comes, which comes to all; and

our grounds both of hope and apprehension will be gathered from the observations we shall offer on the structure of society as it existed before the Reformation, and as it exists now. We must premise, however, that it is not our intention to follow Mr. Southey through all the details of a subject so vast, nor yet to make him accountable for all the positions we advance; but, freely availing ourselves of his excellent materials, and dismissing the dialogue, (a mechanism which generally impedes the easy flow of thought,) we shall devote ourselves rather to the ecclesiastical, than to the political part of the question; and, by thus restricting ourselves, endeavour to keep within compass.

The ceremonial of the Roman Catholic religion, like that of the Levitical law, had its use. It was ever *coram populo*: its numerous saints'-days—its gorgeous processions—its crucifixes—its stations—its rosaries—its places of pilgrimage—its monasteries, both in the city and the wilderness;—all these brought religion home to men, backed such as were religiously disposed by public opinion, served as visible acknowledgments of an invisible world—the substantial confessions of a nation's faith in things unseen. There was much in this liable to abuse, but there was much, too, that was holy and good; and they who have travelled in foreign lands, and listened to the vesper-bell—the

————— ‘squilla di lontano

Che paia 'l giorno pianger che si muore,’

will regret that tasteless fanaticism which swept away many sensible, yet innocent incentives to devotion, as abominations, and guarded effectually against religious excess by substituting for it religious indifference.

This, however, was brought about by degrees. There was a time, since the worship of images, (and happy would it have been if the religious habits of the country had thenceforth stood fixed,) when the men of England were not ashamed of their faith—when appropriate texts adorned the walls of their dwelling-rooms, and children received at night a father's blessing;—and ‘let us worship God was said with solemn air,’ by the head of the household; and churches were resorted to daily; and ‘the parson in journey’ gave notice for prayers in the hall of the inn—‘for prayers and provender,’ quoth he, ‘hinder no man;’ and the cheerful angler, as he sat under the willow-tree, watching his quill, trolled out a Christian catch, ‘Here we may sit and pray, before death stops our breath;’ and the merchant (like the excellent Sutton, of the Charter-house) thought how he could make his merchandise subservient to the good of his fellow-citizens and the glory of his God, and accordingly endowed some charitable;

and



and learned, and religious foundation, worthy of the munificence of a crowned head; and the grave historian (Lord Clarendon himself does so) chose a text in his Bible as a motto for his chapter on politics; and religion, in short, reached unto every place, and, like Elisha stretched on the dead child, (to use one of Jeremy Taylor's characteristic illustrations,) gave life and animation to every part of the body politic. But years rolled on; and the original impulse given at the Reformation, and augmented at the Rebellion, to undervalue all outward forms, has silently continued to prevail, till, with the form of godliness, (much of it, no doubt, objectionable, but much of it wholesome,) the power in a considerable degree expired too.

Accordingly, our churches are now closed in the week-days, for we are too busy to repair to them; our politicians crying out, with Pharaoh, 'Ye are idle, ye are idle; therefore would ye go and do sacrifice to the Lord.' Our cathedrals, it is true, are still open; but where are the worshippers? Instead of entering in, the citizen avails himself of the excellent clock which is usually attached to them, sets his watch, and hastens upon 'Change, where the congregation is numerous and punctual, and where the theological speculations are apt to run in Shylock's vein pretty exclusively. If a church will answer, then, indeed, a joint-stock company springs up; and a church is raised with as much alacrity, and upon the same principles, as a play-house. The day when the people brought their gifts is gone by. The '*solid temples*,' that heretofore were built as if not to be dissolved till doomsday, have been succeeded by thin emaciated structures, bloated out by coats of flatulent plaster, and supported upon cast-metal pegs, which the courtesy of the times calls pillars of the church. The painted windows, that admitted a dim religious light, have given place to the cheap house-pane and dapper green curtain. The font, with its florid reliefs and capacious crater, has dwindled into a miserable basin. Sermons have contracted with the buildings in which they are delivered, consisting, like them, of less massive materials than formerly, and having for their title (if it is meant they should be taking) '*short discourses*.' The clerical dress has accommodated itself to the sermons—Virgil's motto for his heifer, '*omnia magna*,' in all things reversed—the skull-cap gone—the shovel-hat going—the cassock, which almost in the memory of man lingered amongst a few ancients, shrunk into the unmeaning apron of the Bishop and Dean,—the flowing bands, which it was heretofore the pride and pleasure of many a Mrs. Primrose to adorn with needlework, dwindled into two puny labels. All these are indications, (many of them trifles, indeed,) that the age of forms is gone by, and of something better



than forms, for they are the straws which point to the quarter from which the wind has been long setting in. To those who seek for other and graver signs, we would say, Look at the number of churches erected, by the piety of our ancestors, within 'the city' of London, and compare them with those at the west end; or take any town of modern growth, and contrast it, in this particular, with one of other times. The population of Cheltenham, for instance, says Mr. Yates,\* a dozen years ago was about equal to that of Gloucester; and what was the relative proportion of the places of worship? Gloucester had ten churches, besides the cathedral; Cheltenham had a single one. Again, at what period before our own was any *serious* attempt made to separate education from religion—to let loose upon society the intellectual strength of its members, with nothing whatever to direct that strength to beneficent or even to innocent ends? Let it be asked whether, on the supposition that our law-proceedings were to be re-constructed, the judges would in these days be recommended to go to church before they go to court, or whether to do so would not be voted a waste of time? Whether, on a like supposition with regard to our parliament, the Houses of Lords and Commons would be instructed to begin their deliberations with prayers to God to bless them, or whether the practice would not now be considered obsolete? Whether, in the plan of a modern mansion, there would be found the chapel of 'the king's old courtier,' or the billiard-room of 'the king's young courtier'? Whether, on building a poor-house, the parish-officers would now think of inscribing over the door, '*Deo et pauperibus*'? Whether, on a reproduction of our Liturgy, prayers would be found in it for deliverance from plague, pestilence, and famine, or whether such petitions would not be thought reflections upon the state of philosophy amongst us, when political economy, and medical police, and agricultural meetings, are understood by so many thinking persons to render a superintending Providence of comparatively little consequence? All these things, it cannot be denied, are against us.

But, on the other hand, if forms are now nothing, forms were heretofore every thing; and accordingly, when the tide set against them, there was not reasonableness enough in some of them to resist such rough assailants as Luther or Calvin, for they were ridiculed by those who were not prepared to go any such lengths as either of them—by none more than Erasmus. Down, therefore, they went at once, under the strong blows of the reformer, and shamed their worshippers. But now, whatever of vital religion there is in the country, is founded upon *evidence*; and

\* Vide his Letter to Lord Liverpool, entitled 'The Church in Danger,' 1803, 3d whatever

whatever of the form is retained, is founded upon *expediency*, (though expediency would have justified more of it,) principles not so easy to oppugn, and in the durability of which we have still some confidence. For instance, we might refer a reasonable man, who had doubts about his faith, or doubts about the excellency of our establishment for the support of it, to Paley on the *evidences* of the one, and on the *expediency* of the other; or, in the latter case, with still more satisfaction, to Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, to the Consecration-Sermon of Barrow, or to Warburton's admirable Essay on the Alliance between Church and State; but previous to the Reformation, if doubts were entertained upon either of these points, where were the people to go for the solution of them? The *evidences* were then a branch of theology little explored. The First Harmony of the Gospels (a work so conducive to the evidences, indeed their very alphabet) was the fruit of the controversies of those times. Assuredly he would have been a bold man who had appealed to the *evidences* for much of what was then taught as Scripture. *Credo quia impossibile est*, was much the safer maxim. Then, for the *expediency* of the church establishment of those days, who was allowed to express a doubt upon it? Who, therefore, was intrepid enough to attempt a defence of that which it would have been heresy to suspect in want of one? *Pol! me occidistis, amici!* would have been the cry at such a proceeding. The framers of the Catechismus ad Parochos, when something of the kind is at length forced from them, give token enough how little prepared they were to hear the value of a churchman made a matter of question. They are equally extravagant in their demands, and feeble in the support of them. If, therefore, men had their misgivings about the worth of religion itself, or of the establishment by which it was taught, (as numbers had,) there was nothing for it but to smother their doubts.

Meanwhile, the church stalked along, apparently caring for none of these things; but the danger was not on that account the less—still her path lay over hidden fires. As soon as the crisis came which allowed them to burst forth, they did so, and with the throes of a volcano. The evil principles which broke out at the reformation, and which, had they not been overruled, were tending to destroy all religion, both form and essence, were the effect of this incubus taken off, and deplored by none more than by the reformers themselves—by honest Latimer, in his sermons, above all. They well knew, that however such excesses brought the reformation, for a while, into disrepute, it was the consequence of old abuses, and that no devil will go out without rending in pieces the body which he has possessed. This, it must be confessed, was a very unsound state of things, fraught, perhaps, with



with much more real danger than that enmity which may now be *openly* shown towards Christianity, and the teachers of it. The more so, as it may be doubted whether the ministers themselves were in those days always true to the faith they professed.

'Our strongest ground of hope and confidence' (says Mr. Southey) 'is in the church itself, and the character of its ministers. In Roman Catholic states, and more especially in those which are most catholic and most papal, infidelity is as common among the higher and better-educated clergy, as the grossest superstition is among those who are taken, with little education, from the lower order of the people. Among the clergy of the church of England, there may be some who believe and tremble, and a few (they are but few) who are false to the establishment in which they are beneficed, and would let the wolf into the fold; but if there be an infidel among them, it is known only to that Almighty and most merciful Father, to whom all hearts are open, and from whom no secrets are hid. Such a man may live self-reproached, but his want of belief will never infect others—it will be a hidden wound, *quod proxima nesciat uxor*.'—v. ii. p. 111.

The church, then, has now nothing to fear from the *reason* of her adversaries, (which before the reformation she had,) though she has much to fear, God knows, from their want of it; nor yet from treachery within the camp. It is from the hold of un-reason and misrule that she needs protection; and they who are for withdrawing all adventitious supports from her, as if she were strong enough to stand upon her own *purity* alone, will do well to remember that it is not the rational convictions of mankind which set themselves in battle array against her, but their ignorance, and lukewarmness, and prejudice, and passion, and cupidity; and what can her *purity* do, however unblemished, against adversaries like these? The lady in *Comus* would have counted in vain upon her chastity, for security, without other help. Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Hammond, we presume, might have cried to the parliamentary visitor, till they were hoarse, 'Thy servants are true men, they are sound scholars, they have done good service among the students at Oxford, having set forth the doctrines of the Bible with learning and integrity. My simple-hearted friends, would have been the answer of the Presbyterian, if he had spoken his mind, (which, however, it would not have been quite in his character to do,) this is all very true, but I want your professorship and your canonry. Nay, the bishops, in a body, had, no doubt, the best of the argument when they pleaded their own cause, previously to their temporary extinction. Milton, who was well-qualified to judge, and whose prejudices were not violently episcopalian, allowed it. What of that?—did the justice of their cause save them? Might will often overcome right, and legisla-  
tors

tors who are wise will take men as they are, not as they ought to be, and frame their laws accordingly. This is the ground upon which the church seeks an alliance with the state, that she cannot altogether depend upon the reasonableness of her cause before a tribunal which is not altogether reasonable. But though this is true, still in the reasonableness of her cause she has great strength; for a considerable portion of this nation (and that, of course, the most virtuous) will ever be governed by it; and this is one ground of hope with us, that though the religion, and the religious establishment of the country, are exposed to more storms than in the days of popery, they are held by a stouter anchor. They were before at peace, but it was the peace of ignorance—they are now in strife, but they have some honest conviction of their worth, for an ally. They had, heretofore, many pretended friends, and few avowed enemies—they have now the open enemy, and the friend indeed; those who would trample both under foot, and those who would lay down their lives for either. This is a more wholesome, and perhaps a less perilous condition.

There is another cause alleged for greater present apprehension—that, previous to the reformation, the church of Rome was one and undivided, whereas our reformed church is full of intestine divisions; her strength wasted by dissent. Doubtless the dissenters are a powerful body, and, as a whole, inimical to our establishment. They have a prescriptive right to be so—they are the old leaven of the puritan times, which, having lain dormant for a century, began to work again (as Mr. Southey says) when there was thunder in the atmosphere. But that the thunder came was in a great measure imputable to culpable negligence both in church and state. Ourselves were in the fault;

‘neque

*Per nostrum patimur scelus*

*Iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina.’*

Mr. Southey thinks, and we see no reason to dissent from him, that John Wesley was an instrument in God’s hands, for the correction of the times. For a century before him, the peculiar doctrines of Christianity had not been brought forward so prominently as they should have been by preachers in general. Unquestionably, some very orthodox sermon-writers there were, during that period; nay more, a school of divines then sprung up, who have furnished our theological armoury with weapons against deism, of a temper never equalled before or since; and deism, or a tendency to it, was the sin of the day. We have taken more occasions than one, of offering our feeble but unfeigned tribute of admiration to Bishop Butler. To him we believe that many men, whose thoughts, like Chillingworth’s, might otherwise have proved  
more



more than their own match, have 'owed their own selves.' But whilst these controversies were going on amongst scholars, respecting the reasonableness of Christianity, (we are the last persons to underrate their importance,) the million, who, in the simplicity of their hearts, never doubted about its reasonableness, and regarded such disputes among doctors merely as 'questions of their law,' in which themselves had no interest, and concerning which they felt no curiosity,

'These hungry sheep looked up, and were not fed.'

They and their teachers did not understand one another: the latter too often addressed them as Sadducees, who wanted conviction, which is seldom the case with the multitude in any nation. They felt themselves to be sinners who wanted relief, which is the case with the multitude in every nation, for it is the dictate of nature. They were asking for *fish*, and a serpent was given them; it might be the subtlest beast of the field, but it was not to the purpose: they were crying for *bread*, and a stone was offered them; it might be, indeed, a philosopher's stone, but it was not what they sought. We are aware that many there are to whose opinion the utmost respect is due, who do not take this view of the theology of the early and middle part of the last century. We state, therefore, our own impressions with much submission; but an author of those times, no fanatic either, but, on the contrary, one who dealt some of the heaviest blows at fanaticism that it has ever felt, takes the same view. And whatever extravagancies the prolific genius of Warburton led him into, amidst all his refinements, and discoveries, and paradoxes, the *great principles* of the Gospel, as they were held and taught by the reformers, he never lost sight of, (however he might not be true to some of inferior importance,) and any departure from those great principles no man was more quick to observe, or more anxious to reprobate. At the same time, it is not to be concealed that the theology of his day was not the more likely to find favour in his eyes, from the circumstance that his own most elaborate work had been received by his own order with suspicion, if not with alarm; and that in any sketch from his hand, even though drawn at a moment when no evil spirit was upon him, some allowance must be made for the native strength and boldness of his style:—

'The church,' says he, with his characteristic force, 'the church, like a fair and vigorous tree, once teemed with the richest and noblest burthen; and though, together with its best fruits, it pushed out some hurtful suckers, receding every way from the mother plant, crooked and misshapen, if you will, and obscuring and eclipsing the beauty of its stem, yet still there was something in their height and verdure which bespoke the generosity of the stock they rose from. She is now

seen

seen under all the marks of a total decay; her top scorched and blasted, her chief branches bare and barren, and nothing remaining of that comeliness which once invited the whole continent to her shade. The chief sign of life she now gives is the exuding from her sickly trunk a number of deformed funguses, which call themselves of her because they stick upon her surface, and suck out the little remains of her sap and spirits.\*

Meanwhile, population was increasing, and not increasing only, but shifting its relative position; mines, manufactories, and the like, distributing it in very different masses through the country. For this new order of things no religious provision was made. It has been computed that a body of nine hundred and fifty-three thousand persons, a number at that time actually exceeding the population of nine entire counties, had gradually accumulated within eight miles of St. Paul's, for whom, until recently, no church room had been provided. The progress of the evil had been observed, and an attempt made to meet it, in the reign of Queen Anne; some ten places of worship were voted by parliament, or rather built, for we believe fifty were voted, but that the funds proved inadequate to realize the vote. What need, then, have we to call in the conjurers to account for the increasing profligacy of the metropolis? The supineness of the last generation sowed the wind, and it is according to the natural order of things that we should reap the whirlwind. Our fathers have eaten the sour grapes, and our teeth are set on edge. We trust that the exertions which have been made of late, and which are still making, for the more adequate supply of the religious wants of the people, will tend to remove the charge which Sir T. More brings against us in Mr. Southey's dialogue, not, we fear, without reason.

'Your age,' says he, 'has not advanced more in chemical and mechanical science, and in promoting the comforts and luxuries of life for the classes to whose lot comforts and luxuries fall, than it has gone backward in some of the most essential points of polity. . . . As there is no error' (it is added) 'more prevalent, so is there none more dangerous, than the doctrine which is so sedulously inculcated, that the state ought not to concern itself with the religion of the subjects; whereas religion is the only foundation of society, and governments which have not this basis are built upon sand.'—p. 284.

Surely, if there be one fact established above another by the annals of the world it is this, that the state of religion cannot be safely disregarded by any government—that however jesters may deride, and philosophers despise, and politicians forget it, it will eventually assert its claims to attention, and prove them. Nothing

\* Introduction to Julian, could



host of the Dog and Dish,—“dumb, I warrant, and good for little?” “What others find him, I know not, I find him a very worthy fellow; here he sits drinking all the day long; and for customers, no man brings me better: and now I think of it, I wonder he is not here.” “He was not, however, over civil to us.” “You have met with him, then?” “We asked him for a night's lodging, but he bade us begone, as if we had been wolves, and recommended us to try you.” “Ha, ha, now I understand; he is not here, because he is aware that you are before him.” “Is he a dumb dog?” “Dumb! tut; no man makes more noise in my tap-room—nay, he is loud enough at church, too, though I never heard him *preach* there. But why waste my words; he has given you proof enough, I fancy, that he is not dumb.” “Does he know his Bible?” “Excellently well, he says, but his knowledge smacks of the confessional; he has it on condition of never letting it go further.” “Probably he would not allow a man to preach for him?” “Yes, I'll answer for it, *provided you don't preach at him, as a good many of your cloth have a trick of doing.*”

Many, indeed, did so; and in those fierce invectives which Dante and Petrarch so frequently launch at the corruptions of the church of Rome, they were, perhaps, only practising a lesson which they had learned from the friars. Indeed, nothing could be more disastrous than this *schism*, for such it may be called; the cathedral clergy, and the cathedrals themselves, suffered exceedingly by it. For those venerable establishments being supported not merely out of the rent of lands attached, this being wholly inadequate, but out of obits, voluntary benefactions, and annual offerings for every household at Pentecost, thence called Pentecostals, when these latter sources of income were withdrawn, as they were, through the malignant influence of the friars, the funds were no longer equal to maintaining the usual number of canons, and scarcely to keeping the buildings in repair. Thus the reformation found the dividends restricted to a few residentiaries, and the edifices themselves in danger of decay. Nor was this all. Even amongst the *regulars* themselves, there were endless divisions and sub-divisions, calculated to waste their strength, and do injury to their common cause. For these same pestilent friars, not content with wandering about the kingdom under their papal privilege, intruding into the labours of the parish priest, withdrawing the people from his communion, setting up altars of their own, pretending a sanctity of life and assiduity of preaching, which was after a while found false and hollow, but which, for a season, well nigh wrought the ruin of the parochial clergy; not content with all this, they must have their fling at the *monks* too, contrasting their own voluntary poverty (which lasted just as long as they could not help it) with the luxury of the other orders, and poisoning the minds of the people by sneers against a class

class of men, corrupt enough, no doubt, but possessing, (in the times, at least, immediately preceding the reformation,) probably, more learning and charity, with certainly far less hypocrisy, than themselves. Nay, more, these very fraternities, (their system carrying disunion along with it, like the modern system of non-conformity,) not satisfied with assailing the clergy and the monks, were ever ready to turn their arms against themselves, as we may see exemplified, amusingly enough, in 'Pierce the Plowman's Crede'; a fresh sect being ever at hand to supplant a former one, as they successively dropped off from the body politic, like saturated leeches; all alive to the corruptions of their predecessors, and all by degrees sinking into the same state themselves; till the people must have been ready to exclaim with the beggar, whose officious friend would have ridded him of the fleas—for mercy's sake leave them alone, these have done their worst, and are full, you are only making room for others that are hungry and will bite the harder. Neither was there wanted any great matter of difference, to propagate disaffection to an old order and the construction of a new one. The mendicants were persons who would make Mercutio's words good, and literally 'quarrel with a man who had a hair more or a hair less in his beard than they had.' And why not? This was just as reasonable a ground of dissent then as a surplice has since been; and the colour of a cloak—white, black, or grey—was just as respectable a shibboleth as many another that has served to separate the dissenter from the church, or one dissenter from another. The *unity* of the Roman Catholic church, therefore (much as we hear of it), was not such as to give the church of England any just grounds to fear a comparison with it. Indeed, with regard to the latter, the arrow that brings the poison partly brings the cure too. The church of England is weakened by seceders—so she is, but they, in their turn, are weakened by seceders from themselves. A number of individuals amongst the methodists, for instance, determine to wrest the government of the sect from the hands of self-elected preachers, and to qualify them with a mixture of laymen. The attempt is unsuccessful, and forthwith they set up a new connection. But there are restrictions with regard to place and ritual existing in both these bodies, which a third body dislikes; accordingly, they determine to abandon their more lukewarm brethren, and taking the field under the name of Ranters, or Revivers, 'fully,' as they say, 'to set out for heaven.' It is true, they are condemned by the methodists, as the methodists are by the church, but it is the mother-crab, who has chosen to walk backwards, chiding her daughter for doing like her.

But further still, for we have not yet done with the unity of the

Roman



Roman Catholic church in England;—another apple of discord was thrown into it by the institution of pope's *legates*. The clergy of the national church are refractory—they will not have this man (a stranger, probably) to reign over them. He knows little and cares less about their customs, and privileges, and laws. Upon this what does the pope? He persuades the archbishop of Canterbury to become his legate, (the possession of such liberal, indeed unlimited power, as accompanied this office, was but too tempting a bait,) and thus he rivets the chain; since the *pretensions* of the legate, being grafted on the *rights* of the archbishop, take root downwards in this domestic corruption, and bear fruit upwards in still further domestic disunion; for the usurped functions of the legate perpetually interfering with the acknowledged functions of the bishop of the diocese, and neither party being disposed to yield, a constant struggle goes on about wills, administrations, appeals, visitations, and the like, all tending to scandalize the church, where both parties, instead of contending for the faith, seem only employed in contending for the fees. Meanwhile, the pontiff, from his seat on the seven hills, looks on like the 'anarch old,' enjoying the strife, and forgetful that however such convulsions might confirm for a while his own authority, there was a danger that they might ultimately dissolve the body of which he was the head. This they did partially effect; for it would be difficult, without a reference to this consideration, to account for the vast revolution brought about in the short space of six years, during the reign of King Henry. Doubtless, the people had conceived a disgust at the corruptions of religious professors; though upon this subject we will not enlarge, as it is a moving cause of the reformation, sufficiently trite and acknowledged; but the other, of which we are now speaking, though not less influential, is less observed,—we mean the inconvenience suffered by the people through the disunion of churchmen, a disunion which affected the administration of the law, and the persons and property of individuals.

Doctrines had, probably, in the first instance, little to do with the reformation. Henry lived and died a Catholic, and Cranmer himself had renounced the pope, long before he renounced his belief in transubstantiation. It is true, that riots and insurrections followed the suppression of the monasteries, which may seem to argue that the nation was in favour of the old church: but we must beware of pushing the inference too far. Multitudes of the actually indigent drew their daily bread from those establishments; and for the labouring peasantry, there had been, on the whole, no landlords like the monks. They 'received of the fruits,' which was in those days a much more convenient mode of payment than money.

They



They lived constantly amongst their people, strewing where they had gathered. They had less temptation to prodigality than the nobles, and therefore less need to fleece their tenants in order to maintain it. Their expenditure was on a scale the most liberal—food for the indigent; employment for the able-bodied; a retreat for the aged dependants of every great family which was enrolled amongst their benefactors. Nor were there wanting those in the upper classes, who were deeply interested too. The abbeyes offered prizes worth the winning, even to men of rank; and when trade and politics had not as yet provided an honourable field for the exertions of younger sons, a snug berth in a monastery might be found for them; attended (by the way) with this advantage (as Mr. Southey observes), that men of slender abilities were there innocently, if not usefully, employed; whereas they may be now thrust into places of some importance, as public functionaries, to the great detriment of the interest of wiser heads, over whom they are set; and it might be added, too, as a second advantage of their monastic destiny, that (according to an expression of Johnson's) they would thus be prevented by the rules of their order from 'propagating dulness.' Doubtless, there were numbers in England at that time who were devoted, heart and hand, to the church of Rome; but still there were numbers who tacitly, if not openly, dissented from her: and we take some comfort when we observe that many of the most effectual causes of the downfall of that church have been altogether removed from our own; and those which it is impossible to remove altogether, in the very nature of things, are now less active than before. We have too little of form, and too much of non-conformity. Be it so—but the excess of forms before the reformation was, perhaps, even more mischievous than our own lack of them, and the secret disunion was then as great as the overt now is. Then with regard to the administration of the laws, all grievances on this score (grievances of all others the most calculated to revolt a people) have been done away, with what wholesome effect may be well imagined, when we hear the outcry which is so often raised against clerical magistrates, even though they may be the best on the bench, or the only ones that can be found willing to act.

It is not, then, in the defects of our church, (which is better fitted to promote true religion than any which has been founded), but in the temper of the times, that we find cause for apprehension. The *deisidaimonia* of the Athenians was once the characteristic of England; but it is so no more. How, then, has this change been brought about? How is it that, sprung from forefathers who feared God, and who set him first in everything, regarding his over-ruling providence as the great engine, after all,  
by

by which the destinies of nations are shaped, and endeavouring to promote His ends, whereby they also knew they were most effectually promoting their own—how is it that, sprung from such a stock, we should no longer be the wise and understanding people we were? We answer, as we have in effect answered already, it is come of the gross neglect of providing religious education for the young, and religious accommodation for the adult population. Now this observation, though it applies to the lower classes chiefly, does not apply to them exclusively. No doubt they are the first to be affected by wants of this nature, as by all other wants; but though it may not be easy to trace the progress of contamination through them to the middle and higher ranks, yet certain it is that the process goes on, *serpit contagio vulgi*, and the influence of the million upon the character of the gentry and aristocracy (however loth the latter may be to acknowledge it) does eventually discover itself, as the lowest swamp may send up a vapour that shall obscure the sun in the meridian. It is the interest, therefore, of the superior orders of society to watch over and protect the morals of their inferiors, if it be only in mercy to themselves; a fever is not the only or the worst infection they may catch from the populace. It is not, however, by this reflex action alone that the neglect of religious instruction has worked mischief in the state: it has reached the more influential classes directly, and without any circuitous approach through a defect in the system of our schools. These eyes of the country (for such they are) have, nevertheless, a mote in them. Let us not be misunderstood.—That the cultivation of sound classical learning may ever flourish amongst it, and those ancient authors of Athens and Rome continue to be the study of our youth, which have been found, upon that best of all tests, the test of experience, to be the most effectual means of correcting the taste and expanding the views, and elevating the aspirations of a boy,—this is our hearts' desire. But if religion be a true thing, it must be admitted to be a most important one; and we know not how to reconcile the omission of it in any scheme of education (be the parties concerned rich or poor), with a hearty belief in its pretensions. Scholars we would have—gentlemen we would have; but we would have christians too; and it cannot, we fear, be denied, that a boy may pass through most of our schools with honour, and yet be woefully ignorant of the evidences, the doctrines, and the spirit of that revelation which those who founded the School, and those who still conduct it, would grieve to think him capable of questioning, as supplying the rule by which his life ought to be regulated, and whereby his soul is to be judged. This, surely, is an anomaly. We want not lads to be made fanatics—we want them not to come home



at Christmas with sad faces, and scruples of conscience, and solemnity beyond their years. Let them have their day whilst it lasts—

Gay hope be theirs, by fancy led,  
Less pleasing when possess;  
The tear forgot as soon as shed,  
The sun-shine of the breast:  
Theirs buxom health of rosy hue,  
Wild wit, invention ever new,  
And lively cheer, of vigour born,  
The thoughtless day, the easy night,  
The spirits pure, the slumbers light,  
That fly the approach of morn.\*

All this be theirs—but amidst all the things taught them, let not the one thing needful be the one thing neglected. In the following dialogue there is much worth attention; the more, as Mr. Southey speaks from a practical knowledge of his subject.

\* *Sir Thomas More*.—Religious education, you say, is neglected. Where does that sin of omission rest, . . . with the people, or with the clergy? Is it a defect in the institutions, or a fault in the customs of the country?

\* *Montesinos*.—All have their share in it, ill customs, defective institutions, . . . the clergy, who neglect their duty in this particular, . . . and the parents, who leave undone what it is in their power to do. To them, however, the least part of the omission is imputable; few mothers failing to instruct their children as far as their own capabilities of instructing extend. But it is one of the evils of our schools, public and private, that the habits of devotion which a boy learns at his mother's knees are broken there, and the seeds of early piety destroyed.

\* *Sir Thomas More*.—It has come to pass, then, in the changes of society, that the very institutions, which in their origin were purely religious seminaries, are now the places where religion may, in a certain sense, be said to be unlearned.

\* *Montesinos*.—To keep up so much of the practice of piety, as is essential for the life and reality of religion, there must be social worship, and solitary prayer. For the latter there is no opportunity at school, however much the boy himself may desire to observe a custom, the importance of which he has duly been taught to apprehend. But it is impossible for him to do this in a common dormitory, or even when other boys are lodged in the same chamber. Few parents seem to be sensible of this evil, though it may prove more deeply injurious in its consequences than any other mischief which may be deemed incidental to public education.

\* *Sir Thomas More*.—The use of dormitories was continued from the old establishments; but the perpetual superintendence, which made a part of the conventual system, was withdrawn. The evil is to be remedied by allotting to each his separate chamber, and introducing just so much superintendence as may secure its privacy.

\* *Montesinos*.

\* *Montesinos*.—There may be too much superintendence, as well as too little; but this remedy would go far towards putting an end to the tyranny exercised by the senior boys, which is the worst evil that the want of superintendence has produced. There would be more difficulty in making social worship retain, or rather resume, its proper character and uses; the effect at present, both at schools and universities, being to deaden the instinct of piety, instead of cherishing and maturing it. Here we have a difficulty which had no existence in days when monasteries were the only seminaries of learning.

\* *Sir Thomas More*.—The pupils in such establishments saw that the practice, or at least the profession, of religion, was the main business of life for those under whose tuition they were placed, or by whom they were surrounded. Moreover, it was the service in which they had enlisted, and to the higher grades of which they were looking on; by it they were to be elevated in society, and it was the only means of elevation for those who were not of noble birth; by it they were to obtain, at all events, security in an insecure age, subsistence, respectability, ease and comfort: wealth and luxury were accessible to their desires; if ambition inclined that way, the highest earthly dignities entered into their prospect; if it took a loftier direction, the higher honours of altars and images might be reserved for them at last. Here, then, everything tended to make them feel the temporal and spiritual importance of religion. If their minds were not impressed by the ceremonials of a splendid ritual, they were at least engaged in it; there was something to occupy them, . . . something for the eye, and the imagination. Should the heart remain unaffected, it was, nevertheless, entertained in a state which made it apt to receive devout impressions, and open to their influences. You threw away your crutches too soon, mistaking the excitement of that fervour, which the religious revolution called forth, for confirmed and healthy strength. Now, when the excitement has worn itself out, a stage of languor has succeeded, which has a dangerous tendency to terminate in torpor and indifference. But this is an unnatural state of mind, for man is a religious creature, and it is amongst those who seek to escape from it, that superstition finds an eager demand for its opiates, or enthusiasm for its cordial elixirs.—vol. i. p. 94-97.

\* *Montesinos*.—But no where is a boy in so ill a disposition to receive religious lessons as at school, and perhaps no where are lessons so ill taught. My old master, Dr. Vincent, endeavoured to repel this charge, as it affects public schools, when it was brought against them some five-and-twenty years ago by Dr. Rennell. He took up the argument with natural feeling and becoming warmth, in defence of an establishment with which he had been so long and so honourably connected, and he wrote, as he always did, vigorously and well. But the case failed him; he could only show that books of catechetical instruction were used in the school, that scriptural exercises made a part of the course, and that theological lectures were read to the king's scholars. So far is well; there is no fault of omission here, and what is done is performed



as well as it there can be. It is true, also, that the school is always opened and prorogued with a short prayer, and that in the boarding houses prayers are read every night by the head boy of the house; but performed as this is, and necessarily must be, it were better left undone. And Vincent did not reflect on the effect of compulsory attendance at divine service, at times when the service is merely perfunctory, and under circumstances which render attention to the duties of the place, at all times, impossible. Public worship is never presented in so unattractive, . . . almost, I might say, in so irreligious a form, . . . as it is to school boys. Now, though we are, as you have justly said, religious creatures, (and it is the noblest distinction of human nature that we are so,) youth is not the season of life in which the development of our religious instinct naturally takes place; in boyhood it must be awakened, and requires to be kept up by continual culture. Habitual irreverence soon deadens, even if it does not destroy it; but habitual irreverence is what is learnt at school, and certainly not unlearned at college. A distaste is thus acquired for public worship, . . . not to say a dislike for it; and young men when they become their own masters, cease to frequent church, because they have been so long compelled to attend its service in an unfit state of mind.

\* *Sir Thomas More*.—Such absentees are, probably, more easily made Dissenters, than they can be brought back to the fold which they have once forsaken.

\* *Montesinos*.—Men, who have received this higher education, seldom enter into the ranks of dissent; their connexions in life are rarely such as would lead them towards the meeting-house. A few become Socinians; and perhaps there are more who pass from cold indifference to a feverish state of what may better be called religiosity, than religion, for little charity can be perceived in it, and less humility. Professional engagements bring back a greater number into the right way, and keep them there. Others are restored by the gentle and natural effects of time, or the sharper discipline of affliction, which teaches them where to find the only source of comfort, the only balm for a wounded heart, the only rest for an immortal spirit. But too many fall into habits of practical irreligion, and, according as there may be more or less of vanity and presumptuousness in their disposition, become the proselytes, or the propagandists of speculative impiety. Even while the Jews were living under a visible dispensation, and before the glory had departed from the temple, fools were to be found among them, who said in their heart, There is no God. Much more may this worst and deadliest infatuation be expected to show itself in these latter times, when so great a part of mankind live as if there were none, and when the ways of the world, its pursuits and its pleasures, its follies, and, . . . Heaven help us! . . . its philosophies, have interposed an atmosphere of darkness palpable between us and the light of His presence, though in that light only is there life!—vol. i. p. 100-104.

The mischievous effects of this lack of early religious education, and, consequently, of adequate religious knowledge among the



middle and upper classes, may lie dormant for a time : but it must ever be borne in mind, that the greatest revolutions in the moral, as in the physical world, are ultimately brought about by the imperceptible operation of causes daily and hourly at work. It is by the *insensible* perspiration that the substance of the human body is changed more materially, than by all the visible infirmities which flesh is heir to. It is the labour of a very contemptible, but very industrious *worm*, that by degrees protrudes those coral rocks, whereon the proudest vessel finds a breaker and a grave ; and, in like manner, it is by the silent, ceaseless operation of moral principles (those infused by means of education above all) that a nation is transformed, whether for the better or the worse, far more essentially, than by the convulsions which engross attention because they happen to be clamorous, and engross it so effectually, that both governors and governed awake, perhaps, from the contemplation of such matters, (which, after all, are but signs of the times,) to find out, too late, that old things have, meanwhile, passed away, and that all things are new. The full development of the evil we are considering may not, therefore, be yet come ; but its partial effects may be traced already. For instance, we know not what is so likely to have contributed to the present degraded condition of the press (a great and crying evil) as a want of wholesome early impressions on the part of those who keep it in activity. Persons of education, in one sense, they must be ; but the education has been defective ; defective precisely in that particular which was calculated to govern the motions of so formidable an engine, and save it from destroying in its fury itself and all around it. And though we would speak with all due deference on such a matter, yet we must observe that the same original defect in our system of education manifests itself in that want of acquaintance with their subject which our legislators sometimes discover when questions of a religious complexion happen to come under discussion. On such occasions, we feel that much is uttered which would not have passed the lips, we do not say of a professed theologian, for to expect this would be unreasonable, but of a *layman* of the old school—of the school of Lord Clarendon or Sir Matthew Hale—much that must create uneasiness in the minds of men who compare the vast interests at stake with the sense apparently entertained of them by many at whose mercy they lie.

We trust that the advocates themselves of the great measure which has recently stunned the nation will not think a temperate declaration of these suspicions, on the part of the friends of the church, unreasonable, when her future safety confessedly depends so greatly upon her vigilance.

Thus does the defect of which we complain impair the public

public prosperity, through the more powerful classes of society; whilst amongst the lower, (uninfluenced as they are by many subordinate restraints, which exercise a wholesome controul over those above them, even independently of religious principle,) its disastrous consequences are still more apparent,—aggravated as they are, in this case, by the misfortune which, until lately, has further attended these same classes—that of systematic exclusion from all participation in the public worship of their Maker, owing to the inadequate supply of churches. Now such neglect would have engendered corruption in any nation, but more especially in one like our own, where the increase of commerce and manufactures, and the increase of temptations to wickedness attendant thereupon, have called for every aid which could be offered to the moral principle of the people. We have been in haste to grow rich—money we must have; and then, if it happened so, virtue. To declaim, however, against commerce and manufactures is idle—

Their course will on

The way it takes, cracking ten thousand curbs

Of more strong link asunder, than can ever

Appear in our impediment.

Commerce and manufactures will on; and the wants of mankind, not the maxims of moralists, will determine the degree to which they will be extended. But the mischief is, that no correction has accompanied their march. They, like other schemes, have good in them of their own which should be cherished, and evil—which it should be the conscientious task of all who embark in them, as far as possible, to suppress. The problem to be solved is, to obtain the maximum of good of which the system is capable, with the minimum of evil which is incidental to the system; and it can never be sound political economy, however common it may be, to overlook the moral consequences involved in the measures proposed for a nation's prosperity, and to forget that it is possible to buy gold too dear,—

*Et propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas.*

The system of trade, like many other systems springing out of the structure of society, may surely be made tributary to the advancement of mankind in virtue, if such an object were steadily kept in sight. There might be more Christian simplicity in the secluded habits of ancient days, when few persons emigrated from the village which bred them, than in the habits of our own times, when there is not, perhaps, one man in a thousand (except among the higher families) who, if he lives to manhood, is buried with his fathers; but that same commerce which thus dissipates families, sends forth our vessels over an empire on which



which the sun never sets, and, with them, sends forth a knowledge of revelation to those who would otherwise have sat in darkness. Thus, whilst the British artisan is *incidentally* debased by the pestilence of a profligate workshop, the Indian, or the South-Sea islander, is exalted by the Christian intercourse which the labours of that very artisan secure to him. Why should not this balance of evil and good be made less equivocal? Why should not wholesome superintendence be exercised over a body of spinners and weavers, such as might enable England to impart those blessings to the world, of which commerce is the ordinary channel, without at the same time polluting herself? Much might be done by a general adoption of those wholesome rules which in some manufactories already obtain—the separation of the sexes—again of the married and unmarried—by the establishment of a school, where the children of the workmen might be brought up in the fear of God—by the expulsion of vicious members—by the encouragement of saving-clubs—by the circulation of moral and religious books—by the example of the employer himself. If to these regulations of police (for so they may be called) there were superadded some short form of morning and evening acknowledgment of a world beyond the grave, and of Him to whom we are all responsible—an acknowledgment which the previous habit of the school would gradually prepare all for paying reverentially, and which the living spectres among them must proclaim seasonable to be paid by beings whose lease of life appears as frail as their own thread,—under some such auspices, might not the temples of Mammon be consecrated to better things, and the energies of the people be wielded with less danger to the public, and with greater advantage to themselves—to their employers?

The present state of opinion may make much of this seem visionary; but there are times when honest men must not be afraid of the sneers of 'philosophers in a small way,' and such times are these. In Roman Catholic countries, the fisherman, the muleteer, the vetturino repair to the nearest church for matins, before they go forth to their labours, and join in vespers when their weary task is done. Time has been, too, when Protestant artisans have been found zealous enough to quit their land in a body merely for conscience sake; and, indeed, the weavers of Glastonbury (for to them we more especially allude) appear, in many respects, to have realised the picture we have drawn. Nay, so far from dead to religious impressions did the mechanics of our own country show themselves, that, on the preaching of methodism, it was this very class that supplied the greatest number of converts; and even amongst the noble army of martyrs, whose heroism lives in the pages of

John



John Fox, there are to be counted those who laboured (not, to be sure, after the fashion of the present times) at the lathe or the loom. By means of some such system of police and instruction as we have hinted—some system which shall regard men in a higher light than as instruments for spinning cotton, might the comparison started in the following picturesque passage be rendered still more and more appropriate.

\* Our Greta is of a different character, and less known, (than that of Yorkshire.) No poet has brought it into notice, and the greater number of tourists seldom allow themselves time for seeing any thing out of the beaten track. Yet the scenery upon this river, where it passes under the woody side of Latrigg, is of the finest and most memorable kind.

Ambiguo lapsu refluitque fluitque,  
Occurrensque sibi venturas aspicit undas.

\* There is no English stream to which this truly Ovidian description can more accurately be applied. From a jutting isthmus, round which the tortuous river twists, you look over its manifold windings, up the water, to Blencathra; down it, over a high and wooded middleground, to the distant mountains of Newlands, Cawsey Pike, and Grizedal.

\* About a mile below that isthmus, and in a part of the bottom hardly less beautiful, is a large cotton-mill, with the dwelling-houses, and other buildings appertaining to such an establishment. I was looking down upon them from the opposite hill-side, when my spiritual companion (Sir T. More) had joined me in one of my walks. "We want an appellation," said I, "for an assemblage of habitations like that below, which may as little be called grange or hamlet as it may village or town. My friend, Henry Koster, who, greatly my junior as he was, is gone before me to his rest, and of whom many places, many things, and many thoughts mournfully remind me, used to call it the *Engenho*, borrowing a word from his Brazilian vocabulary. Destitute of beauty as the larger edifice necessarily is, there is, nevertheless, something in its height and magnitude, and in the number of its windows, which remind one of a convent. The situation contributes to the likeness; for the spot is one which the founder of a monastery might well have chosen for its seclusion and beauty, and its advantages of wood and water." "And which, Montesinos, (answers Sir Thomas More,) would in your eyes be the more melancholy object of contemplation, the manufactory or the convent?" "There are times and places (is the reply) in which each may be regarded with complacency, as contributing to the progress of the community, and to the welfare of the human race;—there are times and places, also, in which they may each tend to retard that progress, and counteract that welfare. The spirit of trade has raised this nation to its present point of power, and made it what it is; the riches which have thus been created, being, as it were, the dung and dross

dross with which the garden of civilisation is manured, and without which the finest flowers and fruits of cultivated society could not be produced. Had it not been for the spirit of trade, and the impulse which the steam-engine had just then given to the manufacturing system, Great Britain could neither have found means nor men for the recent war, in which not only her vital interests, but those of the whole of Europe were at stake. This good is paramount to all other considerations. Men act as they deem best for their own interest, with more or less selfishness, but always, upon the great scale, having that object in view; and national wealth is produced by the enterprise and cupidity of individuals. Governments also pursue their own systems, more or less erroneously; (not without grievous errors, Heaven knows, even in those which act and which mean the best!) and the Providence which is over all, directs all to its own beneficent purposes."—vol. iii. p. 243.

It is better thus to discriminate, than to condemn in the gross. Religion does not throw itself bodily across the march of society, but, if rightly used, is the lantern to its path whichever way it goes. It is the object of these volumes to inculcate this—to impress the nation with the importance of recognising in *all its institutions*, whatever the class, and whatever the age of the persons they affect, a principle which (as the whole history of mankind shows) *will* make itself felt, whether they hear or whether they forbear; felt, for the exaltation of a people, if it be respected; felt, for their prostration, if it be despised. It is a truth to which the heathens themselves were alive; the vital importance of preserving the palladium within the walls was no more than an allegory; and that voice, again, in the Jewish historian which was heard to say, 'Let us go hence,'—*μεταβαίμεν ἐντεύθεν*, is now, as it was then, the signal of the city's overthrow. The seditious are well aware of all this; and, accordingly, the weapon which they have ever found the most efficient for sapping the foundations of a state, has been infidelity. The ruling powers have not always been equally impressed with the importance of making religion their friend. Here our own have erred even at home: what wonder if they have erred at a distance from home!

'In colonising, (says the Sir T. More of Mr. Southey,) upon however small a scale, the vow should be remembered which David vowed unto the Almighty God of Jacob: "I will not suffer mine eyes to sleep, nor mine eyelids to slumber, neither the temples of my head to take any rest, until I have found out a place for the temple of the Lord." The chief reason why men in later times have been worsened by colonisation (as they very generally have been, from whatever nation they have been sent forth) is, that they have not borne this in mind. In this respect, the Jews have been wiser (in theory, at least, for they have had no opportunity of practice) than any Christian people



people have yet shown themselves. It was a tradition among them, that wherever ten men of Israel were settled together, a synagogue ought to be built there.—vol. ii. p. 272.

In the new settlements of Australia, we trust this will be borne in mind; and if Captain Parry has any power to make such arrangements, we feel that we have a pledge for their being made.

Thus does this excellent work of Mr. Southey's point out the disease of the times, and its remedy; the gangrene which is creeping through the land, and the quickening spirit which alone can stay its progress. He pursues the cause and the cure, through all the great establishments by which our national character is formed—our schools, our colleges, our hospitals, our manufactories, our parliament. The philosophers of England may laugh alike at the danger and at the defence by which it is to be met. So did those of France, till the frame of society tumbled about their ears, to the surprise of none more than themselves—*speremus meliora*.

Meanwhile, let us seek repose from the troubled thoughts which the contemplation of national insecurity suggests, in the following beautiful picture of domestic feeling, which few can regard without some emotion, and with which many will sympathise from sad experience.

The best general view of Derwentwater is from the terrace, between Applethwaite and Milbeck, a little beyond the former hamlet. The old roofs and chimnies of that hamlet come finely in the foreground, and the trees upon the Ormathwaite estate give there a richness to the middle ground, which is wanting in other parts of the vale.

From that spot I once saw three artists sketching it at the same time—William Westall (who has engraved it among his admirable views of Keswick), Glover, and Edward Nash, my dear kind-hearted friend and fellow-traveller, whose death has darkened some of the blithest recollections of my latter life. I know not from which of the surrounding heights it is seen to most advantage; any one will amply repay the labour of the ascent: and often as I have ascended them all, it has never been without a fresh delight. The best near view is from a field adjoining Friar's Craig. There it is that, if I had Aladdin's lamp or Fortunatus's purse (with leave of Greenwich Hospital be it spoken), I would build myself a house.

Thither I had strolled, on one of those first genial days of spring which seem to affect the animal not less than the vegetable creation. At such times even I, sedentary as I am, feel a craving for the open air and sunshine, and creep out as instinctively as snails after a shower. Such seasons, which have an exhilarating effect upon youth, produce a soothing one when we are advanced in life. The root of an ash tree, on the bank which bends round the little bay, had been half bared by the waters during one of the winter floods, and afforded a commodious resting-place, whereon I took my seat, at once basking in



in the sun and bathing, as it were, in the vernal breeze. But delightful as all about me was to eye, and ear, and feeling, it brought with it a natural reflection, that the scene which I now beheld was the same which it had been and would continue to be, while so many of those with whom I had formerly enjoyed it, were past away. Our day-dreams become retrospective as we advance in years; and the heart feeds as naturally upon remembrance in age, as upon hope in youth.

"Where are they gone, the old familiar faces?"

"I thought of her, whom I had so often seen plying her little skiff upon that glassy water, the lady of the lake. It was like a poet's dream, or a vision of romance, to behold her—and like a vision or a dream she had departed!"

"O gentle Emma, o'er a lovelier form

Than thine earth never closed; nor e'er did heaven

Receive a purer spirit from the world!"

"I thought of D., the most familiar of my friends during those years when we lived near enough to each other for familiar intercourse—my friend, and the friend of all who were dearest to me; a man, of whom all who knew him will concur with me in saying, that they never knew, nor could conceive of one more strictly dutiful, more actively benevolent, more truly kind, more thoroughly good; the pleasantest companion, the sincerest counsellor, the most considerate friend, the kindest host, the welcomest guest. After our separation, he had visited me here three summers; with him it was that I had first explored this land of lakes in all directions; and again and again should we have retraced our steps in the wildest recesses of these vales and mountains, and lived over the past again, if he had not, too early for all who loved him,

"Began the travel of eternity."

I called to mind my hopeful H—, too, so often the sweet companion of my morning walks to this very spot; in whom I had fondly thought my better part should have survived me, and

"With whom it seemed my very life

Went half away!"

But we shall meet—but we shall meet

Where parting tears shall never flow;

And when I think thereon, almost

I long to go!"

"Thy dead shall live, O Lord! together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust! for Thy dew is as the dew of herbs; and the earth shall cast out her dead!"

"Surely, to the sincere believer death would be an object of desire, instead of dread, were it not for those ties—those heart-strings—by which we are attached to life. Nor, indeed, do I believe that it is natural to fear death, however generally it may be thought so. From my own feelings I have little right to judge; for, although habitually

mindful

mindful that the hour cometh, and even now may be, it has never appeared actually near enough to make me duly apprehend its effect upon myself. But from what I have observed, and what I have heard those persons say whose professions lead them to the dying, I am induced to infer that the fear of death is not common, and that where it exists it proceeds rather from a diseased and enfeebled mind, than from any principle in our nature. Certain it is, that among the poor the approach of dissolution is usually regarded with a quiet and natural composure, which it is consolatory to contemplate, and which is as far removed from the dead palsy of unbelief as it is from the delirious raptures of fanaticism. Theirs is a true, unhesitating faith; and they are willing to lay down the burden of a weary life, in the sure and certain hope of a blessed immortality. Who, indeed, is there, that would not gladly make the exchange, if he lived only for himself, and were to leave none who stood in need of him—no eyes to weep at his departure, no hearts to ache for his loss? The day of death, says the preacher, is better than the day of one's birth; a sentence to which whoever has lived long, and may humbly hope that he has not lived ill, must heartily assent.—vol. i. p. 242.

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ART. II.—*Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava, in the year 1827.* By John Crawford, Esq., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., &c., late Envoy. London. 1829.

THIS is the second portly quarto with which Mr. Crawford has favoured the reading part of the public since his return from the several missions in the East, entrusted to his charge by the Governor-General of India. His account of those to Siam and Cochin-China we did not deem it necessary to notice, as the main points embraced in his narrative had been anticipated by the posthumous publication of the late Mr. Finlayson's *Journal*,—a work which we had happened to review at some length. The relative positions of the Burmese and Siamese territories to each other, and the proximity of the former to the eastern frontier of our Indian empire; the collisions which, in consequence, have happened, and may hereafter occur; and the limited knowledge we possess of the Burmese history, topography, institutions, habits, and resources,—all these might be thought fully sufficient to create a considerable degree of interest among our countrymen; but it would appear that the fact is not so. From some cause or other, the charm which, in earlier periods, seemed to encircle the ancient nations of the East has lost its efficacy; books treating of them appear to be no longer capable of inspiring that degree of interest they were wont to possess in the infancy of European intercourse. It cannot



not be for want of novelty; for one half of the eastern world remains yet to be explored. Perhaps we are more fastidious the more we advance in knowledge; perhaps, also, the want of interest of which we complain may, in part, be chargeable to the score of modern authorship. Indeed, we have a strong suspicion that there is something in this last matter; and that books on oriental subjects would be read as eagerly as formerly, if their authors could write and describe like Heber. At the same time we believe that the early impressions in favour of eastern nations were generally the offspring of exaggeration. The few travellers of the thirteenth century, and the Catholic missionaries who followed their steps, were so dazzled by the barbaric splendour of the sovereigns and their courts, that they overlooked the naked and squalid poverty of the slavish millions around: the overwhelming brilliancy of the former tended only to render the gloomy appearance of the latter still more obscure.

The first notice of Ava, if we mistake not, is to be found in that most attentive and accurate traveller, Marco Polo, who,

Wand'ring from clime to clime observant stray'd,  
Their manners noted and their states survey'd.

He calls it *Mien*, by which name it is still known to the Chinese; but *Mien* in those times had a wider meaning. It comprehended the provinces of Bengal and Aracan; as well as what we call the Burmese country; and at that time—Kublai Khan, ruling over China and a great part of India,—the King of Mien, in order to prevent his country being overrun by the Tartars, who had an armed force on its frontiers, in Yun-nan, sent an army of sixty thousand men, horse and foot, with a multitude of elephants carrying battlements on their backs. The Tartars had but twelve thousand men, but they were excellent archers; and a battle taking place, they poured in their arrows so successfully against the elephants, which were in the front of the battle, that these huge creatures gave way, overthrew their army in the rear, and ran off into the woods. The consequence of this victory was, that the Great Khan got possession of all that country which at present constitutes the Burman empire, with the addition of Aracan and Bengal. The elephants and their conductors were taken into the Tartaric army, to the number of two hundred; and 'from the period of this battle,' says Marco Polo, 'the Grand Khan has always chosen to employ elephants in his armies, which before that time he had not done.' The pyramidal temples, the tombs, with their gilding and jingling bells, the jugglers and sorcerers which then accompanied their armies, and, as we know from recent experience, still continue to do so: All things, even down



to the practice of the men puncturing their skin with figures of beasts and birds, and rubbing in a black colouring matter, are accurately described by this faithful narrator.

We are not aware of any further account of the Burman country, until it was visited, in 1546, by Fernan Mendez Pinto, who, though not, as Congreve calls him, 'a liar of the first magnitude,' does now and then tell a few fibs. Mr. Crawford thinks this writer has 'rendered an exaggerated and obviously an unfaithful account;' but, *per contra*, in the course of the late hostilities, some of our officers gave their testimony to the fidelity of his descriptions. It was during the visit of this traveller that the Burman conquest of Pegu was effected; and it appears that the latter continued to be ruled by a Burman prince, when Caesar Frederick, in 1563, and Gasparo Balbi, a Venetian jeweller, in 1458, and Master Ralph Fitch, a merchant of London, in 1587, visited this country. From the narratives of these three travellers it would appear that the condition of the Burman empire was pretty nearly the same, at the periods of their respective visits, as it now is,—the king acting the tyrant over his ministers, and his ministers oppressing the people. We should say, indeed, if we are to admit the accounts of these travellers to be correct, or nearly so, that the Burmans, instead of advancing in civilization, have retrograded several degrees in barbarism.

In 1695 Mr. Higginson, then Governor of Madras, sent an embassy, with a letter and presents, to the king of Ava. This letter, and the reply,—not from the king but one of his ministers,—are amusing specimens of commercial obsequiousness on one side and official arrogance on the other. Mr. Higginson says,

'To his imperial majesty, who blesseth the noble city of Ava with his presence, emperor of emperors, and excelling the kings of the east and of the west in glory and honour; the clear firmament of virtue, the fountain of justice, the perfection of wisdom, the lord of charity, and protector of the distressed; the first mover in the sphere of greatness, president in council, victorious in war; who feareth none, and is feared by all; centre of the treasures of the earth and of the sea; lord proprietor of gold and silver, rubies, amber, and all precious jewels; favoured by heaven, and honoured by men; whose brightness shines through the world as the light of the sun, and whose great name will be preserved in perpetual memory.'—p. 105.

The envoy, having gained an audience on condition of making three several genuflections, and, at each, bowing the head three times to the ground, was dismissed with the following letter, addressed to Mr. Governor Higginson:—

'In the East, where the sun rises, and in that Oriental part of it which

which is called Chabudu ; the Lord of Water and Earth, and Emperor of Emperors, against whose Imperial Majesty if any shall be so foolish as to imagine any thing, it shall be happy for them to die and be consumed ; the Lord of great charity, and Help of all nations, the great Lord esteemed for happiness ; the Lord of all riches, of elephants, and horses, and all good blessings ; the Lord of high-built palaces, of gold ; the great and most powerful Emperor in this life, the soles of whose feet are gilt, and set upon the heads of all people : we, his great governor and resident here, called Moa Acsena Tibodis, do make known to the Governor N. Higginson'— what ? not that the request to open a trade and send a factor was granted—but, alas for the bathos ! that —'The mighty and powerful Emperor has done the honour to the Governor for the English Company in Madras to send him a present, being 1500 viss lack, 2500 viss tin, 300 viss ivory, six earthen dishes, and eight lackered boxes.'—p. 507.

Several other attempts were made in the course of the eighteenth century, by the servants of the East India Company, to establish a commercial intercourse with these intractable people ; with whom we became somewhat better acquainted, in consequence of the mission of Lieut.-Col. Symes, in 1795, subsequent to their conquest of Aracan. His well-written account of this country and its inhabitants was favourably received by the public, but Mr. Crawford says ' it has the fault of conveying an exaggerated impression of the strength and resources of the Burman Empire. Colonel Symes,' he adds, ' describes the Burmese as a civilized, improving, numerous, and warlike race : a picture of them which our recent contest, and the close examination of their character, which the results of that contest afforded us an opportunity of making, are far indeed from having verified.' Let us now proceed to examine Mr. Crawford's own picture.

Our author, having resided at Rangoon for some time as civil commissioner on the part of the governor-general of Bengal, received instructions from that government to proceed on an embassy to Ava, to negotiate a treaty of commerce, conformably with an article in the treaty of peace signed at Yandabo. The *Diana* steam-boat, of one hundred and thirty tons burthen, was appointed for the accommodation of himself, three lieutenants, a medical officer, Dr. Wallich, the superintendent of the botanical garden at Calcutta, and Mr. Judson, the American missionary, who was engaged to act as translator and interpreter. Five Burman boats were also provided for the conveyance of writers and draftsmen, their baggage, and presents ; as, also, twenty-eight picked grenadiers of the 87th regiment, and fifteen picked sepoy grenadiers.

Mr. Crawford observes that, as far as to the distance of one hundred and twenty miles from the sea, there was little or no appearance on the banks of the Irawadi either of commercial or  
agri-



agricultural industry; the villages were few, and those small; and as the surface of the country seemed to possess, in an eminent degree, the advantages of a fertile soil, a favourable climate, and the means of a ready communication, the natural inference he draws is, the badness of the government—worse even, he thinks, than those of Siam and Camboja; on the banks of whose rivers extensive cultivation commences at ten miles above their embouchures. The steam-boat made her way up to the capital, but frequently grounded on her return, on account of the low state of the river. At Prome, which is about three hundred miles below Ava, some little improvement was visible in the state of the country. Several new houses had been constructed, and others were in progress; the population is said to have reached as high, at least, as ten thousand souls; the whole bank of the river was lined with small trading vessels; and larger patches of ground were under rice-cultivation than had hitherto been observed. As the party proceeded towards the capital, the cultivation became somewhat more extended; the chief articles of produce being indigo, sesamum, Indian hemp (*crotollaria juncea*), and rice.

At Melloon, the number of temples seemed to exceed the number of dwellings, which is not unusual in the Burman towns and villages. The former are as splendid as gilding can make them, and the latter as humble as can be conceived from the frail materials of which they are constructed—bamboos, palm leaves, and grass. The wealth of a Burman, always insecure, is very generally expended on the luxury of temple-building. Religious merit, indeed, consists mainly in the construction of one of these huge, costly, and showy edifices; and is not considered as increased by building a durable one. No one ever thinks of repairing or restoring an old temple; and the consequence is, that in every part of the country may be seen half-finished structures of enormous magnitude—the respective founders having died before they were completed. In most countries of the world, the prosperity of a place is indicated by the comforts and the luxuries enjoyed by the inhabitants, and by the respectable appearance and elegance of their habitations; but here, it seems, the wealth of the people is only to be judged of by the number, magnitude, and splendour, of temples and monasteries.

At Renan-k'hyaung, which, we are told, means literally 'odorous water rivulet,' are the celebrated petroleum wells, which supply the whole Burman empire with oil for lamps, and also for smearing timber, to protect it against insects, and particularly the white ant. Its consumption for burning is stated to be universal, until its price reaches that of sesamum oil, the only other kind used for lamps. The wells, which occupy a space of about sixteen square miles, vary



vary in depth from two hundred to two hundred and fifty feet; the shaft is square, not more than four feet each side, and is formed by sinking a frame of wood. The oil, on coming up, is about the temperature of ninety degrees of Fahrenheit. It is thrown into a large cistern, in the bottom of which are small apertures for the aqueous part to drain off, when the oil is left for some time to thicken. It is then put into large earthen jars, placed in rude carts drawn by oxen, and carried to the banks of the river, from whence it is sent by water-carriage to every part of the empire. Mr. Crawford endeavours to form an estimate of the population of the country, from the quantity of this oil consumed in burning; but we think his data are very little to be depended on. By the number and burden of the boats employed in this trade, (which is but a mere guess,) and the number of voyages they are supposed to make in the course of a year, (which is equally conjectural,) he estimates the exportation from the wells to amount to 17,568,000 *vis*, of twenty-six pounds and a half each. Thirty *vis* a year is reckoned to be the average consumption of a family of five persons and a half; and about two-thirds of the oil are supposed to be employed for burning. These data, supposing them correct, would give a population of 2,147,200 souls. By another calculation, founded on the actual produce of the wells, he makes the consumers of petroleum for burning amount to 2,066,721. Now Captain Cox, who followed Colonel Symes, estimated the whole annual produce of these wells at 56,940,000 *vis*, which, on the same grounds of calculation, would afford a population of 6,939,331 souls. We are at a loss to understand what Mr. Crawford means, in alluding to this calculation, by the following sentence, which is apparently so inconsistent with his own conclusion: 'This,' he says, 'is a much higher estimate than any rough data afford; but even this, it will be observed, gives but a very low estimate of the probable population of the empire.'—(p. 57.) This observation is the more incomprehensible from what is afterwards stated, (pp. 464, 465, and 466,) where, by one account, Mr. Crawford makes the population 4,416,000; by another, 2,414,000; and by a third, 3,300,000; and thus concludes:—'Upon a consideration of the imperfect statements now offered, I am disposed not to rate the population of the Burman empire *higher than four millions*, or about twenty-two inhabitants to the square mile.' Colonel Symes estimated the population of the Burman empire at 14,400,000; so that we are left to take our choice somewhere—or anywhere—between two millions and fourteen millions and a half.

At no great distance from this barren spot were discovered, in great quantities, objects particularly interesting to geologists.

They

They consisted of masses of petrified wood, more or less impregnated with iron; and numerous specimens of fossil bones of various animals no longer existing in the country. Of these, Mr. Crawfurd collected as many specimens as filled seven large chests, of which Professor Buckland has given an interesting account in the Transactions of the Geological Society. Their preservation is stated to be remarkably perfect, owing to their being almost entirely penetrated with hydrate of iron, to a degree which has converted many of them into a rich mass of iron ore. It appeared, on examination, that they consisted chiefly of the bones and teeth of the rhinoceros, hippopotamus, mastodon, tapir, and hog; of several species of ruminantia, resembling oxen, antelopes, or deer; with the addition of the gavia and alligator, and species of the two genera of fresh-water tortoises, namely, *trionex* and *emys*. Professor Buckland observes, that the occurrence of such reptiles, in the same deposits with the mammalia, has not, he believes, yet been noticed in the diluvium of Europe, America, or northern Asia; and he thinks it deserving of remark, that the gavia, and several of the pachydermata found by Mr. Crawfurd, do not now inhabit the Burmese country; the gavia being limited exclusively to the waters of the Ganges and its confluent, and the hippopotamus existing only in the rivers and lakes of Africa, (query—in Sumatra?) and the mastodon being utterly extinct. 'There is, however,' says Mr. Buckland, 'no greater anomaly in supposing that all these animals inhabited the Burmese country at the period preceding the deluge which overwhelmed it, than that, at the period preceding the similar catastrophe which befel the north of Europe, the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and hyæna were co-inhabitants of England.'

Mr. Crawfurd and his party arrived at Ava on the last day of September, having performed the journey in thirty days, the distance from Rangoon being about four hundred and fifty miles. The steamer went by the log at the rate only of five and a half knots an hour, of which she was retarded three knots by the current. It is stated that one of the Burmese boats has gone from Ava to Rangoon, during the freshes, in four days, and returned in ten; but they are, perhaps, the best rowing boats in the world, though Mr. Crawfurd seems to give the preference to those of Cochin-China. In the course of the voyage the party had occasion to see many of these boats. One of the *woongees*, or ministers, visited the *Diana* in a war-boat of sixty oars. A *wa-dunk*, or deputy to a *woongie*, came on board near Ava, having three royal barges, covered all over, not excepting the oars, with gold, and rowing each forty oars. The minister gave our envoy



an early specimen of Burmese dignity. While sitting under an awning on the poop of the steam-vessel, a heavy squall, with rain, came on.

'I suggested to his excellency the convenience of going below, which he long resisted, under the apprehension of committing his dignity by placing himself in a situation where persons might tread over his head, for this singular antipathy is common both to the Burmese and Siamese. The prejudice is more especially directed against the fair sex,—a pretty conclusive proof of the estimation in which they are held. His excellency seriously demanded to know whether any woman had ever trod upon the poop; and being assured in the negative, he consented at length to enter the cabin.'—pp. 14, 15.

These notions of dignity were, on several occasions, found to be exceedingly inconvenient. Money had been sent from Rangoon to fit up the house of Dr. Price, an American missionary, for the reception of the ambassador; but the ministers would not allow of his occupying it, on the ground 'that it was more elevated than the king's barge, as it lay in the river, and that such a spectacle would not become the king's dignity.' Again, the Burmese negociators would not enter the house of the ambassador to carry on the conferences, because no chief person must enter the house of an inferior, or even of an equal; for to do so would imply a derogation of dignity, or an extraordinary condescension, which these gentry were very little disposed to show towards the Bengal embassy: indeed, they very early gave the ambassador to understand that they only considered the governor-general as a provincial officer, and that his envoy could not expect the same respect and attention to be paid to him as to one who should be sent by the King of England.

'These half-civilized nations, (it is Mr. Crawford who speaks,) notwithstanding their knowledge of the power of our Eastern empire, feel the utmost repugnance to placing themselves on a level with a mere viceroy. In the discussions which took place under the British cannon at Yandabo, within forty miles of the capital, and when the government of Ava was humiliated to the last degree, the Burman commissioners, feigning to forget that they were negotiating with the Indian government, made difficulties about the appointment of resident ambassadors, as provided for in the treaty of peace, alleging the great distance of England from their country! It was necessary to remind them, in language not to be misunderstood, that Calcutta, and not London, was to be the place of residence of the Burman ambassador.'—p. 13.

We shall not stop to give any description of Ava. Of their temples we know enough from Col. Symes, and the mud huts and bamboo houses are not worth description. It is the common custom for a new sovereign to remove from the old capital, and build



build a new one, on his accession to the throne; and accordingly Amarapööra was abandoned by the present king, who has re-established the ancient capital of Ava; the expense and inconvenience to the inhabitants are never once thought of.

Curiosity, accompanied by some degree of uneasiness as to its object, was excited on the arrival of the embassy in the Burmese capital. The *kyi-wun*, or 'lord of the granaries,' and several *atwen-wuns*, or privy councillors, after some discussion on a point of etiquette, were prevailed on to visit the ambassador on board the steam-vessel. As soon as they were given to understand the real object of the embassy, their apprehensions regarding it evidently subsided, and they could not disguise their joy. The *kyi-wun* fancied himself a great orator, and made several speeches, of one of which the following translation by Dr. Price may serve as a specimen. 'The most glorious monarch, the lord of the golden palace, the sun-rising king, holds dominion over that part of the world which lies towards the rising sun: the great and powerful monarch, the King of England, rules over the whole of that portion of the world which lies towards the setting sun. The same glorious sun enlightens the one and the other. Thus may peace continue between the two countries, and for ever impart mutual blessings to both. Let no cloud intervene, or mist arise, to obscure its genial rays.'

In this spirit, the negotiations for concluding a commercial treaty professedly commenced. Mr. Crawford details their conferences at full length; and they are amusing enough, as exhibiting the character of these people, in which the predominant features are deceit, falsehood, chicanery, and tergiversation. We cannot but admire the extreme patience of Mr. Crawford during these conferences, in listening to and endeavouring to remove their prejudices, and the trifling and frivolous objections raised and renewed daily, merely for the sake of defeating the whole object, and wearying him out. He has certainly great merit for the pains he appears to have taken, in pointing out their absurd opposition to measures that would be equally beneficial to the two countries; and for his moderation when assailed by the most palpable falsehoods, which, when detected and reproached with, they would laugh off with the most provoking and unblushing composure. At length, however, by a constant and perpetual teasing, they succeeded in carrying most of their points, and reduced the proposed draft of a treaty of commerce from twenty-two articles, which it originally contained, first to seven, then to five, and finally to four only; 'and those,' says Mr. Crawford, 'in a mutilated and imperfect form, were carried.'

After all, one can hardly be surprised at the conduct of these people, who, on this and similar occasions, are sent to negotiate

with a rope round their necks. Much as they had the luck to gain in the present instance, they appear to have incurred the high displeasure of his Burmese majesty for not gaining more. 'The king,' says Mr. Crawford, 'was described to us as being in a high state of irritation—going about with a spear in his hand, as is his custom on such occasions, and vowing destruction to his recreant ministers, whom he charged with all kinds of offences.' They had told him, it seems, that the British mission was sent by the governor-general to make submissions, to atone for their late conduct, and make arrangements for the restoration of the ceded provinces, and the remission of the debt. When undeceived, and made acquainted with the real object of the mission and terms of the treaty, he gave his ministers the following specimen of kingly dignity.

'The ministers last night reported to the King the progress of the negociation. His majesty was highly indignant, said his confidence had been abused, and that now, for the first time, he was made acquainted with the real state of affairs. He accused the ministers of falsehoods, malversations, and all kinds of offences. His displeasure did not end in mere words; he drew his *Dá*, or sword, and sallied forth in pursuit of the offending courtiers. These took to immediate flight, some leaping over the balustrades which rail in the front of the Hall of Audience, but the greater number escaping by the stair which leads to it; and in the confusion which attended their endeavours, (tumbling head over heels,) one on top of another. Such royal paroxysms are pretty frequent, and, although attended with considerable sacrifices of the kingly dignity, are always bloodless. The late king was less subject to these fits of anger than his present majesty, but he also occasionally forgot himself. Towards the close of his reign, and when on a pilgrimage to the great temple of Mengwan, a circumstance of this description took place, which was described to me by an European gentleman, himself present, and one of the courtiers. The king had detected something flagitious, which would not have been very difficult. His anger rose; he seized his spear, and attacked the false ministers. These, with the exception of the European, who was not a party to the offence, fled tumultuously. One hapless courtier had his heels tripped up in his flight: the king overtook him, and wounded him slightly in the calf of the leg, with his spear, but took no farther vengeance.'—pp. 235, 236.

About this time, and before the kingly rage had well subsided, a fire broke out in the suburb, which endangered the house of the widow of the king's tutor and favourite, who complained to his majesty that, during the conflagration, the ministers, and particularly Kaulen Mengyi, who was her husband's successor, were not at their posts, as was their special duty.

The king, who was still very much out of humour, summoned the ministers



ministers before him; sent for a sword, drew it, and ordered them, one by one, to come forward and swear upon it that they were present at the conflagration, and assisting in extinguishing it. Kaulen Mengyi came forward and avowed that he was not present; but that he had gone as far as the Rung-d'hau, or Town-hall, to give the necessary instructions upon the occasion. He was immediately ordered to be taken out of the Audience-hall; and, to avoid being dragged thence by the hair of the head, according to usage, voluntarily made as rapid a retreat as could be expected from a man between sixty and seventy, and of a weakly constitution. An order was given that he should be punished after a manner which I shall presently describe. The other Ministers, none of whom were present at the fire, escaped under various pretexts of business or sickness. The punishment now awarded to the first Minister is called, in the Burman language, *Né-pu m'ha l'han thé*, or, "spreading out in the hot sun." The offender who undergoes it is stretched upon his back by the public executioners, and thus exposed for a given number of hours, in the hottest part of the day, with a weight on his breast more or less heavy according to the nature of the offence, or rather according to the King's opinion of it. It was at first thought that the sentence, on the part of the King, was a mere threat. Not so; the most faithful and zealous of his Ministers underwent the punishment this afternoon, from one to three o'clock, and not as is customary, on such occasions, with culprits of distinction, within the Palace enclosure, but in the public road between the eastern gate of the palace and the town-hall, and in the view of a multitude of spectators. The old malefactor, whom I once or twice before mentioned as being at the head of the band of executioners, superintended the infliction. This person and others of the same class are themselves not intitled to a trial; but may, by the law of the country, be put to death by any of the ministers, at pleasure, and no questions asked. Here was the first minister, then, delivered over into the hands of this ruffian, in whose power it was to make the punishment more or less severe. Such are the anomalies of this truly rude and barbarous government.

—PP. 287, 288.

This broiling in the sun would appear to be no new or unusual punishment. Mr. Fitch observes, 'If a broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keep him in your house, which is a great shame for him; and if he pay you not presently, you may take his wife and children, and his slaves, and bind them at your door, and set them in the sun: for this is the law of the country.' However irritated his majesty might have been with his ministers, it appears that he was very condescending and affable to the strangers. 'Indeed,' as Mr. Crawford says, 'there was no possibility of recognizing in him the prince who, a few days before, had spread his prime minister to dry in the meridian sun for a trifling *fauz-pas*.' Kings, however, are not to be trifled with; and those who wish to retain their good graces must submit to sacrifice largely



largely to their humours. The following trait will serve to convey some idea of the character and feeling of the barbaric sovereign who tyrannizes over a few millions on the banks of the Irawadi:—

His present majesty is about forty-three years of age, of short stature, but of active form. His manners are lively and affable; but his affability often degenerates into familiarity, and this not unfrequently of a ludicrous description. A favourite courtier, for example, will sometimes have his ears pinched, or be slapped over the face. Foreigners have been still more frequently the objects of such familiarities, because with them freedoms may be taken with less risk of compromising his authority. The king is partial to active sports, beyond what is usual with Asiatic sovereigns,—such as water excursions, riding on horseback and on elephants, elephant catching, &c. Among his out-door amusements there is one so boyish and so barbarous, as not easily to be believed, had it not been well authenticated: this is the practice of riding upon a man's shoulders. No saddle is made use of on these occasions, but for a bridle there is a strap of muslin put into the mouth of the honoured biped. Before the war, the favourite horse was a native of Sarwa,—a man of great bulk and strength, with shoulders so broad and fleshy as to make his majesty's seat perfectly safe and comfortable. When the English arrived at Sarwa, this person had a brother there who submitted to their authority. This treasonable proceeding becoming known at court, the favourite was degraded and put in irons, as well as deprived of a title and assignment of land which he enjoyed for his services. His majesty has at present no human vehicle of this description. I ought to observe, that the practice of riding on a man's shoulders is not peculiar to his present majesty, but has often been practised by other full-grown persons of the royal blood.—pp. 139, 140.

Not often, we hope, beyond the confines of Ava. We have heard, indeed, that the amiable youth of 'royal blood, who,' as Sir James Mackintosh says, 'exhibits, in the face of Europe, the brand of the parricide on his brow,'—who incarcerates by hundreds and hangs by dozens, and plunders indiscriminately his enlightened subjects who possess any property on the banks of the Douro and the Tagus, was in the constant habit, when on the other side of the Atlantic, of amusing himself by riding with spurs on the naked shoulders of negro slaves.

Mr. Crawford gives a long and circumstantial account of his presentation to the king, the parade displayed in the processions of the queen, the princes, the ministers and nobles, with their gold umbrellas, their litters, their elephants, horses and retinues, all which appear to have had an imposing effect. Like true Burmese, and in conformity with the practice of their more enlightened neighbours the Chinese, they cunningly contrived their measures so as to produce the effect of degrading the ambassador

bassador and his suite in the eyes of the native inhabitants. They had also laid their plan to entrap the party into the performance of the usual degrading ceremony of obeisance, and to exhibit them walking up to the hall of audience without their shoes, as they did through the mud in Siam; but Mr. Crawford, having now gained a little experience, was determined here to resist; and he gave them to understand, that if any attempt were made to dictate to him in such matters, he would immediately return, and decline the honour of being presented altogether. He thus describes the hall of audience, and the ceremony.

'The hall of audience is without walls, and open all around, except where the throne is placed. The roof is supported by a great number of handsome pillars, and is richly and tastefully carved. The whole fabric is erected upon a terrace of solid stone and lime, ten or twelve feet high, which constitutes the floor: this is so smooth, even, and highly polished, that I mistook it at first for white marble. With the exception of about fourteen or fifteen inches at the bottom of each pillar, painted of a bright red, the whole interior of the palace is one blaze of gilding. The throne, which is at the back of the hall, is distinguished from the rest of the structure by its superior brilliancy and richness of decoration. The pedestal on which it stands is composed of a kind of mosaic of mirrors, coloured glass, gilding, and silver, after a style peculiar to the Burmans. Over it is a canopy richly gilt and carved, and the wall behind it is also highly embellished. The palace is new, not having been occupied altogether above two years and a half; so that the gilding and ornaments were neither tarnished nor defaced, as we often found to be the case in other places. Although little reconcileable to our notions of good taste in architecture, the building is unquestionably most splendid and brilliant; and I doubt whether so singular and imposing a royal edifice exist in any other country. It has the same form and proportions with that described by Colonel Symes, at Amarapura; but is larger, in the proportion of one hundred and twenty to ninety.

'There are three entrances to the hall of audience, by a flight of a few steps,—one at each wing, and one at the centre; the last being appropriated to the king alone. We entered by the stair which is to the right, at the bottom of which we voluntarily took off our shoes, as we had from the first agreed to do. We passed through the hall, and seated ourselves where our station was pointed out, in front of the throne, a little way to the king's left hand, the presents being directly in front of the throne. The king made his appearance in about ten minutes. His approach was announced by the sound of music, shortly after which a sliding door behind the throne opened with a quick and sharp noise. He mounted a flight of steps which led to the throne from behind with apparent difficulty, and as if tottering under the load of dress and ornaments on his person. His dress consisted of a tunic of gold tissue, ornamented with jewels. The crown was a helmet  
with



with a high peak, in form not unlike the spire of a Burman pagoda, which it was probably intended to resemble. I was told that it was of entire gold, and it had all the appearance of being studded with abundance of rubies and sapphires. In his right hand his majesty held what is called in India a chowrie, which, as far as we could see, was the white tail of the Thibet cow. It is one of the five established ensigns of Burman royalty, the other four being a certain ornament for the forehead, a sword of a peculiar form, a certain description of shoes, and the white umbrella. His majesty used his flapper with much adroitness and industry; and it occurred to us, who had never seen such an implement but in the hands of a menial, not with much dignity. Having frequently waved it to and fro, brushed himself and the throne sufficiently, and adjusted his cumbrous habiliments, he took his seat. The Burman courtiers, who were seated in the usual posture of other Eastern nations, prostrated themselves, on his majesty's appearance, three times. This ceremony, which consists in raising the joined hands to the forehead, and bowing the head to the ground, is called, in the Burman language, Shi-ko, or the act of submission and homage. No salutation whatever was dictated to us; but as soon as his majesty presented himself, we took off our hats, which we had previously kept on purposely, raised our right hands to our foreheads, and made a respectful bow.

The queen presented herself immediately after his majesty, and seated herself upon the throne, at his right hand. Her dress was of the same fabric, and equally rich with that of the king. Her crown of gold, like his, and equally studded with gems, differed in form, and much resembled a Roman helmet. The little princess, their only child, and about five years of age, followed her majesty, and seated herself between her parents. The queen was received by the courtiers with similar prostrations as his majesty, and we also paid her the same compliment as we had done to the king. When their majesties were seated, the resemblance of the scene which presented itself, to the illusion of a well got up drama, forcibly occurred to us; but I may safely add, that no mimic exhibition could equal the splendour and pomp of the real scene.—p. 132—5.

The Burmese, however, were too cunning, after all, for Mr. Crawford. It is the custom of this government, it seems, that, at the beginning and termination of their annual lent, or great fast, all the tributaries and public officers shall attend to present their offerings to the king, and 'ask pardon' (*ka-dau*) for whatever offences they may have committed within the year. It is something like our annual bill of indemnity, with this difference, that the Burmese pay dearly for their release from such pains and penalties as they may or may not have incurred. 'Our presentation,' says the ambassador, 'was evidently put off from day to day, that we might appear among the crowd of supplicants asking forgiveness for past offences.' Added to this, the last of all the offerings



offerings presented were those of the Governor-General of India. When the lists were read over, by the palace reporter, with an audible voice, the address to the throne, of which the following is a translation, was made at each presentation.

'Most excellent glorious Sovereign of Land and Sea, Lord of the Celestial (Saddan) Elephant, Lord of all White Elephants, Master of the Supernatural Weapon, (Sakya,) Sovereign Controller of the present state of existence, Great King of Righteousness, Object of Worship! On this excellent propitious occasion, when your Majesty, at the close of Lent, grants forgiveness, the English ruler of India, under the excellent golden foot, makes an obeisance of submission (shi-ko), and tenders offerings of expiation.'—p. 136.

As the name of each suppliant was announced, the party took a few grains of parched rice between the hands, and made the customary prostration, as the token of homage and submission. This token, however, which was insisted on in the case of Colonel Symes, was not proposed on the present occasion. The audience being ended, the ambassador was entertained in the court before the palace with an exhibition of dancing women, buffoons, and tumblers in masques and masquerade dresses, puppet-shows, state elephants, led horses, with state carriages and palanquins.

'The tumblers appeared agile and expert; they were chiefly disguised as monkeys and other wild animals, and amused the company by ludicrous gestures, scrambling up poles, letting themselves fall from them, and similar feats.' Lord Macartney's amusing description of the royal puppet-shows in China accords very exactly with these exhibitions of Ava: both are wretched enough; but it would hardly be fair in us to condemn them as barbarous, when we so frequently witness the tricks of men-monkeys, bears, and elephants, on the stages of our national theatres.

The Burmese elephants are described as noble animals. Here, as in Siam, the white elephant is considered as an object of great veneration. He has a regular establishment of wuns, wun-dauks, secretaries, &c. Mr. Crawford says, however, that he is not an object of worship, but considered an indispensable part of the regalia of sovereignty; that royalty would be incomplete without it; and that both court and people would consider it peculiarly inauspicious to want a white elephant. No wonder, then, that his Burmese Majesty should be anxious to increase his stock, which was at this time reduced to a single specimen. While the embassy was at Ava, a report was brought that a white elephant had been seen; but it was stated that its capture and transport would cost at least ten thousand baskets of rice. On this being stated to the king, his Majesty

is said to have exclaimed, 'What signifies the destruction of ten thousand baskets of rice, in comparison with the possession of a white elephant?'—and an order was forthwith given for the hunt of this precious animal. Mr. Crawford is satisfied that there is no foundation whatever for the pretended delicacy which has been ascribed to the elephant, and which, in reality, is neither more nor less than a romance, of European origin; and he has no doubt that its courage and sagacity have been nearly as much exaggerated as its modesty.

As the waters of the Irawadi begin to fall, a yearly festival of three days is held, consisting chiefly of boat-racing. It is called the Water-festival, of which we have the following account:—

According to promise, a gilt boat and six common war-boats were sent to convey us to the place where these races were exhibited, which was on the Irawadi, before the palace. We reached it at eleven o'clock. The Kyi-wun, accompanied by a palace secretary, received us in a large and commodious covered boat, anchored, to accommodate us, in the middle of the river. The escort and our servants were very comfortably provided for in other covered boats. The king and queen had already arrived, and were in a large barge at the east bank of the river. This vessel, the form of which represented two huge fishes, was extremely splendid: every part of it was richly gilt; and a spire of at least thirty feet high, resembling in miniature that of the palace, rose in the middle. The king and queen sat under a green canopy at the bow of the vessel, which, according to Burman notions, is the place of honour; indeed, the only part ever occupied by persons of rank. The situation of their Majesties could be distinguished by the white umbrellas, which are the appropriate marks of royalty. The king, whose habits are volatile and restless, often walked up and down, and was easily known from the crowd of his courtiers by his being the only person in an erect position; the multitude sitting, crouching, or crawling all round him. Near the king's barge were a number of gold boats; and the side of the river, in this quarter, was lined with those of the nobility, decked with gay banners, each having its little band of music, and some dancers exhibiting occasionally on their benches. Shortly after our arrival, nine gilt war-boats were ordered to manœuvre before us. The Burmans nowhere appear to so much advantage as in their boats, the management of which is evidently a favourite occupation. The boats themselves are extremely neat, and the rowers expert, cheerful, and animated. In rowing, they almost always sing; and their airs are not destitute of melody. The burthen of the song, upon the present occasion, was literally translated for me by Dr. Price, and was as follows:—"The golden glory shines forth like the round sun; the royal kingdom, the country and its affairs, are the most pleasant." If this verse be in unison with the feelings of the people, (and I have no doubt it is,) they are, at least, satisfied with



with their own condition, whatever it may appear to others."—pp. 112, 113.

Boat-racing, taming wild elephants, and boxing-matches, are said to be the chief amusements of the king and the people. Mr. Crawford saw all these, and he tells us that in the last of them the populace formed a ring with as much regularity as if they had been true-born Englishmen, and preserved it with much greater regularity than is usually witnessed here—thanks to the assistance of the constables with their long staves. While these official persons were duly exercising their authority, the same good-natured monarch, who roasted his prime minister in the sun, frequently called out, 'Don't hurt them—don't prevent them from looking on!' It does not appear that Mr. Crawford was entertained with so many exhibitions, as Colonel Symes had the opportunity of witnessing, of singing and dancing girls, illuminations and fire-works. Their rockets are of extraordinary size, the cylinders being trunks of trees hollowed out, many of them seven or eight feet long, and from two to three feet in circumference. These rockets are always let off in the day time, from the humane motive, as Colonel Symes thinks, of letting the people see and thus avoid the danger of the falling carcase; yet notwithstanding this precaution, a man was unfortunate enough to be killed by one of them on the spot.

There is no doubt that the Burmese are the most manly, daring, and athletic of the Hindoo-Chinese nations, but a most execrable government has rendered them callous to every feeling of humanity.

The Burman punishments are severe and cruel. The lowest in the scale is imprisonment and fetters; the number of the latter varying, according to circumstances, from one pair up to nine. Then follow mulets, flogging, mutilation, condemnation to the perpetual slavery of the temples, and various forms of death, more or less cruel, according to circumstances. Decapitation is one of the most frequent of these; but embowelling is also not uncommon. Drowning, burying alive, and throwing to wild beasts, are occasionally had recourse to. I shall give one or two authentic examples of these punishments. On the 26th of January, 1817, four persons were executed at Rangoon for robbing temples. Their abdomens were laid open; huge gashes were cut in their sides and limbs, laying bare the bones; and one individual, whose crime was deemed of a more aggravated nature than that of the rest, had a stake driven through his chest. The gentleman who related this to me was present at the execution. Another European gentleman, who had resided many years in Rangoon, informed me, that for the same offence of sacrilege, he saw seven persons put to death at once. They were tied to stakes on the banks of the Irrawadi at low water, and left to be drowned by the returning tide, which did not do its work for four hours. The Burmans commonly suffer



suffer death with the intrepidity or indifference of other Asiatic people. One gentleman told me that he had seen a deserter eat a banana with his bowels out, after the executioner had performed more than half his task; and another, also an eye-witness, stated that a woman condemned for murder to be thrown to a tiger, deliberately crept into the cage, made the savage a shi-ko, or obeisance, was killed by a single blow of the animal's fore-foot, and immediately dragged by him into the recess of his den. It must however be observed, that the Burmese seldom condemn women to death. "The sword," they say, "was not made for woman." —pp. 407, 408.

For certain offences criminals are sawn asunder between two planks, a species of punishment which the Jews sometimes practised on the early Christians. In our late contest, one of the ministers, after some reverses, had entreated the king to give him the command of the army, which was granted. The troops, being new levies, refused to fight, and ran away when attacked: the minister fled to Ava, and asked the king for reinforcements; and the sovereign, provoked at his assurance, ordered him for immediate execution.

He was dragged from the hall of audience by the hair of the head, and conducted to prison, where he remained only one hour, when he was led to the place of execution and beheaded. Mr. Judson told me, that he happened by accident to be present when he was dragged to prison, and afterwards when he was taken to the place of execution. The Burmese gaolers and executioners, for they are one and the same, are all pardoned criminals; and upon this occasion displayed the most savage ferocity, knowing it was safe to do so towards a man who had not only incurred the king's displeasure, but against whom also the public hatred was particularly directed. In leading him to the prison, he was dragged along the ground and stripped naked, the executioners disputing with each other for the different articles of his dress. When led to execution, he was pinioned as usual, and, for a distance of two miles, was goaded with spears, and otherwise maltreated to such a degree, that he was nearly dead before suffering decapitation. —pp. 61, 62.

And yet this humane sovereign is reported to have said, when told of one of his generals, who had behaved gallantly and lost his life, 'Why did not the fool run away?' This same personage ordered the architect of his palace to be decapitated because the spire fell in a thunder-storm about the time that accounts were received of the arrival of the British expedition. Prisoners of war are treated in the most inhuman manner, being generally either put to death, or sold as slaves, or thrown into prison, which is worse than either death or slavery. If a prisoner should have any money, or means of subsistence, the gaolers take care to extort it by the application of torture or something like it.

'The

The English and American prisoners at Ava, during the war, saw repeated examples of this during their confinement, and even experienced it in their own persons. They had repeatedly paid fines to the principal gadler in order to procure milder treatment; but as there seemed to be no end to his exactions, they determined, at length, to resist any further demands. They were all in the same stocks, a long wooden frame connected with the roof of the prison at each extremity by ropes. One day, shortly after their refusal to make further payment, they found the stocks, with their lower limbs in them, gradually rising, until at length it left them forming an angle of about forty-five degrees with the ground, on which their heads and shoulders alone rested. After being suspended for an hour or two in this disagreeable predicament, nothing remained for them but to pay the old extortioner an additional bribe, which was done through their friends or relatives.—p. 406.

The following conveys a frightful picture of the brutal ferocity of this people; it is the deposition of a prisoner taken at Cachar, made before Mr. Crawford:—

‘My name is Mahomet Ruffy. I am a native of the village of Udarbund, in the country of Cachar. I have been a prisoner of war in Ava. I was seized at my native village, about twenty months ago, by a party of Burmese, belonging to the army of the Chief Maong-kayó. About six thousand persons, including men, women, and children, were seized about the same time. We were all taken away from Cachar. We were treated with great rigour; we were chained two and two,—got very little food,—were made to carry heavy loads on the march. Women, with infants at the breast, and who, on this account, could not carry loads, had the infants snatched from them, their heads chopped off before them, and their bodies thrown into the rivers. I have witnessed murders of this description twelve or thirteen times myself. Old and sick persons, who could not carry burthens, were often killed by the Burman soldiers; and their loads, which consisted of plunder, were divided among the other prisoners. The reason that so many persons were seized was, that the Burmans sent numerous parties throughout the country, who surprised and surrounded the villages, making prisoners of the inhabitants. All the prisoners were afterwards collected and marched off together. After arriving in Ava, we were dispersed all over the neighbourhood, three hundred being sent to one place, four hundred to another, and so on. Another native of Cachar, by name Tareef-gah, and myself, effected our escape from Ava, along with the Bengal Sepoy prisoners, who were lately liberated. I desire to return to my native country, provided I can effect the release of my relatives and friends, who are in captivity.’—p. 245.

Mr. Crawford gives a curious account of the funeral, or rather the burning the body of the chief wife of one of the ministers, which he attended, and which was marked by traits of gross barbarism.



barism. There is a class of persons called chandalas or sandalas, whose business it is to burn the bodies of the dead; they are hereditarily degraded, live in villages apart, and are held to be so impure, that the rest of the people never intermarry with them.

The Chandalas, united with the lepers, beggars, and coffin-makers, are under the authority of a Wun, or governor: hence called *Le-so-wun*, or Governor of the Four Jurisdictions. He is also occasionally called *A'-rwat-wun*, which may be translated, "governor of the incurables." This person is by no means himself one of the outcasts, but, on the contrary, a dignitary of the state. This abominable institution is rendered still more completely so by the mode in which the officer in question is rewarded for his services. Like all other public functionaries, he has no avowed salary, but draws his subsistence from the narrow resources of the degraded classes whom he rules. The villages of the lepers, beggars, and burners of the dead, are assessed by him in the usual manner; and being invested with the administration of justice over these outcasts, he draws the usual perquisites from this resource. A considerable source of profit to him also is the extortion practised upon the more respectable part of the community, under pretext of their labouring under some incurable and contagious disease. The scar of an old sore or wound will often be sufficient pretext to extort money from the individual marked with it, to enable him to escape from being driven from society. If a wealthy individual have a son or daughter suffering from leprosy, or a disease which may be mistaken for it, he will have to pay dearly to avoid being expelled, along with his whole family, from the city. The Chandalas, or burners of the dead, were represented to me as having originated in criminals condemned to death, but having their punishment commuted. They differ from the *Taong-m'hu*, or executioners, in this,—that the punishment of the former descends to their posterity; whereas that of the latter is confined to the individuals.—pp. 167, 168.

The death of the wife of Mr. Price, the missionary, in childhood, brought to our envoy's knowledge another barbarous and superstitious rite—which was dispensed with in the present case, by order of the king:—

The belief is, that the souls of women dying under such circumstances would become evil spirits, haunting the towns or villages to which the deceased belonged, if a certain ceremony were not practised to exorcise them. The horrid ceremony in question is as follows:—The husband, with dishevelled hair, and bearing a *Dà*, or sword, in each hand, goes before the coffin, in the procession, from his house to the funeral ground, using the gestures of a maniac, and cutting the air with the weapons in every direction. When the procession has arrived at the place, the case is inquired into by the public officers, and a regular deed of divorce between the husband and the deceased is drawn up. The body is then opened by one of the burners of the dead,

dead, the *fetus* extracted, and held up to the spectators. The husband, after this, walks thrice round the coffin, goes home, washes his head, and returns, when the corpse is burned with the usual ceremonies. In parts of Pegu there is some refinement upon this abominable ceremony. The body is opened in effigy, by substituting for it the stem of a plantain-tree, of which the pith is extracted, to represent the infant.'—pp. 279, 280.

The funeral of a priest is differently conducted :—

'The funeral pile, in this case, is a car on wheels; and the body is blown away, from a huge wooden cannon or mortar, with the purpose, I believe, of conveying the soul more rapidly to heaven! Immense crowds are collected on occasions of these funerals, which, far from being conducted with mourning or solemnity, are occasions of rude mirth and boisterous rejoicing. Ropes are attached to each extremity of the car, and pulled in opposite directions by adverse parties; one of these being for consuming the body, the other for opposing it. The latter are at length overcome, fire is set to the pile amidst loud acclamations, and the ceremony is consummated.'—pp. 393, 394.

Leprosy of the worst kind is frequent among the Burmans; and the afflicted are compelled to live in separate villages, as outcasts, ranking with the burners of the dead. This degradation, however, gives rise to acts of extortion on these unhappy beings. Those who have money can purchase the privilege of not being so expelled. If a person should be detected, by the 'superintendent of outcasts,' to have a scar or sore on his body, he is liable to be seized as one infected with leprosy, and only escapes his fangs by the payment of a heavy contribution. 'A strong prejudice,' says Mr. Crawford, 'appears to run not only against all natural deformities, but against those labouring under incurable diseases, and even against such as have been accidentally mutilated.' Thus, the blind, the dumb, those who may have lost an ear, or a nose, or those even who may have lost a limb in the service of their king and country, are refused the right of entering the inclosure of the palace, and are deprived of court favour and all chance of preferment. Many of the Burmese prisoners, wounded in action in the course of the last contest, refused to suffer amputation; when such operations had been performed on others, they tore off the bandages and bled to death. Mr. Crawford mentions the case of one young man, who, having submitted to lose a leg, with the passive courage so frequent in the east, presented the sound leg also for amputation, conceiving that this was our mode of treating prisoners of war. Prejudices like these our author supposes to originate from their religious belief. Every physical evil is considered by the Buddhists as the punishment, not so much of offences committed in the present state of existence, as of transgressions in some previous migration,—as inevitable inflictions merited by the individual



individual on account of himself or his ancestors, and the necessary results of the present imperfect order of the world. Those afflicted, consequently, experience, generally speaking, little compassion or sympathy.

The slaves of the temples are another class of men, who are reduced—hereditarily and for ever—to the same degraded rank in society, as the chandalas. They cannot intermarry with the rest of the people, nor, indeed, in almost any manner associate with them; and few persons will even condescend to sit down and eat with them. When the late king conquered Aracan, in 1783, he built a magnificent temple in commemoration of the event, and condemned for ever one hundred and twenty families of Aracanese, the stoutest and most obstinate defenders of their country, to the degrading servitude of slaves to the pagoda: such are the effects of despotism and superstition.—Gaolers, executioners, and *professional* prostitutes are nearly in the same degraded condition.

Mr. Crawford speaks of the Burman territory as comprehending not fewer than eighteen distinct nations or tribes—differing in language, manners, customs, and religion, but all having the same physical type—that which is, in fact, common to all the tribes lying between Hindostan and China. We should say they were originally of the Mongul Tartar race, mixed with Hindoos, Chinese, and Malays. Like these last, they are generally short, stout, well-proportioned, and active; of a dark brown complexion; their hair black, coarse, lank, and abundant. Tattooing the skin is a common practice among the men. The figures imprinted consist of animals, such as lions, tigers, monkeys, and occasionally cabalistic letters and figures, intended as charms against wounds. Not to be thus tattooed is considered as a mark of effeminacy and degradation. Boring the lobe of the ear is another practice common to both sexes, as also stuffing into the aperture a gold or silver ornament, or, in lieu of them, a bit of wood, or a roll of paper, gilt or plain. The betel mixture of areca nut, pepper-leaf, and chunam, is in universal use, as is also the smoking of tobacco, among all ranks of both sexes, and from three years old upwards. Both sexes wear sandals, but neither shoes, boot, nor stockings, under any circumstances. The Burmese are the only people of the East who suffer their women to appear in public, which they do from the highest to the lowest ranks; but Mr. Crawford thinks they gain nothing from this indulgence, not being treated with the same consideration and delicacy which the secluded females of Hindostan receive from the other sex.

The Burmese peasantry are stated to be in more comfortable and easy circumstances than the mass of the labouring poor in any  
of

of our Indian provinces; and, says Mr. Crawford, 'making allowance for climate, manners, and habits, might bear a comparison with the peasantry of most European countries.'

\* A day-labourer in Bengal will hardly earn three pounds a year; and the cost of rice is nearly the same as in the lower provinces of the Burman empire; salt, fish, and house-rent, being much higher. An instructive example of the beneficial effect of high wages is afforded by comparing wages at Calcutta and Rangoon. A carpenter, of the best description, at Calcutta, earns only twenty shillings a month, while one at Rangoon will earn thirty. The wages of the native of Bengal will purchase about eight hundred pounds of rice; that of the Burman, about eleven hundred and twenty. Beggary, as may be readily inferred from these statements, is very unfrequent among the Burmese; and, with the exception of the voluntary mendicancy of the priesthood, is confined to a few unfortunate persons, driven to it more by superstition than necessity.'—p. 468.

In the useful arts, the Burmese have made but little progress, less than the Hindoos, and much less than the Chinese. In the different processes of cleaning, spinning, weaving, and dyeing cotton wool and cloth, women mostly are engaged. The patterns are stripes or checks, 'a decided mark of rudeness,' according to Mr. Crawford; the art of printing cottons is unknown to them. Yet, rude as this domestic manufacture is, the prices are so high, that British piece goods can be sold cheaper, even in the interior of the country, than their own fabrics. Their silks are coarse, high priced, but durable; part of the raw material is imported from China. Their common coarse earthenware is superior to any that is made in India, and their jars to contain the petroleum are made so large as to contain nearly two hundred gallons. Their workmanship in metals is rude and clumsy, much inferior to that of almost every part of India.

In the higher branches of literature, the attainments of the Burmese scarcely deserve mention. For their astronomy, such as it is, they are not only indebted to India, but are obliged to employ a certain number of Brahmins of Bengal at the court, who have the exclusive direction of the kalendar. Like the rest of the eastern nations, they have a week of seven days. They observe the new and full moons as religious festivals, and also the quarters, which four days are set apart for public worship, when the people repair to pay their devotions at the temples. They keep time by means of a clepsydra, or water-clock, which is merely a perforated cup admitting the water, while floating in a basin, and as it rises to particular marks, notice is given by striking the proper number of times on a great bell.

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Mr. Crawfurd says that most of the Burmese can read and write: their literature, like that of most rude nations, is chiefly metrical, consisting of songs, religious romances, and chronological histories. The written character is exceedingly simple, consisting, for the most part, of circles and segments of circles. The language appears to be a mixture of the Pali and the Chinese. The religion is that of Boudh, mixed up, however, with a great deal of Hindoo mythology. A brief extract, furnished from Mr. Judson's account of it, as given in Burmese writings, will convey a tolerable notion of their ideas of the soul of man after this life.

'The universe is replete with an infinity of souls, which have been transmigrating in different bodies from all eternity; ascent or descent in the scale of existence being at every change of state ascertained by the "immutably mysterious laws of fate," according to the merit or demerit of the individual. No being is exempt from sickness, old age, and death. Instability, pain, and change are the three grand characteristics of all existence. "However highly exalted in the celestial regions, and whatever number of ages of happiness may roll on," say the Burmans, "the fatal symptom of a moisture under the arm-pits will at length display itself." The mortal being, when this presents itself, must be prepared to exchange the blandishments and dalliance of celestial beauties, for the gridirons, pitchforks, mallets, and other instruments of torture of the infernal regions. The chief end of man, according to the Burmese, is to terminate the fatiguing course of transmigratory existence. This attainment the Lord Gautama made in the eightieth year of his life, and all his immediate disciples have participated in the same happy fate. What remains to the present race of beings is to aim at passing their time in the regions of men and gods, until they shall come in contact with the next Budd'ha, the Lord Arimiteya, whom they may hope to accompany to the Golden World of Nib-ban, or annihilation.'—p. 391.

The word 'Nib-ban' (*Nirvāṇa*, in Sanscrit), which Mr. Judson and all the missionaries translate into 'annihilation,' is explained by Mr. Colebrooke to mean *calm, unruffled*; implying 'a condition of unmingled tranquil happiness or ecstasy.' It approaches very nearly, however, to annihilation, by what Mr. Colebrooke further observes: 'Perpetual, uninterrupted apathy can hardly be said to differ from eternal sleep. The notion of it, as of a happy condition, seems to have been derived from the experience of ecstasies, or from that of profound sleep, from which a person awakes refreshed. The pleasant feeling is referred back to the period of actual repose.' We apprehend there is very little difference between this doctrine of the Buddhists, and the 'eternal sleep' of the French revolutionary atheists.

Mr. Crawfurd is disposed to think that the strongest internal marks

marks of the authenticity of the public records of Ava are to be found in the average shortness of the reigns of their sovereigns. It appears, from a regular chronological series, that, from the year 301 before Christ to the accession of the present king in 1819, a period of two thousand one hundred and twenty years, the number of sovereigns is one hundred and twenty-three, making the average length of each reign only between sixteen and seventeen years. The table appears in many instances to be corroborated by inscriptions found on stones, which are very numerous in and about the capital. It is to be hoped, however, that their historical records are kept in general with more fidelity than that of the late contest with the English.

'I learnt last night, from good authority, that the court historiographer had recorded in the national chronicle his account of the war with the English. It was to the following purport:—In the years 1186 and 87, the Kula-pyu, or white strangers of the west, fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the king, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no effort whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money in their enterprise; and by the time they reached Yandabo, their resources were exhausted, and they were in great distress. They petitioned the king, who, in his clemency and generosity, sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them out of the country.'—p. 176.

We have now got the Burmese interposed between our settlements in Aracan and the territory which we compelled them to cede to us in the gulf of Martaban, and which gives us the whole line of coast round the Bay of Bengal to the entrance of the Strait of Singapore, while it places us immediately between the Burmese and the Siamese. As forming a connecting link between Bengal and the settlements of Pulo Penang, Malacca, and Singapore, the acquisition of a commodious and safe harbour in Martaban, independent of the value of the territorial possession in other respects, appears to be of great importance. It is not improbable that the China trade may ultimately be wholly carried on in these quarters. The rush of adventurers which would flock to Canton on the present restriction being removed, (and there is some reason to fear that the shortsighted eagerness of a commercial party may be able to carry this measure) would in all probability be the cause of excluding us entirely from the Chinese ports. In that case, the China trade would be conducted by Chinese junks, as a part of it now is in the Strait of Singapore and Malacca, to which they proceed without fear or difficulty. The importance of these

possessions



possessions is already felt; and the more so, since the Dutch have so egregiously mismanaged their affairs in Java and Sumatra, as to have annihilated nearly all trade with the ports of these two islands.

The harbour of Martaban is stated to be sufficiently capacious to hold the whole navy of England. Three rivers, the Saluen, the Gai, and the Ataram, join at the town of Martaban, and are then divided into two branches by the large island of Balu. Before this bifurcation, the three rivers above-mentioned form a sheet of water, interspersed with many green islets, five or six miles broad, having all the appearance of a noble lake. The Saluen, descending from the north, forms the new boundary-line. The Ataram, flowing from the south-west, is the smallest of the three, but the deepest. For fifty miles the navigation is safe and easy. The banks are so steep that a vessel may range from side to side, touching the boughs of the trees alternately on both sides. It is on the banks of this river that the teak forests lie, of great extent, and abounding with timber trees of the largest dimensions. The soil, according to Mr. Crawfurd, is fertile and well adapted for the growth of sugar, cotton, indigo, and tobacco, but nearly destitute of any cultivation, for want of inhabitants. The moment, however, that the cession was made known, emigrants from the Burmese territory began to pour in across the Saluen. Scarcely had the commissioner left Rangoon, and before a formal possession had been taken of the ceded country, when no less than twelve hundred families, with three thousand head of cattle, arrived on the banks of the Saluen, with the intention of crossing over into the British territory, there to establish themselves. The new town is named Amherst, and occupies part of an elevated peninsular promontory, overlooking the harbour, and admirably adapted to become a great emporium. We are glad to find that Mr. Crawfurd, as commissioner, in founding this new colony, has followed the same wise policy which Sir Stamford Raffles adopted when he established the flourishing settlement of Singapore. In announcing the event of the cession, the proclamation, addressed to the inhabitants in the Burmese language, says:—

‘The inhabitants of the towns and villages who wish to come to the new place, may come and settle; those who come shall be free from molestation, extortion, and oppression. They shall be free to worship as usual, temples, monasteries, priests, and holy men. There shall be no interruption of free trade, but people shall go and come, buy and sell, do and live as they please, conforming to the laws. In regard to employing the labouring people, they shall be employed on the pay-  
ment

ment of customary wages, and whoever compels their labour without reward shall be punished. In regard to slavery, since all men, whether common people or chiefs, are by nature equal, there shall be under the English government no slaves. Let all debts and engagements contracted under the Burmese government previous to the war, be discharged and fulfilled according to the written documents. Touching the appointment of officers and chiefs, they are appointed to promote the prosperity of the towns and villages, and the welfare of the inhabitants. If, therefore, they take property by violence, or govern unjustly, they shall be degraded and punished. In regard to government assessments, when the country is settled and prosperous, consultation will be held with the leaders of the people, and what is suitable and moderate will be taken to defray the necessary expenses of government.

Whoever desires to come to the new town, or to the towns and villages beyond the Saluen river under the English government, may come and live happily, and those who do not wish to remain may go where they please, without hinderance."—pp. 367, 368.

Mr. Crawford informs us that he suggested the policy of keeping possession of Rangoon, and thus shutting out the Burmese from the navigation of the Irawadi, and placing us in a commanding military attitude, which would have relieved us from all apprehension of annoyance from the power of these people. We cannot agree with him on this point, and are disposed to think that we have done much better. Hemmed in as they now are between Aracan and Martaban, we have little to fear from any annoyance that they can give us. Indeed, we are rather surprised at such a proposal from Mr. Crawford, who, in the same breath almost, tells us that the conditions of a convention with them ought to be strictly reciprocal; and the letter and spirit of the engagement such as would tend to develop the resources of both countries. We cannot think that to stop them up like rats within their holes would be the most likely mode of producing this desirable reciprocity, or of developing the resources of the Burmese.

The volume is accompanied with a map, apparently executed with great care, which throws much additional light on the geography of the country intervening between the Burrampooter and Yun-nan, the western province of China, and between the latter and the capital of Ava.



ART. III.—1. *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First, his Royal Consort, Family, and Court, &c.* By John Nichols, F.S.A. 3 vols. 4to. London. 1828.

2. *Inquiry into the Literary and Political History of James I.* By J. D'Israeli, Esq. F.R.S. London. 8vo. 1816.

**D**ESULTORY as it is, and encumbered occasionally with matter not likely, nor deserving, to find readers, this collection is still an interesting and useful supplement to Mr. Nichols's former work, the *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, and, we think, excels it in variety and attractiveness of subjects. The splendours of the court, the pageantries of the city, and the hospitalities of loyal towns and mansions here recorded by an amiable and industrious antiquary (now no more), often excite a feeling deeper than that of gratified curiosity, as we approach the period of the great national storm by which all such glories were for a time heavily obscured. Our notice of the topics embraced in so extensive a compilation—(which might in many parts be taken for the reprint of some ancient Morning Post)—must, of course, be very imperfect, but we shall select a few of those which appear most striking, or can most easily be treated in a moderate compass, directing our chief attention to the royal progresses and their incidents, but bestowing some observation also on the court and family of James, as they appeared at ordinary seasons.

The most memorable of his majesty's peaceful expeditions, was his first journey from Edinburgh to London, when his ear had at length been saluted with the 'happy news of price,' that Elizabeth had vacated the English throne, and was no more to mock his expectations by dancing six or seven galliards in a morning.\* The first incident of the journey conveys a pleasing impression of his kind feeling and simplicity of manners, and might, with little help from imagination, form a happy subject for the painter. As the royal cavalcade approached Seton, the lord of that house, Robert, first Earl of Wintoun, who had often played the dutiful host to James and his Queen, was carried forth for burial. His majesty was pleased to rest himself at the south-west round of the orchard, on the highway, till the funeral was

\* Sir Robert Carey immortalized himself among courtiers by the address and activity with which he anticipated all other heralds of this great event. Riding out of London between nine and ten in the morning, he arrived at Doncaster the same night; and at bed-time on the third day, bruised and 'be-bloodied' as he was by a fall from his horse, appeared in the king's chamber at Holyrood, where he placed in James's hand the appointed and momentous token, a sapphire ring from Lady Seroque.—v. i. p. 56.

over, that he might not withdraw the noble company, and he said that he had lost a good, faithful, and loyal subject.' In aftertimes that noble lineage had more than one opportunity of meriting a like praise from the Stuart family; and this very house of Seton was sacrificed in the cause of James's great grandson, in 1715.

'It was on his route from Durham to the mansion of Walworth,' says Mr. Surtees, (in his history of the bishoprick,) 'that King James sat himself down on the high grounds above Houghton-le-side, (on a spot which has retained, from this royal entregambaison, the name of *Cross legs*,) to enjoy the beatific vision of his descent into England, into perhaps its fairest portion, Yorkshire; the gallant Tees, with all its woodlands, pastures, feedings, and farmholds, must have presented a burst of scenery to James leaving his *paupera regna*, which might have almost induced the pacific king to exclaim,

"Where's the coward that would not dare  
To fight for such a land?"—*Surtees*, vol. iii., p. 317.

These expressions come warm from the good squire of Mainsforth's own heart; but we fear James was capable of looking upon the 'gallant Tees' without feeling 'a month's mind to combat.'

The king's demeanour, on his southern progress, is said to have cast a damp on the enthusiasm with which his new subjects were prepared to receive him; and (to repeat a common observation) it would indeed have demanded far other gifts and acquirements than he could ever boast, to perform the regal part successfully after a queen so versed in the English character as Elizabeth, and so exquisitely skilled in flattering that high popular spirit which, when prudently disciplined, is the most susceptible of loyal emotions. She came to the throne uplifted on a flood of national favour, like the heroine of a revolution; and she strove, with the address and assiduity that might have befitted such a personage, to secure her influence with the multitude. In this labour, nothing wearied or alarmed her; whatever scene was to be acted, she could grace to the height by her dignity, her complaisance, her boldness, her diffidence, her merriment, nay, even by her tears, for she is more than once represented as weeping on her departure from a hospitable city. James, less proud, was, at the same time, less politic than his predecessor; although goodnaturedly desirous of indulging the zeal and curiosity of his English people, he became too soon weary of an exhibition for which Nature had given him few requisites. To sweep over the country 'with hound and horn,' and to snatch a hunter's meal upon the grass after bringing down his game, were delights which he prized infinitely beyond the tedious triumphs  
of



of a royal procession; and he did not apprehend, as justly as Elizabeth, the necessity of winning golden opinions, at what ever expense of time, ease, and favourite pursuits. He might, perhaps, imagine it worthy of a philosophic prince to be moderate in his sacrifices to popularity, but it was the sportsman's feeling that predominated, when he desired that the people would allow their king to hunt, without hunting him. This reserve of James, however, has been exaggerated like his other faults, and the narratives of the journey contain instances enough of cheerful affability and considerate graciousness, to convince us that his deportment, at this time, was not so churlish as it is commonly represented.

Cardinal Bentivoglio, in a manuscript cited by Miss Aikin, portrays him with a fair and florid complexion, and lineaments very noble to behold, but without grace or dignity in the rest of his person, or in his gestures and carriage. Osborne tells us—

I shall leave him dressed to posterity in the colours I saw him in the next progress after his inauguration, which was as green as the grass he trod on: with a feather in his cap, and a horn instead of a sword by his side; how suitable to his age, calling, or person, I leave to others to judge from his pictures, he owning a countenance, continues the author in his coxcombical phraseology, not in the least regard semblable to any my eyes ever met with, besides an host dwelling in Anthill, formerly a shepherd, and so metaphorically of the same profession.—*Memoirs of King James*, sect. 17.

This passage has been cited again and again by historical compilers to the discredit of James, and none of them has thought of asking why it was improper that a king, not forty years old, should hunt in a green suit, with a horn at his side, and the ornament then so common, of a plume in his hat. We can believe that James's appearance on horseback was never very majestic; but, though not an accomplished cavalier, he was (in the first part of his reign at least) an active and hardy one, not easily fatigued, regardless of weather, and undaunted by accidents. We say this with a full remembrance of that exquisitely-finished picture in the 'Fortunes of Nigel,' where the king is represented as following his game on a highly managed steed, seated deep in his demi-pique saddle, and so trussed up there as to make falling almost impossible, seldom exceeding three-fourths of a gallop, and thus prosecuting in security this favourite and, in the ordinary case, somewhat dangerous amusement; and we are also aware of the passage in Coke's Detection, where the king is said to have become so lazy and unwieldy, that he was treist on horseback. But these

representations, if correct, are only applicable to James's latest years. Cecil describes him, on his first passage through England, as a 'great and extreme rider.'\* Sir Theodore Mayerne speaks of him, at a later period, as 'violentissimis olim venationis exercitiis deditus;†' and other testimonies to the same effect might easily be collected from the volumes before us.

The homely manners and deportment of James were likely to confirm, in strangers, any prejudice that might be inspired by his appearance. Yet he seems, on some occasions, to have behaved, not merely with decorum, but with dignity; and he excelled in the kingly accomplishment of paying well-turned and epigrammatic civilities. Sully, though he notices some indiscretions in James, yet mentions his demeanour in general with apparent respect and satisfaction; and speaks of him, in one instance, as 'expressing himself 'avec la dernière politesse.'‡ James had been talking of his favourite sylvan sports, and of the French king's passion for such amusements; then, turning the discourse upon Sully, he added, says the ambassador—'que Henri avoit raison de ne pas me mener à la chasse, parceque si j'étois chasseur, le roi de France ne pourroit pas l'être.'—*Memoires de Sully*, liv. xv.

It was natural that James, on his first progress to the English capital, should use most freely those methods of acquiring popularity which demanded neither money nor exertion. At several places he released all criminals, except those charged with treason, murder, and 'recusance.' At Durham, however, he is said to have disbursed great sums for the liberation of debtors; and lodging at the Bear at Doncaster, he gave the host, for his good entertainment, the lease of a manor-house in reversion.†

Among the steps taken at this time by the king to make a favourable impression, we have little doubt that he himself would have reckoned an act for which historians have vehemently condemned him—the execution, without trial, of a cutpurse, who was taken in the fact at Newark, having followed the court from Berwick in the garb of a gentleman. Whether James presumed on the statute 33d Hen. VIII., c. 12, as giving a summary jurisdiction in the case of theft committed within the verge of the court, or whether he proceeded on some misconception of the law respecting felons taken with the *mainour*,§ or, as it is termed in his own country, 'red-hand,' it would be fruitless now to inquire. He may, perhaps, have been actuated by a mere unthinking eagerness to display his zeal against evil-doers, and exemplify

\* Nichols, vol. i., p. 145; H. I.

† Ellis's Historical Letters, Second Series, vol. iii., p. 199.

‡ Nichols, vol. i., p. 84.

§ Blackstone, citing Stiernhöck, says that, by the Danish law, a thief so taken might be hanged without accusation or trial.—IV. Comm. 307.



his own precept touching the enforcement of the laws—'be ye contrary, at your first entry to your kingdom, to that *Quinquennium Neronis*, with his tender-hearted wish, *vellem nescire literas*, in giving the lawful execution against all breakers thereof *but* exception.' It was, at any rate, a rash and unjustifiable act thus to forestall the judge of assize; but they are bold censurers who magnify the proceeding into an attack on national liberty; and perceive in this unlucky pickpocket the proto-martyr of Stuart despotism.

On the twenty-second evening of his progress, King James reached Hinchinbrooke, the mansion of Sir Oliver Cromwell, amidst crowds which now thickened daily on his road, in defiance of his repeated prohibitions. The issuing of these edicts by the new sovereign is a commonplace topic of reproach, and little regard has been vouchsafed to the reasons alleged in their justification. How far it might have been consistent with true policy in James to brave the imminent hazards of dearth, discord, and the plague, rather than check the first outbreaks of English loyalty, is a question which we shall not now agitate; the proclamations were such as evidently could not be enforced, and the monarch must incur censure who begins his reign with a measure at once unpopular and ineffectual.

Of the entertainment at Sir Oliver Cromwell's we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Great must have been the wonder of those who did not know the secret springs of state affairs, when they saw, within little more than a week, the Earl of Southampton, the associate and all but fellow-sufferer of Essex, attending the new sovereign at Hinchinbrooke with the sword of state, and Cecil, the reputed author of Essex's downfall, honoured by his Majesty with a visit of four days at Theobalds. Acquainted as we now are with the secret and highly confidential intercourse between James and Cecil during the last years of Elizabeth, we feel no surprise that Sir Robert should have retained his power under a prince whose esteem he had so long cultivated in private. We do marvel, however, at the boldness of Weldon, who represents Cecil as lurking fearfully in York at James's first arrival there, and not venturing to appear at court, or in public, till some friends, 'raised by his wit and purse,' disposed the king in his favour. One of these, he tells us, was Sir George Hume; but it seems the principal protector was Aston, whom Sir Anthony calls the king's barber. He further states, in opposition to clear testimony from other quarters, that Cecil died on 'the top of a molehill near Marlborough,' of the 'Herodian disease,' his end being hastened by the knowledge that he was totally disgraced with his sovereign. These are some rays of the historical light  
for

for which we tolerate one of the most vulgar, petulant, and obscene productions that malice or curiosity ever detained from oblivion.

Some amusing particulars of the king's visit to Theobalds appear in a tract of the day, written by one John Savile.\* He and his companions being stationed (like Mrs. Gilpin) at a window of the Bell at Edmonton, counted, in half an hour, three hundred and nine horses and a hundred and thirty-seven footmen; 'which course continued that day from four o'clock in the morning till three o'clock afternoon, and the day before also.' The king rode up the avenue in the midst of his nobility, but 'not continually betwixt the same two.' At the courtyard he alighted, but 'had not gone ten princely paces' before 'there was delivered him a petition by a young gentleman, his majesty returning him this gracious answer, that he should be heard and have justice.' Here Cecil met the king, and conducted him into the house amidst great applause. The crowd increasing, his majesty soon after 'showed himself openly out of his chamber window, by the space of half an hour together;' and he then went to walk in the 'labyrinth-like garden' till supper time. Cecil kept open house, and even the 'ragged regiments' had beef, veal, mutton, bread, and beer as long as his majesty stayed. Some of the royal train, though not ragged, brought with them other inconveniencies even more scandalous in the eye of refinement—we allude to the discovery made by Lady Anne Clifford and her friends, after sitting in Sir Thomas Erskine's chamber, and which she notes as a change in the 'fashion of the court' since Queen Elizabeth's time.†

James had been guarded from county to county by the respective sheriffs, and the same peaceful escort now attended him to the capital. At Stamford-Hill he was met by the Lord Mayor, and a train of knights and aldermen, wearing scarlet gowns and gold chains, 'besides five hundred citizens, all very well mounted, clad in velvet coats and chains of gold.' Here, too, appeared 'that honourable old knight, Sir Henry Lee,' of Quarendon, with sixty gallant and well-mounted followers. He had enjoyed favour and employment under Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, and he was now 'very lovingly' received by King James. Richard Martin, of the Middle Temple, (afterwards Recorder of London,) played the orator in behalf of the city magistrates; his speech (and perhaps most of those which have been made on similar occasions) may be summed up in two lines of a poem ‡ in the collection called 'Sorrow's Joy:—

\* Nichols, vol. i., p. 135.

† Nichols, vol. i. p. 111, note 3.

‡ By Cecil, eldest son of the great Burleigh.—*Nichols*, vol. i. p. 16. The lines are only an amplification, by the way, of the old heraldic exclamations at the royal funerals. 'Eliza's



Eliza's dead—that rends my heart in twain; And James proclaim'd—this makes me well again!

Our exact observer mentions, as a proof of the general enthusiasm, that although there were no hope to find what was lost, especially by the loser, notwithstanding, in token of excessive joy inwardly conceived in the heart, many threw up their hats. James rested four days at the Charter-house, then occupied by Lord Thomas Howard; he afterwards proceeded on horseback to Whitehall, took barge there for the city, shot London-bridge, heard a peal of ordnance at the White Tower, disembarked at the fortress, and duly made the round of its curiosities, not omitting the lions, which enjoyed his notice on many subsequent occasions. Indeed, they were very good courtiers, if we may believe Mr. Hubbocke, the Tower chaplain, who tells the king on their behalf, *Magnificæ et regales bestiæ, leones Anglicani, adorant leonem Scotiæ, O vere de leone Judæ oriunde!*\*

James followed, with more diligence than might have been expected from his habits, the example of his great predecessor in perambulating such parts of the kingdom as could be conveniently included in a royal line of march. For him, no spot of England seems to have possessed such attractions as his own residence of Theobalds, or those of Royston and Newmarket; where he could uninterruptedly devote the fair weather to sport, and the foul to literature, and where, it has been supposed, the fresh and bleak atmosphere was congenial to him, as resembling his native air. Still, as the custom of that period was, he frequently bestowed on his noble and wealthy subjects the burdensome, but often highly valued, honour of a residence at their houses. In those proud mansions, where domestic magnificence was carried to a pitch of almost princely state on more common occasions, the royal visit afforded an opportunity of display which, in spite of all its attendant inconvenience, was embraced by many with the same pride which a munificent citizen of Rome or Athens may have felt in giving a show to the people, or fitting out a galley for the republic. This ambition, uniting with the more generous impulses of hospitality and loyalty, urged some men to a profusion which, if it did not cause, materially hastened the downfall of their fortunes. Such was the fate of William, Marquis of Winchester, who entertained Queen Elizabeth thirteen days at Basing-House. Indeed, Osborne affirms of this princess, that she visited the *grandeurs* of her kingdom with a design to cripple their estates, and thus render the proprietors 'less rampant,' and more subservient to the crown. He adds, as another motive, her desire to lessen the influence of those 'inferior stars,' by eclipsing them in the view

\* See his speech in February, 1604. Nichols, vol. i., p. 326.

of the people. It is also to be remembered, that a royal progress was expensive to the crown, and burdensome, as well as vexatious, in some respects, to the public; and that, while the sovereign rested at private houses, his own treasury was spared, and a tax shifted from the country to those who, perhaps, were ambitious of bearing it, but who, at all events, were marked out by usage and general opinion as fit supporters of it. Queen Elizabeth exacted this due of the crown, as she deemed it, without remorse. The language in Macbeth—

‘Your servants ever  
Have theirs, themselves, and what is theirs, in compt,  
To make their audit at your highness’ pleasure,  
Still to return your own,’

scarcely exceeded her idea of a subject’s obligation. She made twelve visits at Theobalds, remaining, sometimes, from three to six weeks, and each visit cost Burleigh two or three thousand pounds. To play the churl with Elizabeth on these occasions was extremely perilous, even when hospitality was put to the rudest proof. The queen came to Berkeley Castle unexpectedly, for it had not been set down in the ‘gests’ as a place to be visited. Lord Berkeley, who was absent, had in his park ‘a stately game of red-deer,’ in which he took great delight. Such wanton havoc was made among these creatures during her majesty’s stay, that the peer, when he heard of it, in a sudden fit of passion, disparked the ground.

On a progress of King James, in 1608, the ‘grandees’ seem to have excused themselves in the least ceremonious manner.

The progress holds on towards Northamptonshire, as unwelcome to those parts as rain in harvest, so as the great ones begin à remier menage; and to dislodge, the Lord Spencer to his daughter Vane in Kent, and divers other gentlemen devise other errands other ways. *Progresses of King James*, vol. ii., p. 200.

The uncertainty of Elizabeth’s movements was a source of great anxiety to those nominated as her entertainers. James was punctual. In 1614, Christian of Denmark came incognito to London, and, after dining at an ordinary in Aldgate, proceeded in a hackney coach to Somerset-House, where he surprised his sister, Queen Anne, with a very rustic abruptness. The King of England was on a progress; he returned home, entertained his brother-in-law for a few days, and then resumed his journey of state at the point which he would, by that time, have reached, if no interruption had occurred.

The duty rendered on these occasions was, in some instances, paid with reluctance; but when the sovereign met a genuine welcome,



welcome, which was by no means unfrequent, hospitality assumed a character of enthusiasm; invention was exhausted in varying and refining the entertainment; verse, oratory, pageantry, quaint disguises, allegorical and dramatic representations often adapted to the natural scenery of park, lake, and garden, all contended to surprise and to enchant. But on this subject it is sufficient to name the 'princely pleasures of Kenilworth.' The festivities at Burley on the Hill, in the time of James, are another, but a less distinguished example of magnificent homage paid by a favourite to his sovereign and benefactor. A solid and permanent proof of hospitable loyalty was sometimes given in the enlarging and costly improvement of mansions (as Theobalds, Gorbamby, Hinchinbrooke) for the fitter reception of the royal visitor. Queen Elizabeth happening to observe, at Sir Thomas Gresham's, that the court-yard would look better if converted into two, Sir Thomas employed workmen in the night, and had the partition completed by the time of her majesty's rising. 'A house is easier divided than united,' was the remark of the kind courtiers, in allusion; it seems, to some 'known differences in this knight's family.' The celebrity attendant on a royal visit adhered long to places as well as persons. A chamber in the decayed tower of Hoghton, in Lancashire, still bears the name of James the First's room. Elizabeth's apartment, and that of her maids of honour, are still known at Weston House, in Warwickshire; her walk 'marked by old thorn-bushes,' at Hengrave, in Norfolk; near Harefield, the farm-house where she was welcomed by allegorical personages; at Bisham Abbey, the well in which she bathed; and at Beddington, in Surrey, her favourite oak. She often shot with a cross-bow in the paddock at Oatlands. At Hawsted, in Suffolk, she is reported to have dropped a silver-handled fan into the moat; and an old approach to Kenninghall Place, in Norfolk, is called Queen Bess's Lane, because she was scratched by the brambles in riding through it.

Among those subjects of King James, who acquired their chief renown by magnificence in entertaining the monarch, two of the most remarkable were Sir George Selby, long distinguished in Northumberland as 'the King's Host;' and a person, to whom we have before alluded, and whose history requires us to couple with the name of Oliver Cromwell the ideas of unthinking frankness and devoted loyalty. Sir Oliver of Hinchinbrooke, the uncle and godfather of the Protector, was a Huntingdonshire gentleman of large property, knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and often member of parliament for his county, where he appears to have been much beloved. He was, in a remote degree, connected with the royal family;

family; his brother, the Protector's father, having married a lady of the Stuart blood. Sir Oliver invited King James to rest at Hinchinbrooke, as he passed Huntingdon on his first journey to the capital; and it was then the loyal knight gave that 'prodigious entertainment,' as Fuller calls it, which was said to be 'the greatest feast that had been given to a king by a subject.' He was soon after made a Knight of the Bath, and, in the course of this reign, received from the crown some few favours of a more substantial kind. The king, in his latter years, was a frequent, if not annual, visitor at Hinchinbrooke. But Sir Oliver had indulged his magnificent spirit too far; his estates melted away, and he acquired the costly reputation of selling 'excellent penny-worths' to those who bought his land, being, at the same time, so upright a dealer, that none who so purchased 'was put to the charge of threepence to make his title.' Shortly after the accession of Charles, he was compelled to part with Hinchinbrooke itself. He assisted in bearing the canopy at Queen Anne's funeral, in 1619; and when the same office was performed for King James, he carried a bannerol by the corpse of his old guest and master. He lived to see the portentous rise of his nephew, and, although more than eighty years old, and residing, with a broken fortune, in a strongly disaffected country, exerted himself as zealously to uphold the cause of King Charles, as he had in better days to entertain King James. His nephew paid him a visit, asked his blessing, and refused to be covered before him; but, at the same time, disarmed the old knight, and seized his plate for the public service. Another interview between them was still more remarkable. The Lord General had sent to Sir Oliver, at Ramsey in Huntingdonshire, where he then lived, demanding a sum of money as a fine, and threatening, if it were not paid, to burn the town. A meeting was appointed, and the two Olivers conferred together on the high bridge of Ramsey. As they sat there, an old woman, zealous in 'the cause,' brought out a cushion for the general; but he rejected the luxury, declaring that he should be unworthy the name of a soldier if he used it. During this scene, some horse, who had attended the parliament-leader, and were drawn up near the town, amused themselves by riding between the legs of a fen-man, who by stilts, or some such means, had made himself a Colossus. The aged Cavalier was obliged to end the parley by submitting to pay a thousand pounds, and supply forty saddlehorses for the army. Still obstinate, in spite of his nephew's rigid schooling, he at last incurred the sequestration of his remaining estates; but from this the general, to his credit, relieved them. Under the Protectorate, Sir Oliver lived



lived in privacy, never paying any court to his powerful relation, nor seeking for himself or his sons, impoverished, like him, in the royal cause, that patronage which they sorely wanted, and which, if sought, might probably have been obtained. He died, overwhelmed with debts, at the age of ninety-three, and is said to have been buried at night, under the false apprehension that his creditors might seize the corpse.

The incidents of King James's visit to Hoghton Tower, Lancashire, in 1617, are sketched in a private journal by Mr. Assheton, of Downham, with that familiar liveliness which brings back past times and scenes more effectually than full and formal description. The first and leading circumstance, and the feeling with which it is continually adverted to, are characteristic both of the age and of the writer.

'June 1. Sunday. Mr. C. P. moved my brother-in-law, Sherborne, from Sir Richard Houghton, to do him such favor, contenance, grace and curtesie, as to wear his cloth, and attend him at Houghton, at the king's coming in August, as divers other gentlemen were moved and would. He likewise moved me. I answered I would be willing and ready to do Sir Richard any service. August 11. My brother Sherborne his taylor brought him a suit of apparel, and us two others, and a livery cloak from Sir Richard Houghton, that we should attend him at the king's coming, rather for his grace and reputation, shewing his neighbours' love, than exacting any mean service.'

'August 17. Houghton. We served the lords with biscuit, wine, and jelly. The Bishop of Chester, Dr. Morton, preached before the king. To dinner. About four o'clock, there was a rush-bearing and piping in the middle court. Then to supper. About ten or eleven o'clock, a masque of horsemen, knights, gentlemen, and courtiers afore the king.'

'This was on Sunday, and the sports might serve as a specimen of the 'honest recreation' which King James had just recommended to his lieges. It is said to have been at Houghton that James knighted the sirlorn; if so, the documents just mentioned fix the event as happening at breakfast on Monday, August the 18th. The incident must have been highly flattering to Sir Arthur Lake and Sir Cecil Trafford, who were dubbed the same morning.

The royal progresses, when conducted under tolerably auspicious circumstances, were no doubt calculated to produce on the

\* 'Although,' says Dr. Whitaker, (from whose history of Whalley these passages are copied,) 'the gradations of society were then such that the gentry of England disdained not, on occasions like the present, to wear the livery of the rank immediately above them, yet there is an evident anxiety in Mr. Assheton's mind to have it understood that his appearing in Sir Richard Houghton's livery was merely as a token of good will.' Sir Richard was at the time sheriff of the county.

people in general the same salutary effect which has attended them in more modern days. The attachment of subjects to their prince, like that between friends at a distance from each other, is best kept alive by timely-repeated personal intercourse; the stir and pleasurable excitation of the popular mind, at such a season, turn naturally to the sovereign's profit; and the glow, even if we suppose it transient, yet dispels many creeping and noxious damps. In the times, too, of Elizabeth and James, when meetings of parliament were yet rare, and the modes of communication between different parts of the realm comparatively few and uncertain, any pains taken by the monarch to survey the country in person might still be acknowledged, by warm-hearted and single-minded persons, as an instance of paternal solicitude exerting itself after the primitive fashion. We read of many petitions presented to the sovereign, and representations laid before the great officers, during progress, which, in later times, would have been consigned to the county or borough members. The answers, at least, are gracious and consolatory; the decay or distress of towns is pitied, the causes are enquired into, and hopes of relief held out.

The advantages which might attend a royal circuit, in the reigns of which we are speaking, were alloyed with many evils. To the courtiers, the order to attend a progress was often most unwelcome; nor is this to be wondered at, if we consider the deprivations to be suffered, the expense to be incurred, the augmented inconvenience and irksomeness of attendance on the sovereign, and the discouragements of travel in times when Elizabeth considered it a 'long and dangerous journey' from London to Bristol. A grudging and contumacious temper was easily awakened in districts which, lying near the favourite royal residences, or being too often included in the progresses, grew from time to time more indifferent to the presence of the court, and more sensible of its irregularities, and those of its ill-governed followers. It was at Thetford, not far from his beloved Newmarket, that James was threatened with an action of trespass for following his game over a farmer's corn. But the royal huntings were described, even in Elizabeth's time, as 'the people's ague.' In truth and soberness, the attendants, of a subordinate class, who followed the court in great numbers, and lived in tents near the entrance of the king's dwelling, not to speak of idle and unacknowledged hangers-on, must often have made the royal march formidable. In James's western progress of 1603, their camp always harboured the plague, and the court carried infection wherever it went.

There was one grievance connected with the progresses, which it may be almost sufficient here to mention in a word, though the subject



subject might engross a volume—purveyance. This right, at all times a fertile source of discontents, never weighed so heavily on the people as during the royal journeys, when the abuses to which it was liable attained their highest pitch. Bacon's well-known address to the King in 1604 gives an appalling picture of the oppression which then resulted from this mode of providing for his Majesty's household.\* James made some sincere efforts for the abatement of these grievances, both in the beginning of his reign, when Bacon delivered the appeal we have mentioned by order of the Commons, and at later periods. The disease was too inveterate for his palliatives; but the time approached when rough and bold practitioners were to make a short cure by severing this limb from the prerogative.

After all contributions levied on the subject, willing or unwilling, the sovereign's own disbursements on a progress were very large; and providing for these was a first step which, in James's time at least, often cost cruel perplexity. In 1619 he raised 20,000*l.* for this purpose, by selling some of his late consort's jewels. Queen Elizabeth's household expenses, on a journey in 1572, were reckoned at 107*l.* a-day, during a month (July); but when Queen Anne left London for Bath in 1613, purposing to stay there ten days, it was supposed at court (perhaps with a large allowance for her Majesty's habits of magnificence) that the excursion would cost thirty thousand pounds. The sum to be raised for the Progress into Scotland was fixed at a hundred thousand, though the king's charges while in that country are said to have been defrayed from the Scottish treasury. Such an expenditure, joined to that of the persons who attended or came to meet the king, could not happen without advantage to many places on the royal line of movement. We scarcely need point out the benefit which must have accrued to artisans and tradespeople.

The arrangements made by towns and cities, on occasions of this kind, form a curious part of Mr. Nichols's collections. When the intended visit has been announced, all is ferment and anxiety; the gates, town-halls, conduits, and crosses, are repaired and painted; there is an activity in mending roads, which intimates that the ordinary state of the thoroughfares was not very creditable; rushes and sand are laid in the streets, garlands suspended across

\* A ludicrous exercise of authority, which may be ranked under this head of exactions, took place when a Venetian embassy waited on King James at Salisbury:—

‘The day they were had to their audience, there was an embargo of coaches before the court gate to bring them thither; but as soon as they were arrived, every man departed with his own coaches for fear of the like arrest, so as the greater part of them were forced to go home on foot, and some of the best sort to stay till midnight for the return of their coaches.’—*Progresses*, vol. iii., p. 1060.

them,

them, stages and scaffolds erected; the townsmen are required, at their own expense and on pain of fines, to renew the pavement adjoining their premises, to repair their bulks and penthouses, and to have their dwellings painted with white and russet, or 'with the colours called white and black.' These orders are sometimes stated to be given by direction of the Lord Chamberlain. On Elizabeth's visit to Norwich, we find unusual pains taken in withdrawing all matters offensive to the eye or nostril. Workmen are hired from Lynn and Yarmouth, the pillory and cage removed, St. John's churchyard wall pulled down and rebuilt, 'the muck hill at Brazen Doors' demolished, and the narrow way at St. Giles's gate enlarged by casting down the hills; every innkeeper is ordered to have a horse always ready for post; no cows are to be brought into the city, no scourers to use any wash, no grocer to try any tallow, &c., during her Majesty's abode. When the Queen came to Sandwich, the hogs were banished to 'certain appointed places'—butchers enjoined to 'carry their offal to the farthest groyne head, till after her Highness's departure,' and brewers 'to have good beer against her coming.'\*

The 'direction to the burgh of Edinburgh,' issued by the Scotch privy council when James—long haunted, according to his own quaint phrase, by 'ane salmon-like longing and desiderium'—was about to visit that capital, is a notable instance of minute regulation, prompted by a laudable anxiety that the ancient kingdom should appear respectable in the eyes of his majesty's new subjects. Having suggested that the strangers and others who attend his majesty to the northern capital will narrowly 'remarke upoun and espy the carriage and conversation of the inhabitantes of the said toun, forme of ther enterteynment and ludging, and gif thair housis be proper, and their bedding and naprie cleane and neate, and according as they sall find they will mak reporte outhir to the credite and honour, or to the reproche and scandall of this burgh,'—the ordinance directs, that after a careful survey there be provided, within 'the burgh of Edinburgh, the Cannounghait, Leythe Wynde, Pleasance, Potterraw, and Weste Porte,' good lodgings for five thousand men, and stables for as many horses; and these quarters are destined for 'his majesty's tryne and followaris come frome England, who mone be accomodate and easit in ludgings and stabillis afoir any of this cuntrie people;' and it is

'recommendit unto the saidis majistrats to see that the saidis ludgingis be furnisht with honnest and cleane bedding, and weel washin and weel

\* Nichols—Elizabeth, vol. ii., p. 134, and vol. i., p. 337, note 1.



smellit naprie and otheris linningis, and with a sufficient number and quantitie of good veshells, cleane and cleir, and of sufficient lairgenes; and, likeways that they caus the tynneis courtis within the saidis boundis to be repairit, and that all their stablairs be furnisht with sufficiencie of corne, strae, and hay; commanding alsua the magistratis of Edinburgh, the Cannogait, Potterraw, and West Porte, that every one of thaim within their awne boundis haif a cair, and gif direction for keeping of their strettis cleene, and that no filthe nor middingis be seen upoun the same, and that no beggaris be seene within thair boundis.—*Progresses of King James*, vol. iii., p. 310, &c.

The magistrates made their survey of lodgings and stables, and reported to the privy council that all the quarters specified in the proclamation were already occupied by noblemen, barons, and gentlemen of the country, so that there was not one free house in the Cannongate. Whereupon the council, by another edict, declare this a matter very offensive to his majesty, and that could noways stand with his majesty's contentment nor the credit of the country, and intimate to the 'noblemen, barons, and gentlemen,' who were minded to fix themselves in the haunts of Squire Christopher Croftangry, that they would be 'frustrat and disappointit of their intentis,' and recommended them to 'provide thameselfis of ludgeings and stablis otherwayes.'

Another proclamation, recommending neatness and the suppression of 'beggars and middings,' was addressed to Aberdeen, probably under the king's immediate direction, for it declares his majesty's anxiety 'that all things be so orderly provided there, that there appear no marks of incivility or token of penury or scant.' James felt, and expressed, with indiscreet openness, a desire to reduce the 'barbarity,' as he termed it, of his native kingdom, to the 'sweet civility' of England.\* This classical city, however, was not rewarded for purifying her streets and sweetening her napery; the king did not come there, but some of his attendants paid the town a visit, and were admitted burgesses. Among these was the king's fool, Archie Armstrong; who, however, was not dubbed a Doctor.

In Scotland, the king was saluted with much Latin but little treasure. At Edinburgh, however, after two harangues, 'ane purse, containing five hundreth double angellis, laid in a silver basing, double over gilt, was propynit to his majesty, quha, with aue myld and gracious countenance, resavit thaim with thair propyne.' Elizabeth once said, when accepting a present of gold pieces, 'We heartily thank you, Master Mayor, and all the rest; nevertheless princes have no need of money;' but James affected no such refinement, and, in truth, he seldom found much induce-

\* Nichols, vol. iii., p. 345.

ment to dissemble his needs. The oratory addressed to him in his native kingdom was of no common cast; the speakers invoked him by the titles 'regum illustrissime,'—'ter maxime,'—'invictissime;' they were themselves 'tuissimi,' and offered pledges 'flammantissimi studii;' they declared that his birth was to the Scots 'Deus è machinâ;' they ascribed to him the several perfections of the greatest writers and philosophers; and to produce his parallel among sovereigns, they put together Augustus, Alexander, Trajan, and Constantine. It was supposed that even the antipodes had heard of his courtesy and liberality; the very hills and groves were said to be refreshed with the dew of his aspect; in his absence the citizens were languishing gyrasoles, in his presence delighted lizards, for he was the sunshine of their beauty. At Glasgow, Master Hay, the commissary, when attempting to speak before him, became 'like one touched with a torpedo or seen of a wolf;' and the Principal of the University, comparing his majesty with the sun, observed, to that luminary's disadvantage, that King James had been received with incredible joy and applause, whereas a descent of the sun into Glasgow would, in all likelihood, be extremely ill-taken.\* Hyperbole was not sufficient; the aid of prodigies was called in—a boy of nine years old harangued the king in Hebrew, and the schoolmaster of Linlithgow spoke verses in the form of a lion.

On no occasion, perhaps, did James feel so perfectly reconciled to the task of public display as when he visited the Universities; and we cannot leave the subject of progresses without attending him to these scenes of his peculiar glory. The accounts of them are sometimes minute and critical; for, when the sovereign was at Oxford, a deputation of Cambridge men attended to note the proceedings; and when the court was at Cambridge, the Oxonians had their mission there. In Elizabeth's time, the proctors acted as envoys on the respective parts. It was natural that the observers on each side should occasionally feel tempted by the spirit of satire; and King James's visits to the two seminaries produced an open war of lampoons between the livelier partisans.

James's first entrance into an English University was at Oxford, on the 27th of August, 1605. Early in the afternoon of that day the chancellor (the Earl of Dorset), the vice-chancellor, and proctors, with some doctors, heads of houses, ancient bachelors in divinity, and other dignitaries, in their caps, gowns, and hoods, rode forth on their footcloths to a place called Aristotle's Well, about a mile from the city. But the neighbourhood of the well

\* *Progresses of King James*, vol. iii. p. 375. It is not uninteresting, at the present day, to see Glasgow described in this speech as 'nec opum copia, nec ædium splendore, nec mœnium ambitu, nec civium dignitate conspicua.'



being dusty and inconvenient, the reverend cavalcade moved forward into a fair meadow adjoining, where they all, 'saving the sergeant of the mace,' alighted, and stayed for his Majesty. They had not recreated themselves long in the meadow when, to their infinite discontent, they saw 'the mayor of the city, twelve aldermen in scarlet, and some six score commoners in black coats guarded with velvet and laid on with Bellament lace,' pushing on to an advanced station, and bidding fair to gain the first audience. The affronted gowmsmen 'made known their grief to the chancellor,' who despatched a sergeant-at-arms to inform the mayor and his brethren that they had forgot themselves, and must on their peril fall into the rear. An humble message was returned by two aldermen on foot; and the rebuked townsmen were fain to retire and soil their scarlet and Bellament lace in the dust at Aristotle's Well. The king, queen, and Prince Henry now appeared, with a richly habited train of nobility. The chancellor advanced and kneeled, and the vice-chancellor delivered a speech commending the University on many accounts, and, lastly, 'that it pleased his Highness to vouchsafe first of all to come and see the same.' 'A Greek testament in folio, washed and ruled,' was presented to the king, and two pair of Oxford gloves, worth 6*l.* a pair, to each of the royal persons. The citizens then had their turn; the town-clerk declaimed, and the mayor presented cups and gold pieces.

On passing the gate of St. John's college, his Majesty was saluted by three youths, representing the weird sisters (sibyllæ), who, in Latin hexameters, bade the descendant of Banquo hail, as king of Scotland, king of England, and king of Ireland; and his queen as daughter, sister, wife, and mother of kings. The occasion is memorable in dramatic history, if it be true that this address, or a translation of it, led Shakspeare to write on the story of Macbeth. Much has been said for the probability of this supposition; but surely the legend of Macbeth and Banquo must have been abundantly discoursed of in England between James's accession and the year when this pageant was exhibited; and Shakspeare could find every circumstance alluded to by the Oxford speakers, and many more, in Holinshed's Chronicle, which, through a great part of Macbeth, he has undoubtedly taken for his guide.

The gowmsmen lined one side of the street as James proceeded, and at Carfax an oration was made in 'good familiar Greek,' as Dr. Hammond of Cambridge called it. The king heard it willingly, 'and the queen much more, because she said she had never Greek.' At Christchurch the public orator made another, 'only preferring their University,' says the Cambridge narrator

narrator whom we follow,\* 'because the king came thither first.' Their Majesties attended the cathedral service, and then retired to their lodging in Christchurch. Prince Henry went to Magdalen, of which he afterwards became a member, having for his tutor John Wilkinson, who in the civil war, according to Wood, 'most ungratefully sided with the rebels.'

On the next day but one, the disputations, or acts, in Divinity, Physic, Law, and Moral and Natural Philosophy, were held before the king, not merely (like those of the Edinburgh men in 1617) 'sine regis fastidio,' but to his boundless delight. 'At a privy nip, if it savoured of wit and learning, and was cleanly carried, he would laugh heartily;' 'if any were long and not very excellent, he would say, away, away—tush, tush, or such like, but not very loud.' This, however, was not all; he frequently took part in the proceedings, and 'the longer he tarried the more he would interpose his speeches.' During the law act he spoke three or four times; on the first occasion, the scholars gave a *plaudite*—the second time, the graver men cried in the end *Vivat Rex*—but, the third time, 'the prince, nobility, and all exclaimed, and that with great vehemency.' At this, if we believe Mr. Chamberlain, his Majesty was never a whit offended. He delivered his judgment in form, and with considerable neatness and ingenuity, on two subjects in law and natural philosophy, arguing on the question, 'an aurum artis operâ possit confici?' that if gold could have been made by human art, Solomon would not have fetched it from the Indies. His aversion to other men's prolixity seems to have forsaken him on this occasion. In one instance, and that after dinner, when the queen and prince had forsaken the scene of debate, he interposed on behalf of a Mr. Baskerville, who, having gone through twenty syllogisms, was about to be cut short by the proctor; 'imo vero procedat hic,' said James—'so he disputed again till the king cut him off.' In the medical act, the merits of tobacco were discussed; one disputant argued in its favour that 'kings, princes, nobles, earls, lords, knights, gentlemen of all countries and nations, reckoning a number, loved it. The king gave instance that there was one king that neither loved nor liked it, which moved great delight.'

The forwardness of James on this occasion was characteristic, and has been much censured. Elizabeth, when she visited the academic bodies, exhibited her acquirements with much greater address; her desire of impressing the gownsmen favourably was at least equal to that of James, but not, like his, carried beyond the limits of discretion by scholastic eagerness. She listened to the disputations, and even occasionally threw in a phrase expressive

\* *Progresses of King James*, vol. i., p. 530—559.



of intelligence and approbation, but she did not dispute or decide; and although she vouchsafed at each university to deliver a public address in Latin, yet it was only on the strongest solicitation, and after desiring several of the nobility, and even the Spanish ambassador, to discharge the office for her. Then, with well-acted reluctance, 'submissâ voce,' and 'often giving back with a graceful presence,' she delivered the oration—which it may not be unreasonable to suppose, like the conduct that ushered it in, a little premeditated. In spite of the fatigue James underwent on this visit, there can be little doubt that he expressed literally the effect it produced upon him, when he exclaimed, in the Bodleian library, 'Were I not a king, I would be a university-man!' He came again to Oxford, in a comparatively private manner, in 1614.

It was not till the following year, that he made his first progress to the sister 'Eye of England.' Among the dramatic pieces exhibited by the Cambridge gowmsmen, at this time, was the pleasant low comedy of *Ignoramus*, which gave such delight to James, and such deep offence to the lawyers. The satire was, no doubt, rendered doubly galling to those who resented it, by the unrestrained applause of the sovereign; but now, when no one is angry on the subject, it seems strange that the fretful murmur of that day should still, from time to time, be faintly re-echoed, and *Ignoramus* gravely represented as an engine directed against the common law of England, and patronized on that account by a king who preferred the civil code as more suitable to his notions of regal authority. We, at least, feel great difficulty in bringing ourselves to believe that James thought of the Pandects while chuckling over the drolleries of *Dulman* and *Pecus*, or built schemes of arbitrary domination on

*'Pimpillos, Pursos; ad ludos ibis et ursos.'*

So much, however, was his majesty delighted with this unconstitutional exhibition, that, we are told, he wished the performers to attend him at Whitehall and repeat the play there; but this was deemed an 'incongruity.' Had James insisted, every actor, probably, would have thought himself a *Laberius*.

Much scandal was given during this visit to Cambridge, by the conferring of honorary degrees on unfit persons, as barbers and apothecaries. The 'scramble for degrees' was not forgotten by the Oxford satirist, Richard Corbet. A grace issued soon after the king's departure, for degrading certain individuals by name, and others who might afterwards be detected, as having obtained their honours surreptitiously. Such an occurrence is

not

not improbable, if we may believe the following account of some proceedings in convocation at Oxford, in August, 1605. 'They pressed in so thick that the Register being there, with pen and ink in his hand, could not take their names, neither did he, or any man else, ask what they were; so they looked like gentlemen, and had gotten on a gown and hood, they were admitted.'—*Progresses of King James*, vol. i., pp. 553, 4.

Jonson alludes to one of these 'scrambles,' probably that at Cambridge, in 'The Staple of News':—

'He is my barber, Tom,  
A pretty scholar, and a master of arts,  
Was made, or went out master of arts, in a throng,  
At the University.'

But it is unfair to dwell on these throngs 'at the University,' as certain *Knights* of the reign of King George IV. (whether or not they ever 'looked like gentlemen') could, would, or should bear us witness.

In tracing the minute record which Mr. Nichols has furnished of James's habits and occupations, it is amusing to contrast the simple and, comparatively, blameless tenor of life thus exhibited, with the fiercely-coloured representations of those memoir-writers who have 'dressed him to posterity' as a monster of corruption and crime; a cruel and tyrannical king, a bad husband, a malevolent father, irreligious, grossly intemperate, an abominable sensualist, and an agent in several murders, including that of his own son. James's ruling inclinations were, as we have said, to literary studies and sylvan exercises: he loved business, but not with a constant and uniform attachment; the spur of vanity, or of some other powerful feeling, was often necessary to revive his activity in public affairs; but the really predominant passion showed itself almost in death, when, arriving sick at Theobalds, in 1619, he had his deer mustered within sight of his litter; and again, when, on the verge of his last illness, he was carried abroad 'to see some flights at the brook.' The death-bed of (the original) Dandie Dinmont, who told his minister that 'the Lord had been *guid* to him,' in so ordering it that the fox-hounds should pass his window during his illness, was hardly more characteristic of the thoroughbred sportsman. As the king's palate required stimulants, so his mind loved to unbend in those amusements which, by magnificence or by grotesque humour, administered a strong and ready excitement: yet, on the one hand, his indulgences of the table never grew into a habit of debauch;\* and, on the other, though his taste in mat-

\* Some writers have accused James of drinking, at times, to intoxication. Peyton, whose charge is the most specific and offensive, is a very worthless authority. Weldon describes him as sometimes 'overtaken,' in his old age, by the contrivance of Buckingham,



ters of pleasantry accorded with the coarseness still prevailing in his age, (and even Queen Elizabeth liked *merry tales*;) yet there are instances of his discouraging the too profane or indecent sallies of those admitted to his society, not excepting Buckingham himself; and the lighter literature which sought his patronage, though occasionally rude and ribald, never presumed to put on the character of libertinism. The masques of Jonson, the delight and glory of Whitehall for many years, might alone refute the historian who describes King James's court as 'incomparably the most disgraceful scene of profligacy which this country has ever witnessed,'\* and even places it in disadvantageous comparison with the court of Charles II.

Conversation was one of the pleasures which James most loved; his table talk was celebrated; and the exercise of wit during the king's meal, by question, disputation, and repartee, was so active and vigorous, that it was often compared to a hunting party. In some of his facetious sallies, as when he said to the shabby candidate for knighthood, who knelt down with a too evident sense of his own unworthiness, 'Look up, man! I have more reason to be ashamed than thou,' even Charles the Second could not have outdone his grandfather. But, though he delighted in the company of men who could appreciate, and, in their turn, display wit and learning, James felt an equal, if not a more genuine satisfaction in society which offered few intellectual pleasures. It is far from uncommon with persons capable of strong literary and scientific exertion, to love those companions whose converse gives rest, not exercise, to the intellect; 'j'y me repose,' said the cleverest of living diplomatists, in reference to the fair lady who took Denon for Crusoe;—but James's fondness for gay and juvenile associates may be further traced to the habits and attachments of his early youth, and, in some degree, perhaps, to a certain spark of boyish wildness which hung about him to the end of his life, and often broke forth strangely from amidst his graver qualities. This part of the king's disposition, though it may not wholly account for, may assist in explaining his hasty predilections for Carr and Villiers;—the zeal and eagerness with which he advanced the fortunes of a favourite once established in his regard, were characteristics of James in

ham, but denies that he was habitually intemperate. Mayerna, however, who was his physician during the last fourteen years of his life, states positively, in his professional minutes, that James's head was never disturbed by wine.—See the Second Series of Mr. Ellis's Letters, vol. iii.

\* Hallam. But the estimates of court morality are sometimes made up from singular data. In Mr. Nichols's *Progresses of James*, (vol. i, p. 498,) it is mentioned as evidence of the 'profligacy of the court,' that some persons of quality in attendance at Whitehall had their rooms broken open and robbed.

most undertakings which he had at heart. But this brings us to the verge of a discussion for which we have no desire, and which would be ill placed in these pages. We shall only add, therefore, on the subject of favourites, that the surmises which have been raised by contemporary insinuation, and supported by ambiguous passages of correspondence, appear to us very imperfectly grounded, and repugnant to a great body of undisputed facts. Mr. Nichols has two or three curious passages on the attempts made at court (but without success) to draw the king's eye upon new minions, when a cloud seemed lowering upon Buckingham. Several of these 'gallants' vanished at once, on a hint from the Lord Chamberlain to 'young Monson,' (son of Sir William, who was implicated in the affair of Somerset and Overbury;)—and Arthur Brett, whom his brother-in-law, the Earl of Middlesex, endeavoured to set up as 'a new idol,' received a much heavier rebuke.

James has been stigmatized as a woman-hater, and yet no man loved better to be a principal gossip on those occasions when the female sex is most predominant; he was often at weddings and christenings, and was an eminent match-maker. Harvey, the Lord Mayor of London, was so 'sick and surfeited' with royal messages, on a proposed marriage between his daughter and a brother of Buckingham, that he lay 'at death's door.' The king even visited him in the city to press Villiers's suit, and once sent for him, his lady and daughter, from a dinner at Merchant Taylors' Hall. These efforts, however, proved ineffectual. The interest taken by James in the marriage and domestic happiness of Buckingham, is worthy of remark on more than one account. In his latter years, James was continually surrounded by the ladies and children of the Villiers' family.

It has been strangely imputed to this king as a fault, that he suffered women to be presented on their knees, a ceremony of which the semblance, at least, is still preserved in a reign of unexceptionable gallantry. The practice of kneeling in the sovereign's presence was maintained with more rigour in Elizabeth's time than in that of James, and its discontinuance by the king would probably have been an occasion of scandal, when his subjects held state so high, that the coachman sometimes rode bareheaded before his master. But it must be owned that James did much to compromise his popularity among his female subjects. One source of lively dissatisfaction was the royal spleen, not sparingly expressed, against 'high-handed women,' and the acrimony with which his majesty censured the pride of maids and wives, who insisted on being brought to London by their fathers and husbands when they had 'no calling or errand' to dwell there. In the winter of 1622 an edict was issued, commanding lords and gentlemen



demen to repair to their houses in the country, and there keep hospitality during Christmas, upon pain and peril that might fall thereon.\* Many who had come to town, with their wives and families, to 'nestle' for the winter, were compelled 'to pack away again,' while it was observed with discontent that Lord Burleigh obtained permission to stay, merely, as scandal averred, because a court masque was preparing, in which his daughter (afterwards the Countess of Oxford) was to sustain a part. At first, the men only complied, taking the order literally; but a second proclamation came forth, 'for their wives and widows to be gone likewise, and that henceforward gentlemen should remain here during the terms only, or other business, without bringing their wives and families;' 'which,' adds Mr. Chamberlain quaintly, 'is *durus sermo* to the women.†' At another time, James attacked the rights of the sex in a still more direct manner, by a proclamation against farthingales, which naturally aggravated the evil.

It has been represented that James was indifferent, if not averse, to his queen, and 'ever best when farthest from her.' Osborne, who describes him as caressing her majesty in public rather indecorously, (for a habit of unseemly fondling was among his slovenly peculiarities,) takes care to prevent any favourable inference, by observing that he was more uxorious before the people than in private, a comparison which our Pauls-walker had, no doubt, excellent opportunities of drawing! James was at least '*comis in uxorem*,' but the volumes before us shew him to have been also kind and affectionate, whatever temporary clouds of discord or mistrust may, especially in the early periods of the reign, have arisen between the royal partners. That they lived separately, and kept distinct courts, may be rather considered a proof (and it was a costly one) of the king's indulgence, than of his neglect. Their pursuits, indeed, were, for the most part, widely different; but James was a constant and delighted attendant on the queen's masques; and of the prodigal expense with which he has been so bitterly reproached, a considerable part was lavished on the magnificence of Anne. Her jewels, at the time of her death, (including, of course, many left by Queen Elizabeth,) were supposed to be worth four hundred thousand pounds; one jeweller (Herrick) swore that he had supplied her to the value of thirty-six thousand. It accords ill with the supposition of dislike or coldness in the king, that her good offices were frequently employed by those who sought his majesty's favour; and she was always a

\* James might have found something like a precedent for this ordinance in an act of the Scottish parliament, passed during his own reign, A.D. 1581.

† Nichols's Progresses of James, iii. 302.

‡ Melvil bears a strong testimony to this effect, in his Memoirs.

kind and zealous intercessor.† We find several not uninteresting notices of the mutual visits paid by the royal couple, and their solicitude for each other, when the queen was drawing near the close of her life, and both were failing in health. The following incident sets James's domestic character in a very brilliant light; and the conduct described has a grace and gallantry, surprising in this homely monarch, but illustrating the familiar observation, that the truest politeness is the offspring of heartfelt benevolence.

‘At their last being at Theobalds,’ (July 1613) ‘the queen, shooting a deer, mistook her mark, and killed Jewel, the king’s most special and favourite hound, at which he stormed exceedingly awhile; but, after he knew who did it, he was soon pacified, and with much kindness wished her not to be troubled with it, for he should love her never the worse; and the next day sent her a diamond worth two thousand pounds, as a legacy from his dead dog. Love and kindness increase daily between them, and it is thought they never were on better terms.’—*Progresses of James*, ii. 671. (From a letter of Mr. Chamberlain.) ‘The king soon after gave her majesty Greenwich Palace.’—*Ibid*, n. 5, and see p. 704.

Such were the acts of a woman-hater, and a prince under whom ‘one man might with more safety have killed another than a rascal deer!’

Queen Anne, though by no means faultless in temper, or eminent in understanding, appears to have had qualities which attracted general regard, and the people watched her last illness with an affectionate concern. In the early part of the reign, her supposed disposition to interfere in politics excited a jealousy far greater, apparently, than circumstances really warranted. In the secret correspondence maintained by Cecil with James before the death of Elizabeth, Anne is mentioned with anxiety as liable, from facility of disposition, to be acted upon by sinister influences. But the evil never became very formidable. Her manners were extremely popular. Cooke, in his ‘Detection,’ boldly panegyricizes her ‘piety, prudence, temperance, and chastity.’ Even Weldon confesses that she was ‘a very brave queen;’ and Osborne, while he censures her uncovered shoulders, yet condescends to observe that her skin was ‘amiable,’ and her disposition ‘debonair.’ As she passed through London to the coronation, ‘she so mildly saluted her subjects,’ that the women were ‘weeping ripe.’ Her fidelity as a wife is unimpeached, except by the most vague scandal, for we ascribe little importance to the advances unhandsonely hinted at by Lord Herbert of Cherbury as wasted upon himself; and even the ‘impartial’ Harris is ashamed of Peyton, when among slanders yet more infamous, he avers that Prince Henry was the son, not of James, but of ‘Lord Saintcleare,’ and that the father



of Charles I. was 'one Mr. Beely, a Dane,' which fact was disclosed by Beely himself to the author 'in great secrecy.' We only mention this libel as a specimen of one of the memoir-writers who are mildly termed 'satirical.' Peyton was apparently a zealot of the highest strain. Sweet indeed must have been the counsel of the saints, if these morsels may be taken as a sample!

During his seasons of activity, James took exceeding delight in the practice of his trade, as he called it, that *king-craft*, which has been the subject of so many sneers. With a remarkable, though not uncommon inconsistency, he applied himself promptly and zealously to those tasks which were not properly within the scope of his 'craft,' while he flagged in the prosecution of its ordinary business. After Cecil's death, he resolved to perform the duties of secretary himself, and at first he 'took delight to show his readiness and ability' in this office, but in about half a year his 'vigour began to relent,' and he found out the necessity of attending to his own health and quiet\*. He wished to sit with his judges in the courts of law. When at Edinburgh in 1617, he attended 'personally and infallibly' every day in the parliament, 'so that there fell not a word amongst them but his majesty was of council with it.' He moderated between the lawyers on the thorny subject of prohibitions; he arbitrated between the older and younger fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, respecting the performance of plays at Shrovetide†. He sent a code of academical regulations, signed with his own hand, to Oxford. no man, indeed, was more ambitious to maintain, in public and in private, the character of a disciplinarian, which his indolence and easiness of temper peculiarly disqualified him from supporting. Even in affairs of gallantry he forebore not to interpose his instructions, for when Prince Charles was at the court of Madrid, he counselled him how to distribute his presents of jewels, and how to compliment the Infanta. If, however, his officiousness was a folly, it was that of the 'wisest fool in Christendom.' The acuteness and vigour of mind which he exhibited on many occasions of the kind to which we have alluded, drew forth the genuine applauses of intelligent men, and his practical good sense would have been more uniformly conspicuous, if the operations of his judgment had not been subject to disturbance, as Wilson too truly observes, by his choler and fear‡. That he was, to use Osborne's

\* Nichols, ii. 517.

† 'The ancientest of them said, that these times required rather prayers and fasting than plays and feasting, which was ill taken, and order given for the plays to go on.' Nichols, iii. 810.

‡ Life and Reign of King James I. Wilson, though sufficiently bitter against King James, is not to be confounded with the mere libellers of this period; he writes with

borne's expression, the promptest man living at discovering an imposture, was proved in the well-known cases of Lady Lake, Haydock the sleeping preacher, and the Leicestershire boy, whose juggle the king detected after nine women had been executed as witches on his testimony, by the judges Winch and Crew, and several others committed, whose lives were saved by James's interposition. When we are enabled by documents to measure the king's talent for business with that of other men placed in contact with him, we find him generally equal, often superior. 'The speaker of the House of Commons,' observes Hume, 'is usually an eminent lawyer; yet the harangue of his majesty will always be found much superior to that of the speaker in every parliament during this reign.' The compliment, however, must be applied to the royal orator's genius, not his policy; for his speeches too often gave an opening and temptation to those very attacks which he was least able to bear or repel. At Oxford, when he mixed in the disputations, the scholar appeared to no disadvantage, however we may judge of the king. In the Hampton Court conference, his knowledge and acuteness were highly distinguished, though he may have incurred some just censure for occasional forwardness of manner and indiscretion in language. This latter point, indeed, was one in which he often failed, as when he called the devil 'a busy bishop,' in the presence of the reverend bench; whereupon Bancroft said drily to Harrington, that 'he thought his majesty might have chosen another name.' In the case of Essex and his countess, James replied to the speech of Archbishop Abbot, in many particulars, with great justness of reasoning; but we abandon to condemnation his most unkingly interference in this proceeding, though there appears no reason to suspect him of having consciously participated in the conspiracy against the earl—and some admissions of Essex himself might have misled a more impartial inquirer.

The literary character of James is, in general, unduly depreciated, and the reproach of pedantry has been cast without reserve on him and on his times, by many who never affix any distinct idea to the term. But whatever blame it infers may well be borne by the age which enjoyed Shakspeare and Jonson; which, we do not say possessed, but, in spite of party feeling, did unanimous justice to, Bacon; which gave the first seeds of poetry to the mind of Milton; and which perfected that solid and majestic monument of the English language, the last translation of the Bible. The husk and shell which, as Sterne says, grow up with

with much talent, often with very striking effect; and he displays, perhaps, more moderation than could have been expected from an adherent of the injured Earl of Essex.

learning,



learning, were not always thrown away, either by the sovereign or by his people, but the fruit was relished and digested. There is a prejudice, very commonly felt, against a writing monarch, especially when he mingles in controversy with subjects; but Henry the Eighth had been a polemical author, Elizabeth was celebrated for her intellectual attainments, and whatever ridicule may attach to the scholar-like pursuits of James, it would doubtless have given occasion to far bitterer sarcasm, if the peaceful and unenterprising Stuart had shrunk from following the career of his predecessors, even in the field of literature. We cannot here enter into the examination of James's merits as a man of letters; but on this, as on many other points, we shall leave his cause in very good hands if we refer to the able pleading of Mr. D'Israeli, a writer who seldom fails to bring new facts, original views, and the candour of a philosophic spirit, to his subjects—and who has few rivals in a delightful department of our literature. James's choice of themes was, in general, unfortunate for his posthumous reputation; the mass of his works would have met with neglect in modern times, whatever had been their quality; but in those which afford to readers of this day the fairest criterion of his abilities, we consider him, at least, entitled to the praise of a sensible and discerning writer, thinking justly, sometimes deeply, expressing his thoughts plainly, and happy in illustration. To compare him with the great wits and philosophers of his own or subsequent times would be extravagant; but many essayists have obtained celebrity without more substantial merit. Two of his works, the *Demonology* and the *Counterblast to Tobacco*, are a standing jest with numbers who probably never saw them. The *Counterblast* is a pamphlet drawn up for the people, in great good temper, with an occasional quiet strain of humour, and an ingenious array of familiar arguments, in a style directly opposed to pedantry, and in language, for the most part, as plainly English as that of Swift himself,—a circumstance worthy of remark in this and some other works of the king, considering how much he had been accustomed, during his earlier life, to write in the Scottish dialect, and how many of its peculiarities he is said to have retained in his conversation. Had the *Counterblast* been Greene's or Decker's, it would have passed as a very pleasant old tract. The *Demonology* is a compilation of the most prevailing doctrines as to certain supernatural agencies,—the summary treatise of a learned man, on a subject which had long occupied the learned.

While James was yet a stripling, says Mr. Gifford, in an excellent passage on this subject,\* he had been indulged with the cross-examination of the Scottish witches; for the defaults of his education,

\* Introduction to Ford's Plays, vol. i., p. clxxi.

which (thanks to the satellites of the regent and Elizabeth) was at once frivolous and gloomy, had rendered him eagerly inquisitive after supernatural agencies, in which he had been trained from infancy to believe. He appears to have furnished himself with all the magical lumber of the times; and from this, together with his small gleanings on the spot, to have drawn up his Dialogue, on which he apparently prided himself not a little. But James was an honest man; those who made him credulous could not make him cruel and unjust, and many things occurred which disturbed his confidence in his creed before he came to the throne of this kingdom. It may be reasonably doubted whether there was an individual in England who cared less about witches than James I., at the moment of his accession. In the act which made witchcraft felony, he rather followed than led, and was pushed on by some of the wisest and best men of the age, who could scarcely restrain their impatience for the re-enactment of the old severities. Even then the king hesitated, and the bill was recalled and re-cast three several times; yet we are required to believe that witchcraft was scarcely heard of in this country "till the example of the *sapient* James made the subject popular!"

To credit the tales of witchcraft was an error shared by James with a great majority of his people, both vulgar and refined; but that very inquisitiveness on the subject which has drawn upon him so much ridicule, at length enabled him to emancipate his mind almost, if not entirely, from the popular superstition. He disbelieved, or doubted, on inquiry and reflection; of those who sneer at his weakness, the greater number reject these fables, as the multitude of that day put faith in them, from prepossession, and the influence of general opinion. Because men have more light than their forefathers, they are too apt to imagine that they have better eyes. The anxiety of James to prevent wanton or careless sacrifices under the law which he had passed, was evinced by his caution to the judges on this point, his admonition to the young Prince Henry, on the same head, in a very kind and judicious letter,\* and his dissatisfaction with Winch and Crew, followed by his own saving interference, in the case of the Leicestershire witches.

"It was not this calumniated prince," says Mr. Gifford, "who, in 1645, despatched that monster of stupidity and blood, Hopkins, the withfinder, and Stern, accompanied by two puritan ministers, and occasionally assisted, as it appears, by Mr. Calamy, "to see that there was no fraud or wrong done!" and the good Mr. Baxter, who took no small satisfaction in the process. "The hanging of a great number of witches," as the latter says, "by the discovery of Hopkins in 1645-1646, is *famously* known." And, indeed, so it ought to be, for it was

\* Where he observes, "Ye have often heard me say that most miracles now-a-days prove but illusions."—Progresses of King James, vol. I., p. 304.



famously performed. In Suffolk, and the neighbouring counties, in two years only, Mr. Ady says there were nearly a hundred hanged; Hutchinson computes them at above fourscore; Butler says that, within the first year, threescore were hung in one shire alone; and Zachary Grey affirms that he "had seen a list of those who suffered for witchcraft during the Presbyterian domination of the Long Parliament, amounting to more than three thousand names!" Yet we hear of nothing but the persecution of witches by "the sapient James," and this base and sottish calumny is repeated from pen to pen without fear and without shame.—*Introduction to Ford's Plays.*

The king's attention to literature was, at least, free from the censure of costliness and prodigality which has attached to some of his habits. A negligent profusion was, indeed, one of his predominant vices, and it has been suggested (seriously or satirically) that his presents of money must have been calculated in pounds Scots. But, whatever imputation of weakness or improvidence may attach to the king on this head, it must always be remembered that the expenditure of his reign did, in fact, press very lightly on a peaceful and thriving nation; and that the difficulties he experienced in raising money sprang, not from the exhaustion of his subjects, but from the desire of their representatives to make rigid terms with a monarch whose predecessor had left the crown too proud and too poor. The magnificence which James encouraged in his family and favourites, if it be a reproach, was that of the country and the time. With the increase of wealth, a taste for luxury and exhibition had spread through all classes. The dramatists of that age perpetually revel in descriptions of vast riches, splendid show, and prodigal enjoyment. Long before James's accession, the citizens of London had petitioned for a relaxation of the sumptuary laws respecting apparel; and, on the other hand, it had been found necessary to prohibit the apprentices from wearing swords, rings, embroidery, silk, or jewels of gold or silver, and from going to any dancing, fencing, or musical schools. We wonder at the gorgeous attire of Hay and Buckingham; but the dress of a common-place gallant in their time exceeded, in richness and expense, the most elaborate extravagance of our own simpler age. The sober liverymen of London decked themselves, on days of state, with chains of gold, pearl, or diamonds.\* The wealthy merchant, Sir Paul Pindar, had a diamond valued at thirty thousand pounds, which he lent to the king on great occasions, but refused to sell.† It was said by the Prince of Anhalt, in 1610, after seeing 'the pleasant triumphs upon the water, and within the city, which, at this time, were extraordinary, in honour of the lord mayor and citizens,' that

\* *Progresses of K. James*, iii. 551.

† *Ibid.* iii. 611. n. 9.

'there

'there was no state nor city in the world that did elect their magistrates with such magnificence, except the city of Venice, unto which the city of London cometh very near.\*' These exhibitions were more splendid, and, though quaint and whimsical, savoured more of intellect and invention than the similar 'triumphs' of the present day.

In this age of splendour and expense, the amusements of Whitehall shone forth with surpassing brilliancy. The English court had far outstripped that of France in refined magnificence; and seldom, perhaps, in any country, have the arts which administer to elegant luxury been displayed in a more resplendent and fascinating union than when Queen Anne, with the flower of English beauty and nobility, presented one of those sweet and learned poetic visions, the masques of Jonson. Whatever was most perfect in music, song, dance, mechanism, or scenic decoration, combined to grace these exquisite pageants; and the enchantments of a night, made glorious by such artificers as 'Ben' and Inigo, and the colleagues with whom they were satisfied to labour, lived long in recollection and tradition, and were not fruitlessly remembered. There are numberless thoughts and turns of phrase in 'Comus,' and in other poems of Milton, which may be distinctly traced to the masques of King James's court. It has been said, and never was a bold assertion less happy, that the taste of Anne, in diversions of this kind, was 'vulgar;' the conclusion has probably been arrived at with the promptitude usual in such cases, by generalizing on some expressions of an ill-natured letter (obviously written in a moment of spleen and personal disappointment), in which Sir Dudley Carleton passes a brief criticism on the 'Masque of Blackness.'

There is, however, an imputation more serious than that of vulgarity, against the court and its festivities. Dr. Lingard, after describing the splendid masques in which Queen Anne was so much distinguished, adds, that there was

'one drawback from the pleasure of such exhibitions, which will hardly be anticipated by the reader. Ebriety at this period was not confined to the male sex, and, on some occasions, females of the highest distinction, who had spent weeks in the study of their respective parts, presented themselves to the spectators in a state of the most disgusting intoxication.'—*History of England*, vol. ix., p. 109.

This is Dr. Lingard's deduction, and one made by other loose interpreters, (though never, we believe, with the same freedom and latitude of expression,) from that celebrated letter of Sir John Harrington, which has perhaps left more reproach on the manners of King James's time than any other piece of 'secret history'

\* *Progresses of King James*, vol. ii., p. 370.



extant. But the truth is, that Sir John's communication has no reference to the Queen, or to the exhibitions at court, of which Dr. Lingard speaks. Harrington is describing the incidents of a four days' entertainment given by Cecil, at Theobalds, (of which he was then the lord,) during a visit of the King of Denmark to his brother-in-law, which undoubtedly brought with it an extraordinary flood of intemperance. The queen's court was at Greenwich, where her majesty had recently lain in, and she took no part in the royal festivities till some days after the departure of the two kings from Theobalds. Who the ladies were that, on their visit to Cecil, 'rolled about in intoxication,' Harrington does not say; nor, as far as we know, is a single hint of the adventure, or of any thing similar, to be found elsewhere. We do not infer from this that Sir John's much-quoted narrative is mere invention; but if the facts mentioned by him had been of ordinary occurrence, or if the scandal of this particular incident had attached to ladies who were usually the partners of the queen's revels, there would surely have been some bitter chronicler to reinforce the testimony of Harrington, by telling us how those fair masquers the Arundels and Bedfords; the Veres, and Wroths, and Cliffords, 'on some occasions,' or at least on this one, disgraced their rank and accomplishments, and put a 'drawback' on the pleasures in which they were engaged, by a public exhibition of 'ebriety.' The pageant in question, with all its circumstances, Faith, Hope, Charity, Victory, haranguing in succession; Peace elbowed by her attendants; and the Queen of Sheba carrying a mess of wine, cream and jelly, is so mean, and so remote from the style and taste of the Whitehall masques, that, passing over accidental disorders, we seem to be reading of a piece composed for the player-boys or children of St. Paul's; and the treatment of the performers, when *hors de combat*, is just such as might befit those personages, one being left sick in the lower hall, and another 'laid to sleep in the outer steps of the antechamber.' It is universally known that in those days the female parts on the stage were always sustained by male performers; and we are no more warranted in drawing from this story the inference suggested by Dr. Lingard, as to the ordinary habits and pleasures of James's court, than in classing the wretched show of Faith, Hope, and Charity with the brilliant Masque of Beauty.

But we must draw to an end:—It has been remarked by Mr. D'Israeli, and is no weak argument of merit in James as a sovereign and father, that the three children of this reviled monarch, Henry, Charles (at the time of which we are speaking), and Elizabeth of Bohemia, were among the most popular of English princes. And if we refuse to believe that a worthless king and

unnatural parent could have surrounded his throne with such a progeny, it is surely not more credible that an age of profligacy and pedantry, a reign of oppression and of national debasement, should have been succeeded, before the lapse of a single generation, by that period in which the English character, considered in all ranks of society, evinced itself most vigorous and masculine, and most apt for counsel, enterprise, and endurance.

But, in those days, progresses were changed to marches, and mansions received the sovereign, not with pageants and recitations, but with the pomp and circumstance of war. Compared with scenes of such high and tragic interest, the secure excursions of the peaceful James, however calculated in themselves to excite and detain attention, must appear a slight and spiritless theme. To some minds, indeed, all subjects of this nature may seem barren and trivial; and we grant that, in affairs of mere show and ceremonial, an over-curious diligence of investigation may be easily, and often justly, ridiculed. But the intercourse of a British monarch with his assembled people, must always afford some matter fitted to engage the grave and enlightened observer; and we need not go far back in the annals of this country to shew instances in which, if the history of public feeling be important in a nation's records, a royal journey or procession has been more truly memorable than a treaty or a conquest. There was no incident of the late reign which entered into the minds and hearts of the people, with a more profound and salutary influence, than the late King's passage through London to St. Paul's, on the happy restoration of his health; the same good prince did not repair to Weymouth in vain, nor will the Progresses of George the Fourth, in the years following his coronation, cease, for many a day to come, to be freshly remembered,—as domestic triumphs, bloodless and unembittered, and a worthy sequel to the warlike glories of the Regency.

**ART. IV.**—*Hän Koong Tsew, or The Sorrows of Hän, a Chinese Tragedy; translated from the Original, with Notes.* By John Francis Davis, F.R.S., Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of the Oriental Translation Committee, &c. 4to. London, 1829.

**T**HE Chinese stand eminently distinguished from other Asiatic nations by their early possession, and extensive use, of the art of printing—of printing, too, in that particular shape, the stereotype, which is best calculated, by multiplying the copies and cheapening the price, to promote the circulation of every species



of their literature. Hence they are, as might be expected, a *reading* people; a certain quantity of education is universal among even the lower classes—and among the higher, it is superfluous to insist on the great estimation in which letters must be held, under a system where learning forms the very threshold of the gate that conducts to fame, honours, and civil employment. Amidst the vast mass of printed books, which is the natural offspring of such a state of things, we make no scruple to avow that the circle of their Belles Lettres, comprised under the three heads of drama, poetry, and romances or novels, has always possessed the highest place in our esteem; and we must say that there appears to us no readier or more agreeable mode of becoming intimately acquainted with a people, from whom Europe can have so little to learn on the score of either moral or physical *science*, than by drawing largely from the inexhaustible stores of their *ornamental literature*. The publication, by that very active and flourishing association, the Oriental Translation Fund, of the Chinese tragedy which stands at the head of this article, furnishes us with an occasion of introducing some observations on the subject—of throwing, we trust, some new lights upon it, and investing it with additional interest—and we are not aware of any better arrangement than the triple classification above stated: 1. The Drama. 2. Poetry. 3. Romances and Novels.

The Chinese themselves make no technical distinctions between *tragedy* and *comedy* in their stage pieces;—the dialogue of which is composed in ordinary prose, while the principal performer now and then chants forth, in unison with music, a species of song or vaudeville, and the name of the tune or air is always inserted at the top of the passage to be sung.

A translator from their language seems, however, at liberty to apply those terms, according to the serious and dignified, or comic and familiar character of the composition which he selects. In chusing his own specimen from among so many, the translator of the Sorrows of Hân, we quote his preface, ‘was influenced by the consideration of its remarkable accordance with our own canons of criticism. The unity of action is complete, and the unities of time and place much less violated than they frequently are on the English stage. The grandeur and gravity of the subject, the rank and dignity of the personages, the tragical catastrophe, and the strict award of poetical justice, might satisfy the most rigid admirer of Grecian rules. The translator has thought it necessary to adhere to the original, in distinguishing by name the first act, or proëm, from the four which follow it; but the distinction is purely nominal, and the piece consists, to all intents and purposes, of *five* acts. It is remarkable that this peculiar

liar division holds true with regard to a large number of the Hundred Plays of Yuen'—from which the present drama is taken.

Love and war, too, very legitimate subjects of tragedy, constitute its whole action, and the language of the imperial lover is frequently passionate to a degree one is not prepared to expect in such a country as China. The nature of its civil institutions, and the degraded state of the female sex, might generally be pronounced unfavourable to the more elevated strains of the erotic muse. The bulk of the people, it might be thought, are too much straitened for the bare means of subsistence, through the pressing demands of an excessive population, to admit of their lounging about and singing, after the most approved manner of idle shepherds and shepherdesses; and the well-educated class, which comprehends almost all the higher ranks, or those in the employ of the government, too proud and unfeeling to make love the theme of their compositions—which are doubtless chiefly confined to moral and speculative, or descriptive subjects. The drama in question, however, may teach us not to pronounce too dogmatically on such points by reasonings *à priori*, but to wait patiently for the fruits of actual research and experience.

The moral of this play is evidently to expose the evil consequences of luxury, effeminacy, and supineness in the sovereign,

‘When love was all an easy monarch’s care,  
Seldom at council, never in a war.’

The subject is strictly historical, and relates to that interesting period of the Chinese annals when the declining strength of the government emboldened the Tartars in their aggressions, and gave rise to the temporising and impolitic system of propitiating those barbarians by alliances and tribute, which at last produced the downfall of the empire, and the establishment of the Mongol dominion. The drama opens with the entrance of the Tartar Khan, reciting these verses:

‘The autumnal gale blows wildly through the grass, amidst our  
woollen tents,  
And the moon of night, shining on the rude huts, hears the  
lament of the mournful pipe:  
The countless hosts, with their bended bows, obey me as their  
leader;  
Our tribes are the distinguished friends of the family of Hân.’

This formidable Seythian displays his friendship after a singular fashion, as we shall see presently. He ends a speech, which may be considered either as a soliloquy, or as an address to the audience, thus,

‘We have moved to the south, and approached the border, claiming  
an alliance with the Imperial race. Yesterday, I despatched an envoy,  
with



with tributary presents, to demand a princess in marriage, but know not if the Emperor will ratify the engagement with the customary oaths. The fineness of the season has drawn away our chiefs on a hunting excursion, amidst the sandy steppes: may they meet with success! for we Tartars have no fields: our bows and arrows are our sole means of subsistence.' [*Exit.*]

The Chinese leave more to the imagination than we do; for they neither contrive that the action should all proceed on one spot, as in the Greek tragedy, nor do they make use of shifting scenes. 'You can never bring in a wall,' says Snug, the joiner—so say the Chinese; and their contrivances, though not quite so absurd as those of the "Mechanicals" in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, are scarcely more artificial.

The next personage that appears is the minister of the emperor, and he at once displays his character by these four verses, with the recital of which he enters:—

'Let a man have the heart of a kite, and the talons of an eagle;  
Let him deceive his superiors, and oppress those below him;  
Let him enlist flattery, insinuation, profligacy, and avarice on his  
side,

And he will find them a lasting assistance through life.'

The falsehood of this bad morality, however, is ultimately proved in the fate of its author, who thus continues:—

'By a hundred arts of specious flattery and address, I have deceived the Emperor, until he places his chief delight in me alone. My words he listens to, and he follows my counsel. Within the precincts of the palace, as without them, who is there but bows before me, who is there but trembles at my approach? But observe the chief art which I have learned—it is this—to persuade the emperor to keep aloof from his wise counsellors, and seek all his pleasures amidst the women of his palace. Thus it is that I strengthen my power and greatness; but, in the midst of my lucubrations, here comes the emperor.

(*Enter the Emperor Yuente, attended by eunuchs and women.*)

*Emp. (Recites verses)*—During the ten generations that have succeeded our acquisition of empire,

My race has alone possessed the four hundred districts of the world:  
Long have the frontiers been bound in tranquillity by the ties of mutual  
oaths;

And our pillow has been undisturbed by grief or anxiety.'

The worthy minister and his sovereign agree that there is no better mode of improving these piping times of peace, than by adding to the numbers of the imperial harem: the favourite is appointed on the spot commissioner of selection, desired to search diligently through the realm for all that is most beautiful of woman—

\* That is, of China.

kind, between the ages of fifteen and twenty, and then furnish his master with portraits of each, as a means of fixing his choice. And so ends the introductory act.

The minister proceeds on his commission, and does just what Falstaff did on his recruiting service—'misuses the king's press most damnably.' The knight, however, takes money for letting off the proper objects of his selection, and discharges those likely fellows, Bullcalf and Mouldy, while he marshals in his ranks the half-faced Shadow, the forceless Feeble, and the ragged Wart. Our emissary, on the contrary, was bribed to take, and not to reject. He met at length with a maiden of uncommon attractions.—

'The brightness of her charms was piercing as an arrow.' She was perfectly beautiful; and doubtless unparalleled in the whole empire. But unfortunately her father is a cultivator of the land, not possessed of much wealth. When I insisted on a hundred ounces of gold, to secure her being the chief object of the imperial choice, they first pleaded their poverty; and then, relying on her extraordinary beauty, rejected my offers altogether. I therefore left them. (*Considers awhile.*)—But no! I have a better plan. (*He knits his brows, and matures his scheme.*) I will disfigure her portrait in such manner, that, when it reaches the emperor, it shall secure her being doomed to neglected seclusion. Thus I shall contrive to make her unhappy for life\*—base is the man who delights not in revenge!"

We next see the lady herself, who appears soliloquizing amidst the shades of night.—

My mother dreamed, on the day I was born, that the light of the moon shone on her bosom, but was soon cast low to the earth.† I was just eighteen years of age when chosen as an inhabitant of the imperial palace; but the minister, Maoyenshow, disappointed in the treasure which he demanded on my account, disfigured my portrait in such manner as to keep me out of the emperor's presence, and now I live in neglected solitude. While at home, I learned a little music, and could play a few airs on the lute. Thus sorrowing in the stillness of midnight, let me practise one of my songs to dispel my griefs. (*Begins to play on the lute.*)

(*Enter Emperor, attended by a eunuch, carrying a light.*)

Emp.—Since the beauties were selected to grace our palace, we have not yet discovered a worthy object on whom to fix our preference. Vexed and disappointed, we have passed this day of leisure, roaming in search of her who may be destined for our imperial choice. (*Hears the lute.*) Is not that some lady's lute?

Attend.—It is; I hasten to advise her of your majesty's approach.

Because, once admitted within the precincts of the palace, she could never return home.

† Boding a short, but fatal distinction to her offspring.

Emp.—



*Emp.*—No, hold! Keeper of the yellow gate, discover to what part of our palace that lady pertains, and bid her approach our presence; but beware lest you alarm her.

*Attend.* (*Approaches in the direction of the sound, and speaks.*)—What lady plays there? The emperor comes; approach to meet him. (*Lady advances.*)

*Emp.*—Keeper of the yellow gate, see that the light burns brightly within your gauze lamp, and hold it nearer to us.

*Lady.* (*Approaching.*)—Had your handmaid but known it was your majesty, she would have been less tardy; forgive, then, this delay.

*Emp.*—Truly, this is a very perfect beauty! From what quarter come such superior charms?

The secret is now discovered, and the lady makes known to his majesty the cruel perfidy of the minister.

\* *Emp.*—Keeper of the yellow gate, bring us that picture, that we may view it. (*Sees the picture.*) Ah! how has he dimmed the purity of the gem, bright as the waves in autumn! (*To the attendant.*) Transmit our pleasure to the officer of the guard, to behead Maouyenshow, and report to us his execution.

The traitor, however, contrives to escape from this *tranchant* sentence, and, in the next act, flies to the Tartar camp with a true likeness of the lady (now created a princess), which he exhibits to the barbarian king, and persuades him, with ingenious villainy, to demand her of the emperor. No sooner said than done: an envoy is despatched by the khan, who adds—‘Should he refuse, I will presently invade the south: his hills and rivers shall be exposed to ravage. Our warriors will commence by hunting, as they proceed on their way; and thus, gradually entering the frontiers, I shall be ready to act as may best suit the occasion.’

The unfortunate emperor’s fondness continues to increase; and the arrival of the Tartar envoy fills him with perplexity and despair. He calls on his servants to rid him of these invaders; but they bewail the weakness of the empire, point out the necessity of the sacrifice, and call on his majesty to consult the peace and safety of his realms by complying with the khan’s demand. He consents, after a struggle, to yield up the princess; but insists on accompanying her a part of the way. In the following act we have the parting scene:—

\* *Envoy.*—Lady, let us urge you to proceed on your way; the sky darkens, and night is coming on.

*Prin.*—Alas! when shall I again behold your majesty? I will take off my robes of distinction and leave them behind me. To-day in the palace of Hân; to-morrow I shall be espoused to a stranger. I cease to wear these splendid vestments; they shall no longer adorn my beauty in the eyes of men!

*Envoy.*—Again let us urge you, princess, to depart; we have delayed but too long already!

*Emp.*—

*Emp.*—'Tis done!—Princess, when you are gone, let your thoughts forbear to dwell with sorrow and resentment upon us. (*They part.*)—And am I the great monarch of the line of Hân?

*Presid.*—Let your majesty cease to dwell with such grief upon this subject!

*Emp.*—She is gone! In vain have we maintained those armed heroes on the frontiers. Mention but swords and spears, and they tremble at their hearts like a young deer. The princess has this day performed what belonged to themselves; and yet do they affect the semblance of men!

*Presid.*—Your majesty is entreated to return to the palace; dwell not so bitterly, sir, on her memory; allow her to depart!

*Emp.*—Did I not think of her, I had a heart of iron—a heart of iron! The tears of my grief stream in a thousand channels. This evening shall her likeness be suspended in the palace, where I will sacrifice to it; and tapers, with their silvery light, shall illuminate her chamber.

Then comes the catastrophe. The Tartar army retires with its prize, and they proceed on their march towards the north, until they reach the banks of the river Amoor, or Saghalien, which falls into the sea of Ochotsk,

\* *Princess.*—What place is this?

*Envoy.*—It is the river of the Black Dragon, the frontier of the Tartar territories, and those of China. This southern shore is the Emperor's—on the northern side commences our Tartar dominion.

*Princess.*—(*To the Khan*)—Great King, I take a cup of wine, and pour a libation towards the south—my last farewell to the Emperor. —(*Pours the libation.*)—Emperor of Hân, this life is finished; I await thee in the next!—(*Throws herself into the river.*)

The lady is drowned, and the khan, in great sorrow, decrees that her sepulchre shall be placed on the river's bank, and called 'the verdant tomb.' This is said to exist at the present day, and to remain green all the year round, while the vegetation of the desert in which it stands is parched by the summer sun. With more generosity than might have been expected from him, the Tartar remits all further demands on the emperor, and directs that the wicked cause of these misfortunes shall be delivered over to the Chinese, to receive the just reward of his misdeeds.

The last act opens with the grief of Yuenta at his recent loss; and the princess appears to him in a vision, which vision, however, is not a whit more extravagant than the similar scene in our own tragedy of Richard III.—*cum multis aliis*. But let our readers judge for themselves.

\* *Emp.*—Since the Princess was yielded to the Tartars, we have not held an audience. The lonely silence of night increases our melancholy! We take the picture of that fair one and suspend it here, as

*some*



some small solace to our grief. (*To the attendant*)—Keeper of the yellow gate, behold, the incense in yonder vase is burnt out; hasten, then, to add some more. Though we cannot see her, we may at least retain this shadow, and, while life remains, betoken our regard. But, oppressed and weary, we would fain take a little repose.—(*Lies down to sleep.*)

(*The Princess appears before him in a vision.*)

*Princess.*—Delivered over as a captive to appease the barbarians, they would have conveyed me to their northern country; but I took an occasion to elude them, and have escaped back. Is not this the Emperor, my Sovereign?—Sir, behold me again restored.

(*A Tartar soldier appears in the vision.*)

*Sold.*—While I chanced to sleep, the lady, our captive, has made her escape, and returned home—Is not this she? (*Carries her off.*)

(*The Emperor starts from his sleep.*)

*Emp.*—We just saw the Princess returned; but alas, how quickly has she vanished! In bright day she answered not to our call, but when morning dawned on our troubled sleep, a vision presented her in this spot. (*Hears the wild-fowl's cry.*) Hark! the passing fowl

screamed twice or thrice! Can it know there is one so desolate as I? (*Cries repeated.*) Perhaps, worn out and weak, hungry and emaciated, they bewail at once the broad nets of the south, and the tough bows of the north. (*Cries repeated.*) The screams of those water birds but increase our melancholy!

*Attend.*—Let your majesty cease this sorrow, and have some regard to your sacred person.

*Emp.*—My sorrows are beyond control. Cease to upbraid this excess of feeling, since ye are all subject to the same. You doleful cry is not the note of the swallow on the carved rafters, nor the song of the variegated bird on the blossoming tree. The Princess has abandoned her home! Know ye in what place she grieves; listening, like me, to the screams of the wild bird?

(*Enter President.*)

*Presid.*—This day, after the close of the morning council, a foreign envoy appeared, bringing with him the fettered traitor Maoyenshow. He announces that the renegade, by deserting his allegiance, led to the breach of truce, and occasioned all these calamities. The Princess is no more!—and the Khan wishes for peace and friendship between the two nations. The envoy attends with reverence your imperial decision.

*Emp.*—Then strike off the traitor's head, and be it presented as an offering to the shade of the Princess! Let a fit banquet be got ready for the envoy, preparatory to his return. (*Recites these verses.*)

\* *Yengo*, a species of wild-geese (as well as the *yuenying*—*lunas mobilis*), is the emblem in China of intersexual attachment and fidelity, being said never to pair again after the loss of its mate. An image of it is worshipped by newly-married couples.

"At the fall of the leaf, when the wild-fowl's cry was heard in the recesses of the palace,  
 Sad dreams returned to our lonely pillow—we thought of her through the night:  
 Her verdant tomb remains—but where shall we seek herself?  
 The perfidious painter's head shall atone for the beauty which he wronged!"

This may, perhaps, be considered as no unfavourable specimen of dramatic taste in China. One thing, at least, is certain, that Voltaire constructed a tragedy (*L'Orphelin de la Chine*) which pleased his fastidious countrymen, out of the materials afforded him by a less inviting selection from the Hundred Plays of Yuen, translated by Père Premare. The richness of their theatre is proved by a list of two hundred volumes of plays, appended by Mr. Davis to his preface. It has been very truly observed of the Chinese, that, like the rabble of imperial Rome, the two things which they most care for are—*Panis et Circenses*—rice and raree-shows; the policy of despotism in either case finding it convenient to fill the bellies and amuse the minds of its subjects, in order to keep them quiet. In China, no sooner does a famine take place, than revolts are immediately apprehended; and unless the cravings of the populace can be allayed by supplies from the public granaries, these apprehensions are seldom groundless. Taught, according to their paternal notions of government, to consider the good which they enjoy in prosperity as resulting from the care of the emperor and his representatives, the people very naturally refer the evils which they suffer in adversity to remissness and improvidence in the same quarter; and the government, not ignorant of the danger, is proportionably cautious in guarding against it.

Another observation or two, and we have done with the Chinese drama. In their play-books, certain words are adopted, to point out the general characteristics of the different dramatis personæ, and these particular words are made use of in every play indiscriminately, whether its complexion be tragic or comic. No similar usage can be found on the European stage, unless, indeed, we except the invariable terms of *Harlequin*, &c., copied in our English pantomime from the early Italian theatre,—still marking with precision the station and character of the several performers, however varied may be the action of the piece. The great divisions of a play, or the acts, as we style them, exist, perhaps, rather in the book than in the representation, being, on the Chinese stage, not so distinctly marked as on ours, by the lapse of a considerable interval of time. The opening act, or proëm, in which the different characters introduce themselves very much

after



after the fashion of the Greek tragedy, is called by a name which means literally *a door, or the side posts of a door*, and hence metaphorically *the opening*. The rest are styled *breaks*. The words *shang* and *hea*, to 'ascend' and 'descend,' are used for *enter* and *exit*.

We now turn to the poetry of China; and here we could expatiate at a length which our time and space at present forbid. With reference to mere versification, or the construction of lines, couplets, and stanzas, we could prove that the sounds of the spoken language sufficiently adapt it to the purposes of metrical composition—that verse is distinguished by the variation of certain tones or accents, as prescribed by rule; by the use of poetical numbers, or measure; by the observance of a regular caesural pause; by the recurrence of terminal rhymes; and by the rhythmic effect resulting from what has been called the *parallelism* of couplets. A stupid notion seems to have existed, that the whole merit of Chinese poetry lay in some curious and fanciful selection of the characters, with a reference to their component parts. As a medium for the communication of ideas, the written language certainly differs from alphabetic systems; but, after all, the characters are the *means* only, and not the *end*: the melody of the sound, the harmony of the structure, and the justness of the sentiment, or beauty of the imagery, constitute, as they do every where else, the merits of poetical composition.

Leaving the other properties of Chinese verse to be discussed in a more professed treatise, we will here notice one feature, which is, perhaps, the most interesting of all, as it presents a striking coincidence with what has been remarked of the poetry of another Asiatic nation.\* In the preliminary dissertation on Hebrew poetry, prefixed to his translation of Isaiah, Bishop Lowth has treated, at some length, of a peculiar property which he calls parallelism. What this is, will be best explained in his own words:—'The correspondence of one verse or line with another, I call parallelism. When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, or drawn under it, equivalent or contrasted with it in sense, or similar to it in the form of grammatical construction—these I call parallel lines; and the words or phrases answering one to another in the corresponding lines, parallel terms. Parallel lines may be reduced to three sorts—parallels *synonymous*, parallels *antithetic*, and parallels *synthetic*.'

The first kind, Dr. Lowth defines to be those 'which correspond one to another by expressing the *same* sense in different, but equivalent terms; when a proposition is delivered, and is

\* For the first hint that led to the comparison which is here instituted, we stand indebted to Dr. Morrison.

immediately repeated, in the whole or in part, the expression being varied, but the sense entirely or nearly the same.\* The reader is furnished below with examples from the Chinese, which will, perhaps, be considered as answering to the above description of the Hebrew—with this only difference, that the peculiar structure of the language of which we now write, generally renders the parallelism much more exact, and therefore much more striking and obvious, as it is usually *word for word*, the one written opposite to the other. The first two lines have a figurative reference to the perfection of a person's moral character.

'The white stone, unfractured, ranks as most precious;

The blue lily, unblemished, emits the finest fragrance.

The heart, when it is harassed, finds no place of rest;

The mind, in the midst of bitterness, thinks only of grief.'

The second kind of parallelism is the antithetic, 'where,' according to the definition of Bishop Lowth, 'two lines correspond with one another by an *opposition* of terms and sentiments.' He observes, with reference to his own subject, that 'the degrees of antithesis are various, from an exact contraposition of word to word through the whole sentence, down to a general disparity, with something of a contrariety in the two propositions.' It may be remarked, with regard to the Chinese, that the antithesis is commonly perfect, both in sentiments and terms. It is further to be observed, that the learned prelate takes most of his examples under this head from the proverbs of Solomon, 'where they abound; for this form is peculiarly adapted to that kind of writing, to adages, aphorisms, and detached sentences.' Now, as relates to the Chinese, the case is precisely the same, and no doubt for the same reason. In going over, by way of experiment, a collection of maxims,\* one immediately finds that a large portion answers to the foregoing description. For example:—

'With few cravings of the heart, the health is flourishing;

With many anxious thoughts, the constitution decays.

Unsullied poverty is always happy;

Impure wealth brings many sorrows.

Consider not any vice as trivial, and *therefore* practise it;

Regard not any virtue as unimportant, and *therefore* neglect it.

Prosecuting virtue, is like ascending a steep;

Pursuing vice, like rushing down a precipice.'

But the antithetic parallel is used not merely to give a force to aphorisms. It appears occasionally, though perhaps somewhat less often, in the course of poetry, and is found to exist in every

\* Chinese Moral Maxims. London. 1823.



degree, from the strong mutual opposition of *all* the corresponding words in a couplet, to that of only *some* of them.

'Supinely gazing, now I vent my sighs,  
Now, bending down, in tears my sorrow flows;  
The wealthy alien claims connubial ties,  
The needy kinsman no relation knows.'

The third sort of parallel noticed by Dr. Lowth, is what he denominates the *synthetic*, or constructive, where each word and line does not exactly answer to its fellow, as either equivalent or opposite in *sense*, but where there is a marked correspondence and equality in the *construction* of the lines, 'such as noun answering to noun, verb to verb, member to member, negative to negative, interrogative to interrogative.' This is by far the most common species of parallelism with the Chinese: indeed, the two first sorts already described are generally accompanied by this last. The correspondence of *sense*, whether it consist in equivalency or opposition, is almost always attended by correspondence of construction: the latter is often found without the former, while the converse seldom takes place. It pervades their poetry universally, forms its chief characteristic feature, and is the source of a great deal of its artificial beauty. In the specimens already adduced by us, it may be observed to exist in a more or less marked degree; and it seems superfluous to multiply particular examples here. The constructional parallelism of sentences extends also to prose composition, and is very frequent in their essays, or *fine writing*—a species of measured prose, though not written line beside line, like poetry. Indeed, all the three kinds may be met with occasionally in every description of writing that rises at all above the style of mere conversation or plain narrative. They do not *alone* constitute poetry, which must have the several other qualifications before mentioned, as measure, rhyme, &c.; but, being allied to art and embellishment, they claim verse as their proper province, and are carried there to a higher degree of refinement than elsewhere. The three following prose sentences, in which there is a parallelism throughout, combined with a sort of anti-climax, are introduced chiefly for the sake of noticing a striking coincidence of sentiment in a quarter where one is not prepared to meet with it, except in the case of the most obvious, simple, and general truths.

'The highest order of men (called *Shing*, PERFECT, or inspired) are virtuous or wise, independently of instruction; the middle class of men (*Hëen*, GOOD, or MORAL) are so after instruction; the lowest order (*Yu*, STUPID, or WORTHLESS) are vicious in spite of instruction.'

\* The Heir in Old Age, p. 9.

These three classes are, strange to say, most exactly defined in the following passage from the Works and Days of Hesiod.\* The sentiment could scarcely be more nearly rendered.

Οὗτος μὲν ΠΑΝΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ, ὅς αὐτὸς πάντα γόησει,

ΕΣΘΛΟΣ δ' αὖ κ' ἄριστος, ὅς ἐν εἰπόντι πίθηται,

† Ὅς δὲ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς γόη, μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων  
Ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὅδ' αὖτ' ΑΧΡΗΪΟΣ ἀνής,†

Of the different sorts of parallelism we may add, that in no other language could they be carried to such a height as they are in Chinese. The exact equality in the number of words which form each line of a poetical couplet, and the almost total absence of recurring particles that encumber our European languages, admit of their being adopted with peculiar effect. There is something of an antithetic parallel in the two first lines of Horace's well-known apologue, which has been noticed by the French critic La Harpe.

Rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur

Accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum.

But to make this resemble the arrangement of a Chinese couplet—to render the antithesis *sentential* as well as *verbal*—it would be necessary to set prosody at defiance, and write the corresponding words opposite to one another, somewhat in the following way;—

Rusticus mus, vetus hospes, accepisse fertur,

Urbanum murem, veterem amicum, cavo paupere.

It is evident that this transposition ruins the peculiar beauty of expression in the Latin, arising from the immediate contiguity of the antithetic, or corresponding words in the same line, which would be impracticable in the Chinese, a language entirely devoid of all inversion. Such refinements, though to some they may appear to savour of trifling, certainly contribute to heighten the peculiar rhythmus of the poetry into which they are introduced, and enhance the merit of the composition, on the same principle that makes our neighbours, the French, so fond of rhyming tragedies, and the unities of the drama—'L'art en devient plus difficile, et les difficultés vaincues donnent en tout genre du plaisir et de la gloire.'

The Chinese are so fond of their parallelisms, that the most common decorations of rooms, halls, and temples, are ornamental labels, hung opposite to each other, or side by side, and called

\* Edit. Robinson, p. 146.

† 'He, indeed, is the best of all men, who of himself hath known all wisdom; though he is good, who hath obeyed a good instructor: but he is the worthless man, who hath neither possessed spontaneous wisdom, nor acquired it by listening to another.'



*Tuyléen*, which has precisely the meaning of the English term. These are sometimes inscribed on coloured paper, sometimes carved on wood, and distinguished by painting and gilding, but always in pairs. They have, generally, an allusion to the circumstances of the dwelling, or of the inhabitant; and, by way of illustration merely, we might imagine some Chinese, who affected a just mediocrity in his desires and wishes, suspending on one side of his study a sentence which should have the meaning of

\* *Caret obsoleti sordibus tecti ;*

and exactly opposite to it another sentence, in as many words,

\* *Caret invidendâ sobrius aulâ.*

We now proceed to inquire into the spirit that animates the poetry of the Chinese—to investigate the character of its imagery and sentiment—and ascertain, moreover, under what separate classes this department of their literature may be properly arranged, when viewed in relation to the divisions and nomenclature of European criticism. And here we deem it necessary to premise that such a mode of treating our subject is not adopted with the desire, or, indeed, with much prospect, of discovering any great correspondence or resemblance; but the process of comparison, to whatever result it may lead, is always useful on such occasions. It serves to methodise and give clearness to our conceptions of a subject comparatively new; as the artist sometimes introduces into his sketch a few objects of known and determinate dimensions, to assist in conveying juster notions of what he represents besides. On this occasion, too, it has another and a peculiar use; for everything concerning China stands so insulated and remote from whatever generally constitutes a source of interest to Englishmen, that the only effectual way of attracting attention to it is by bringing it in contact with objects nearer home, and thus allowing it to derive its fair share of advantage from association.

Unless submitted with some degree of allowance to the severe touchstone of European taste, the poetry of China might possibly succeed but indifferently. The test, if it be not considerably applied, is not only an illiberal, but an absurd one; and we have no right hastily to condemn the devotion which the ultragangetic muse (however foreign to ourselves may be her features and garb) inspires in her own native haunts; or to be surprised at the number of her exalted admirers, from Confucius down to Kéenloong—considering that national taste is the most conventional and capricious thing in the world; that it is determined by the infinite varieties of national character, national models, and national associations; and that even with the same old copies to refer to, and with a general similarity of institutions and customs, the

the different nations of the great European community vary on such points not a little among themselves.—But here

— Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim.\*

There seem to be two causes to which Chinese literature, of the lighter or ornamental kind, has owed its indifferent reception in the west—first, a want of choice and selection in the subjects; and secondly, a considerable absence of taste and judgment in the mode of treating them. It is really too much to expect that people will trouble themselves to look at what is either stupid and good-for-nothing in itself, or so marred in the intermediate process, as to have lost whatever attraction it originally possessed. Let us only place the Chinese in our own situation on such occasions, and imagine the dismay of some fastidious scholar, who should unluckily stumble upon one of our street-ballads, *done* into bad Chinese—that is, with a verbal adherence to the original. It would either prove a perfect enigma, (which is supposing the most fortunate case,) or he would thank his stars that the broad ocean separated him from such savages, and burn a supernumerary stick of incense before the shrine of his deified patron. To weary the attention with a mere list of barbari-phonous and uncouth exotic names, to produce some bald and miserably verbal translation—to present the mere *caput mortuum* of something that in its original shape possessed spirit and beauty, is, in fact, scaring away attention from a new subject, which, with a little discretion, might be rendered sufficiently attractive even to general readers.

Between the greater number of European languages there is a certain connexion, which allows literalness of rendering to be carried to a great extent; but a verbal translation from the one, concerning which we now treat, must of necessity degenerate into a horrible jargon, which few persons will undergo the disgust of perusing. These observations do not apply in the same manner to works of scientific or doctrinal detail, as to those of mere taste, whose end and aim is to convey pleasure as well as instruction, though, perhaps, chiefly the first. A certain distinction, too, must be made between prose and poetry; the former, doubtless, both requires and admits of a closer rendering: with regard to the literal translation of the latter, we may adopt the happy illustration of Don Quixote in the printing shop of Barcelona: ‘Es como quien mira los tapices flamencos por el revers.’\* Verse then must be the shape into which Chinese, as well as all other poetry, ought to be converted, in order to do it mere justice; though, for our present purposes, we shall be obliged to adopt

\* Don Quixote, parte II. capit. lxii.



by turns a prose translation, a faithful metrical version, or an avowed paraphrase, as might best suit the subject and the occasion. More has been deferred herein, than suited our own judgment and inclinations, to the prejudices of those who are still partial to the literal side of the question.

To take up our subject at its commencement, the earliest poetry of China, like that of all other nations, appears to have consisted in songs and odes, intended occasionally to be accompanied by music. Such is the nature of that curious compilation, made more than two thousand years since by Confucius, and illustrative of a state of things certainly very different from that which exists at the present day. It is divided into four portions, of which the first, the largest, and most interesting, is called Kwō-fong—'the manners of different states,' that is, of the states into which a portion of the present empire was then divided. These had all of them a kind of feudal dependence on one sovereign, who, in order to possess himself of the best means of estimating the character and sentiments of the various people more or less under his sway, was furnished with the songs and odes, most popular in each of them. This agrees, in a singular manner, with the following remark of a writer in the *Spectator*:—

'I have heard,' says he, 'that a minister of state, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had all manner of books and ballads brought to him, of what kind soever, and took great notice how much they took with the people; upon which he would, and certainly might, very well judge of their present dispositions, and the most proper way of applying them according to his own purposes.'

The bulk of these curious vestiges of antiquity do not rise beyond the most primitive simplicity, and their style and language, without the minute commentary that accompanies them, would not be always intelligible at the present day. This commentary, however, explains and elucidates their meaning, and by means of the historical associations which it serves to convey, renders these songs the favourite study of the better informed at the present remote period. Every well-educated Chinese has the most celebrated pieces by heart, and there are constant allusions to them in modern poetry and writings of all kinds. Each stanza frequently ends with a species of repetition or 'refrain,' common to such compositions in general; and in proof of the extreme simplicity of these primitive songs, one of them is presented below. In our paraphrase, it has been necessary to embody the full sense of what is only hinted at in the original, and explained at length in the commentary, according to which commentary the ode has a reference to the success of a rich and powerful suitor, who carries off

the bride that had already been contracted to a humble rival. The *kien*, or robber-bird, is constantly alluded to in modern writing, as the emblem of unjust appropriation:—

The nest yon winged artist builds,

The robber-bird shall tear away;

So yields her hopes the affianced maid,

Some wealthy lord's reluctant prey.

The anxious bird prepares a home,

In which the spoiler soon shall dwell;

Forth goes the weeping bride constrain'd,

A hundred cars the triumph swell.

Mourn for the tiny architect,

A stronger bird hath ta'en its nest;

Mourn for the hapless, stolen bride,

How vain the pomp to soothe her breast!

The second and third parts of the ancient book of odes, called respectively *Taya* and *Seaiuya*, are said to have been composed for the purpose of being sung or recited on state occasions; they treat of the great and virtuous actions of heroes and sages, or express their sentiments. The following example, however, which is taken from the *Seaiuya*, would seem rather to be of a more private description. It is explained as referring to the pain felt by the poet at the unworthy conduct of some ungrateful friend; and the allusions to the storm, &c. are, of course, figurative.

Now scarce is heard the zephyr's sigh

To breathe along the narrow vale;

Now sudden bursts the storm on high,

In mingled rush of rain and hail:

While adverse fortune louring frown'd,

Than ours no tie could closer be;

But lo, when ease and joy were found,

Spurn'd was I, ingrate—spurn'd by thee!

Now scarce is felt the fanning air,

Along the valley's sloping side;

Now winds arise, and lightnings glare,

Pours the fell storm its dreadful tide:

While fears and troubles closely prest,

By thee my love was gladly sought;

But once again with quiet blest,

Thou view'st me as a thing of nought!

The faithless calm shall shift again,

Another gale the bleak hill rend;

And every blade shall wither then,

And every tree before it bend;

Then



Then shalt thou wail thy lonesome lot,  
 Then vainly seek the injured man,  
 Whose virtues thou hadst all forgot,  
 And only learn'd his faults to scan!

The fourth and last portion of the ancient poetical classic is called *Soong*, that is, eulogies or panegyrics on the ancestors of the dynasty *Chow*, then filling the throne, and on the great personages of antiquity. They appear to have been a species of hymn, sung before the emperor when he sacrificed as *pontifex maximus* (which has always been the particular office of Chinese sovereigns) in the temples of heaven and earth, or in the hall of his ancestors. Whatever may be the real character of the Sheeking, on the score of poetical merit, it is at least curious as having been *compiled* more than twenty centuries prior to our time, and some portion of it *composed* at a still earlier date. A pervading characteristic of the whole, as might be predicted of the early poetry of every country, is the boldness and frequency of the figures which are introduced.

It may be laid down as a general rule, that every species of composition will be studied and perfected, in proportion to the estimation in which it is held, or the grandeur or interest of the occasions on which it is employed. When lyric compositions, like the odes of Pindar, or the *Carmen Seculare*, &c. of Horace, were displayed on great national and religious festivals, or shone forth the subjects of public or imperial patronage, they became objects to which the first geniuses of the age directed their efforts; and the perfection they attained was commensurate with the esteem in which they were held. In modern China, if odes are expressly composed for great court ceremonies, we have not yet met with any. Such ceremonies are frequently accompanied by music; but that there are words to the music has not been so clearly ascertained.

Popular songs and ballads hold at present but a low rank in the literature of the country; and if we should even go so far as to include, under that denomination, the detached snatches of irregular verse, which are met with in their drama, the truth of the position would not be materially affected. The stage and everything pertaining to it enjoys a lower estimation than in any part of Europe: and we may take occasion to notice in this place, that the Chinese cannot strictly be said to possess dramatic poetry in the sense which the term bears among ourselves, who apply it to the whole of a dramatic composition, and chiefly to tragedy.

The most flourishing era of modern poetry was under the T'ang dynasty, and the most celebrated poet of that age was the renowned *Letaepih*, born in the province *Szechuen*, about A.D. 720. He is made to give the following account of himself, in a play called the *Golden Token*:—

“When

'When I was born,' says the poet, 'my mother dreamed that the morning-star shone upon her bosom, and hence called me *Taepih*, "surpassing brightness." When the Emperor Yuentsoong commenced his reign, I was admitted to an audience in the imperial hall, and conversed of state-affairs. The Son of Heaven conferred on me a repast, and helped me with his own hand.'

The poetical character in China has of old been associated with the liberal use of wine: and *Letaepih*'s intemperate propensities occasioned, it is said, his banishment from court. Any one who thought it worth his while to know more concerning this person, and some of his contemporaries, might find their lives (though without their poetry) given at some length by Father Amyot in the fifth volume of the *Mémoires sur les Chinois*.

A number of esteemed collections, called '*Tāngshee*, or Poems of the *Tāng* Dynasty,' are regarded, for the most part, as the compositions of *Letaepih*, and a few more of the better poets of that day. They contain many favourable specimens, evincing both taste and imagination, and the following passage may, perhaps, be considered as tolerable. A person, fishing in a boat upon a lake, is supposed to have been led, by the track of peach-blossoms floating on the water, into a narrow creek, which he pursued to a distance, until he reached a place inhabited by beings, who from the primitive simplicity of their manners seemed to have escaped, in that secluded retreat, the persecution of the celebrated tyrant *Tsinchehwong*, and to have had no communication with the rest of the world since. On his return from this little Chinese paradise, the adventurous boatman related what he had seen—or, perchance, only dreamed; but on attempting to find the place again, it had vanished. There is a neat allusion to the famous burning of the books by the tyrant's command:—

*The Inlet of Peach-blossoms.*

Few were th' inhabitants of that fair dell,  
Remnants their manners were of other days—  
Flourish'd their fields in peace—no impost fell  
Midway check'd labour's fruitful course—the lays  
Their children sung had 'scaped the general blaze!  
Adown the vale was heard the cock's shrill strain;  
The watch-dog's voice welcomed the morning rays.  
Oh, could my bark those happy fields regain,  
Long years of toil I'd brave—nor deem my labour vain!

The following specimen is from the same collection with the preceding. The value of timely showers, to which it alludes, can be duly felt only in a hot climate and a thirsty soil like the south of China, where, according to the common saying,—'Three days make a short drought—five days a long one.'

'See



See how the gently-falling rain  
 Its vernal influence sweetly showers,  
 As, through the calm and tepid eve,  
 It silently bedews the flowers.  
 Cloudy and dark th' horizon spreads,  
 Save where some boat its light is burning;  
 But soon the landscape's tints shall glow,  
 All radiant, with the morn returning.

There exist abundant materials of poetry in what may be called the heroic ages of China, when she was divided into independent states, contending against each other for sovereignty. The following lines are supposed to have been written by a certain emperor to his victorious general, of whose successes in the south he had just heard. The third and fourth lines have been transposed in our version.

*The South subdued.*  
 Servant, well done! the erring South, restored,  
 Bends to the prowess of thy glittering sword;  
 High as the orbs thy lightning standard gleams,  
 Thy drum's loud music shakes the mountain streams;  
 And heaven's own race alights on earth again,  
 The foe to scatter to their murky den!  
 Know, when with pride thy glad return we hail,  
 Thy sovereign's hand shall loose his hero's mail.

No composition, however, to which the name of epic could be properly applied, has as yet rewarded European research. The peculiar turn and construction of Chinese verse unfits it for such sustained compositions. To be esteemed good, it must be so highly elaborated, that the costliness of the material places limits to the size of the structure. It would be a tremendous attempt to preserve such nicely-balanced couplets through the length of an epic; not to mention that, when the task had been completed, it might weary the reader as much as it had disquieted the author, and bestow upon the first all the sleep of which it had deprived the second. The only long metrical narrations of the Chinese are some novels and licentious pieces, in which the structure of the verse is altogether loose—a sort of 'stans pede in uno' measure, and devoid of those characteristics which constitute the chief merit of their poetry. Such compositions, accordingly, do not possess much estimation in China.

There is another description of poetry—the pastoral, which we should not look for in China, and for very obvious reasons. It has not only been the care of the government, from the earliest ages, to give every direct encouragement to agriculture, and to the production of food for man alone, but there have always existed

existed some absurd prejudices and maxims, not to say positive laws, against an extended consumption of flesh food. The penal code denounces severe punishments against those who kill *their own cattle* without an express licence.\* It is a well-known principle, that where tillage exists to a considerable extent, the rent of land reserved for pasture must, in proportion to its goodness, be equal to that of land employed in producing grain; and this, under a rice cultivation, where three crops per annum are said sometimes to be obtained, must have such an obvious effect in raising the comparative price of meat, as necessarily to discourage its consumption among so frugal a people as the Chinese, even without the intervention of any positive law. There is, accordingly, no people in the world, (the Hindoos always excepted,†) that consumes so little meat, or so much fish and vegetable food. Nor, again, is there any country in which fewer cattle are employed for the purposes of draught and burthen. Where every institution tends so forcibly to keep a population up to the very utmost limits of subsistence, and where neither pride nor prejudice steps in between the labourer and his work, human exertion naturally supplants every other. In the southern parts of the empire, therefore, beasts of carriage and draught, with the exception of a few miserable riding-horses, and a few buffaloes for ploughing, are nearly unknown. Near Peking, and towards the uncultivated borders of Tartary, the case becomes altered; but the great wall may still be considered, generally, as the boundary which separates two people, one of them exclusively pastoral, and the other as exclusively tillers of the earth. The esteem in which the business of tillage is held may be expected to have rendered it the subject of poetical celebration; and we find the praises of 'fertile fields that know no years of dearth,' sung in such strains as the following:—

Though man's superfluous labour ceas'd to till  
The fertile glebe, ne'er would its bounties end;  
Though rusting lay the abandoned ploughshare, still  
O'er this fair land would waving harvests bend.  
Less happy soils may pine in years of dearth—  
Late though we sow, we early reap the field;  
A thousand roods of richly teeming earth,  
In verdant crops, ten thousand measures yield.  
Why haunt we, then, the sylvan's mossy shrine—  
Why ask what harvest shall our toils attend?

\* Sir George Staunton's Translation, b. iv. § 233.

† Bishop Heber's Journal proves that the Hindoos themselves are not so scrupulous as they have been supposed. They consume milk, too, which the Chinese, strange to say, never think of—at least south of Peking, where they cease to be mixed with the Tartars.



See the sweet spring with surer presage shine,  
And balmy airs and lengthening days descend !'

Another class of Chinese poetry is what may be properly styled the moral, or didactic. The long citation given by Dr. Morrison, at p. 147 of the Third Part of his Dictionary, comes under this head. It commences thus :—

'Venerate heaven and earth, perform the rites to the gods ;  
Worship your ancestors, be dutiful to your parents ;  
Observe the laws, revere your teachers and superiors ;  
Love your brethren, and be true to your friends,' &c.

The whole piece bears a considerable resemblance to golden verses of Pythagoras ; particularly in the commencement, which may be thus literally rendered :—

'First, as the laws ordain, th' immortal gods  
Worship ; observe your vows ; the great of yore  
Next, and the manes of the dead revere :  
Honour your parents, and your next of kin,' &c.

There are innumerable poems, or rather metrical essays, whose object it is to convey the doctrines and precepts of the great national sages and others. The whole of the well-known work called *Shingyu*, or instructions addressed to the people by the second emperor of the present Tartar family, has been cast into a short chiming verse. The example which we here subjoin, from one of the books of the Budhists, comes likewise under this head ; as do all the similar productions of that and other sects : for we must consider them as forming a part of the national literature in the gross ; although they have nothing to do with Confucius or his doctrines, and are commonly held by the privileged learned in as great contempt as the superstitions to which they pertain :—

'When the heart is enlightened by a spark of the æthereal intelligence,  
There is neither perturbation nor alarm ;  
There is neither thought nor anxiety ;  
But all is moral perfection, and the complete radiance of truth :  
Where the heavenly principle pours its light,  
The root of a virtuous disposition is perfected ;  
But, once mingling with human frailty,  
The whole man will be subdued and overturned.'

Satire, viewed as a means of recommending virtue by discrediting vice, cannot be said to exist in any regular form, or to constitute a particular branch of literature. Some of the ancient pieces in the *Sheking* have been considered as levelled at persons existing when they were composed ; but they have no more claim on this account to the name of satires, than Horace's ode 'in *Mævium*.' There is no country, at the same time, in which  
anony-

anonymous lampoons, and similar vehicles of invective or ridicule, are more common. They form one of the most ordinary outlets for the ebullitions of public feeling; and must be considered, by every person who has had opportunities of making the observation, as a very important check, under so absolute a despotism, upon the conduct of Chinese rulers. The highest offices of government are not exempt from these covert attacks, which are constantly made, notwithstanding the severest punishments in case of detection.

The following is a satirical passage, introduced in the course of the romance called 'the Fortunate Union,' to ridicule a worthless female rival:—

'With painted face and pencill'd brows, she strove  
To be the fair she was not; with her fate  
No silken thread\* was twined; she ne'er invok'd  
The old inhabitant o' th' moon, but sought  
By stratagem to effect what he denied:  
—No mate the enamell'd bird of brightest hue  
For twittering swallows !'

A very extensive department of Chinese poetry remains—the Descriptive; and this, to us strangers, is the most agreeable of them all. The whole language abounds in figurative expressions, derived from the most pleasing or most striking objects and circumstances in nature. Thus, 'spring dreams and autumnal clouds' mean flitting visions of happiness; unattainable good is represented under 'the moon's reflection in the wave;' 'floating clouds obscuring the day' express the temporary shade thrown by detraction on illustrious characters; difficulty of acting is figured by the 'grass and tangle in one's path;' female beauty, by the obvious and common semblance of a 'fair flower;' 'spring' is the emblem of joy, 'autumn' of sorrow; gladness is expressed by 'the heart's flowers being all full-blown;' the virtue of the female character is pictured under the 'white gem, the pure crystal, the cold and transparent ice;' 'the season when peach blossoms are in beauty,' means that of marriage, because marriages were anciently celebrated in spring; searchers after pleasure are depicted under the figure of 'bees and butterflies among flowers;'—and so on without end.

There exist a great number of figurative allusions, containing a particular reference to some event in history or romance; and as the facts or fables at which these only *hint* cannot often be discovered at first without consulting a well-informed native, this circumstance constitutes a considerable obstacle, in the present state of our knowledge, to the successful study of Chinese poetry, any-

\* This allusion will be presently explained.



where but in the country itself. The following are examples of such allusions. 'The heart that responds to the lute,' means yielding to seductive arts; and refers to the story of a young damsel, who, being serenaded by her lover on the stringed instrument *kin* (which may be rendered by lute, or guitar), with the song called Poongkewhwong, or 'the bird *foong* in search of its mate,' eloped with her admirer towards morning, leaving the traces of her flight along the dewy pathway.

A grateful return for benefits is implied under this common expression—'the spirit that knit the grass.' An emperor of the dynasty called *Chow* enjoined it on his son and successor to bury alive, after the old Scythian or Tartar fashion, one of his favourite mistresses in the same grave with himself. The son, however, refrained from executing this portion of the imperial will, on the ground of its cruelty, and gave away the lady in marriage to a noble. On making war against the state called *Tsin*, the new emperor was opposed by a formidable leader; but he dreamed at night that he saw the deceased father of the young lady he had saved from death, who told him that, in return for the life granted to his daughter, he would assist him against the enemy. The result proved the vision to be prophetic: the hostile leader was defeated, and some invisible agent so twisted the long grass which impeded his flight, as to cause his capture.

The poetry of China is not unsupplied with mythological aids: every element of nature (with all the phenomena that these exhibit)—each hill, stream, and wood, has its presiding spirit. There is 'the monarch of fire,' 'the thunder god,' 'the spirit of the autumnal wave;' with others innumerable. An interesting divinity, called *Yuelaou*, 'the old man of the moon,' deserves some notice. It is his peculiar business to tie together at their birth, with an invisible silken cord, all youths and maidens who are predestined for each other; after which the most distant separation, and apparently insurmountable obstacles, cannot prevent their ultimate union. This is what is called *Yewyuen*—'having a connexion in fate,' and it is alluded to in the verses last cited by us. With such a variety of imaginative resources, and with some of the brightest leaves of the book of nature displayed to them, in an immense tract of country, surpassed by none in natural advantages, this people would be dull indeed if they could not turn to some account the materials which they possess.

The muse, too, may call to her assistance the smaller race of fairies or sprites, who are supposed to haunt the recesses of hills and woods, and to exercise either a benign or a malicious influence over mortals. Possessing but a vague notion of the ideas which the Chinese really entertained of these imaginary persons, we applied

applied for information to a native, and his reply was to this effect:—They are mysterious beings, who convert themselves at will into the semblance, sometimes of beautiful women, at others of ugly monsters, in infinite variety. They delight most in frustrating the attempts made by the devotees of Fo (or Buddha) to reach a superhuman state; and whenever these chance to waver the least in their faith or practice, they become immediately “possessed;” that is, the malicious spirits acquire a dominion over them. Being asked if he believed in their existence, he seemed rather unprepared to answer, but observed that they had the greatest influence over the minds of the country people, and the devotees of the superstition above mentioned. It may be noticed, that Confucius neither gave the express sanction of his opinion to the existence of unembodied spirits, nor did he expressly deny the same; but transmitted these early traditions of his country exactly as he found them,—busying himself chiefly with the more important concerns of political government and morals.

Under the descriptive class, the following quotation from a novel called the ‘*Dreams of the Red Chamber*,’ presents rather a poetical account of a young Chinese profligate. Our version is lineatim, and almost verbatim, and pretends to nothing more than a very close adherence to the original, which, it must be remarked, is not an extract from a long poem, but one of those poetical breaks, with which prose works of taste are generally embellished.

The paths of trouble heedlessly he braves,  
Now shines a wit, and now a madman raves;  
His outward form by nature’s bounty drest,  
Foul weeds usurp’d the wilderness, his breast:  
And bred in tumult, ignorant of rule,  
He hated letters, an accomplish’d fool!  
In act depraved, contaminate in mind,  
Strange, had he feared the censures of mankind!  
Titles and wealth to him no joys impart,  
By penury pinch’d, he sank beneath the smart;  
Oh wretch, to flee the good thy fate intends,  
Oh hopeless to thy country and thy friends!  
In uselessness, the first beneath the sky,  
And curst, in sinning, with supremacy!  
Minions of pride and luxury, lend an ear,  
And shun his follies, if his fate ye fear!

To the descriptive kind belongs a very singular production, a poem on *London*, composed by a Chinese who visited England about the year 1813. Some notice of it appeared in our Review for 1817, and, did space permit, we would gladly introduce the whole to our readers, considering that it is a native of the remotest shores of Asia who sings the glories of the British capital.—  
præsertim



sertim cum omne studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi Romani gloriam laudemque celebrandam.' We select three stanzas in a literal prose translation:—

## 7.

\* The towering edifices rise story above story,  
In all the stateliness of splendid mansions:  
Railings of iron thickly stud the sides of every entrance;  
And streams from the river circulate through the walls;  
The sides of each apartment are variegated with devices;  
Through the windows of glass appear the scarlet hangings;  
And in the street itself is presented a beautiful scene;  
The congregated buildings have all the aspect of a picture.

## 8.

\* In London, about the period of the ninth-moon,  
The inhabitants delight in travelling to a distance;  
They change their abodes and betake themselves to the country,  
Visiting their friends in their rural retreats.  
The prolonged sound of carriages and steeds is heard through  
the day;  
Then in autumn the prices of provisions fall,  
And the greater number of dwellings being untenanted,  
Such as require it are repaired and adorned.

## 9.

\* The spacious streets are exceedingly smooth and level,  
Each being crossed by others at intervals;  
On either side perambulate men and females,  
In the centre career along the carriages and horses;  
The mingled sound of voices is heard in the shops at evening.  
During midwinter the accumulated snows adhere to the pathway,  
Lamps are displayed at night along the street sides,  
Their radiance twinkling like the stars of the sky.'

Of a similar description with the stanzas on London is another poem, not concerning the English exclusively, but Europeans in general, composed by a Hong merchant who has been dead some years. This person, notwithstanding his unpoetical profession, possessed good literary acquirements, and one of his sons held a high rank in the imperial college at Peking. 'After an intercourse of thirty years, (to use his own expressions,) which had made him tolerably familiar with the peculiarities of foreigners, he had retired, stricken in years, into solitude, and amused himself over his cups in composing a score of stanzas commemorative of some strange customs and opinions prevailing beyond the seas.' The production corresponds with its title, 'Unconnected Stanzas on Europeans,' and after the other description, from a person who had viewed us at home, may be deemed curious as depicting the estimate

estimate formed of us by one who had never left his own country. The retired bard commences with lauding the good faith of the foreigners who 'make use of no formality in their most extensive bargains, more solemn than a mere shake of the hand,' and proceeds to hint in the next verse, that 'the simple virtues of *barbarians* have been the subject of praise from the oldest times.' It is quite true that commercial transactions of the largest description are frequently conducted at Canton on the mere faith of promises, and the good poet had never been in the way of seeing our legal stamps and parchments at home, which might have gone far to make him withdraw his last compliment. 'When a guest arrives, the host helps him with his own hand to the juice of the grape;' and it is added in a note, 'They welcome visitors with wine, and not with tea,' which is the Chinese fashion. 'To touch glasses in drinking is a mark of friendship. In winter evenings they sit by the fire and pour out cold wine, careless of the snows which lie deep beyond the door.' In China they always warm their wine. 'They make light of their lives,' it is observed, 'on occasions of personal contest, and when two of them quarrel, the consequences may be very serious. They stand face to face, and discharge fire-arms at each other on a given signal.' In a note it is said, 'If one falls, the survivor is not punished; if neither fall, there is an end of the quarrel. They do this,' adds the poet, 'to show that they are not afraid—and so forth.'

We will now present the reader with a few poetical pieces extracted at random, and, for the satisfaction of those who may prefer such a mode, they are prose translations as literal as they could well be made, although it must always be kept in mind, that this is a most disadvantageous dress for the poetry of any language whatever.

\* *On ascending the highest peak of the mountain \* Leushān.*

There falls a precipitous cascade of three thousand feet;

Here the hibiscus shades every rising summit;

The mountain touches the sky, and separates the orbs;

The drifting snows fly amidst the thunder;

I am like the white bird among the clouds,

I insult the winds, and invade the profound abyss.

As I turn and look down on each neighbouring province,

The evening smoke of the dwellings rises in blue specks.\*

\* *On taking leave of a Friend.*

'Ten years have elapsed since last we parted,

And no sooner have we met, than we part again;

We may bind ourselves by promises to renew this meeting,

But we shall never be so young as we are now!

\* Visited by the embassy in 1816.



The shadows of the passing clouds speedily vanish,  
The fallen leaf returns not to its branch:  
Should I fly, like the wild bird, to seek you in the south,  
In what part of yon blue mountains shall we meet?

*On giving liberty to a Butterfly.*

Those variegated hues should be less rashly exposed,  
The recesses of the mountains are thy proper haunts:  
The fragrant but short-lived herbs are there,  
And those airy paths will best suit thy flight:  
Thy crimson form is heavy with dew,  
Thy embroidered wings should expatiate in the clear breeze:  
Destruction here awaits thee from the fondness of the boy,  
Go, then, and hide thy treasures from his reach!

*On a worthless Tree.*

In what year wast thou planted, vile tree!  
Thy lofty bare trunk is truly good for nothing:  
Thy blossoms fly aloft incessantly,  
Thy falling leaves there is no sweeping away:  
Thou hidest the sun during the winter months,  
The shady side of thee is overgrown with old moss;  
Alas, that I have not an axe in my hand,  
To cut thee away as thou well deservest!

*Written at the Capital of the Island Hænnan.*

While here I travel, the spring is drawing to a close;  
The blossoms fly confusedly, and leave their branches:  
I am a floating cloud that returns not north,  
I am a solitary wild fowl, bewildered in the south:  
By the ocean's murmur, the rainy storm is approaching,  
The loudness of the winds conceals the thunder's sound:  
This region is a land clean divided from my home,  
Here I breathe my long sighs, all perplex'd and irresolute!

*Midnight Thoughts.*

'Tis the depth of night, and I cannot slumber,  
I rise up and stroll without object or purpose:  
I return, and again bar my humble door,  
And sit by my solitary lamp until the morning:  
What is the cause of lament to that cricket,  
Whose monotonous note sounds from yon bare wall?  
It would seem to take up the history of its life,  
To tell me of its state of solitary desertion:  
This solitary desertion, how bitter do I find it!  
Let me then push my roving to a distance;  
Let me visit the passes and mountains a hundred leagues hence,  
Like some devotee of Fo, wandering amidst clouds and torrents,  
Ignorant of what is passing elsewhere,  
How shall I forget the melancholy of my own home?

\* Ille et nefasto te pœnit die, &c., Horat. in Arb. II. 13.

In closing these illustrations of Chinese poetry, we deem it a mere act of justice to our subject, to notice the manner in which Professor Rémusat of Paris has quoted an English opinion in relation to it; though we, at the same time, take for granted that he could have had no intention to misrepresent the true meaning, and, therefore, conclude that the quotation was made from memory. In the preface to his translation of the *Iu-kiao-li*, M. Rémusat observes, 'Le traducteur des nouvelles dont j'ai précédemment fait mention, assure que les vers dont il s'agit sont principalement destinés à flatter l'oreille, et que le sens y est très souvent sacrifié à l'harmonie.' Now, the passage to which he refers is the following, and it confines itself so expressly to the *musical*, or *operatic portions of the drama*, that it would seem impossible to extend its application either to novels, or to any other part of Chinese literature. 'A considerable portion of the *PLAYS* of the Chinese consists of a sort of irregular verse, which is *sung or chaunted with music*. This is often very obscure in its import; and as, according to the Chinese themselves, the gratification of the ear is its main object, sense itself appears sometimes to be neglected (not sacrificed) for the sake of a pleasing sound.' That this is really the case, as regards the songs of the drama alone, is proved, as well by the verbal testimony of natives, as by the following passage from the preface to the *Hundred Plays of Yuen*, which relates chiefly to stage rules.

雖字有差訛不傷音律  
不爲害也大低先要明腔後要識譜  
'Although the words may be wrong, provided that the laws of sound and cadence be not violated—there is no harm done: generally speaking, the study of the tune or air must be the first consideration, and the knowledge of the part (or rôle) the second.' This is all extremely possible, and finds a parallel in our own opera and stage songs, some of which are sufficiently insignificant, being intended as mere pegs to hang musical notes upon; but that the writer thus misquoted ever said any thing so extravagant regarding poems which are addressed expressly to the *eye* and the *understanding*, and to them only, we must utterly deny.

Until a dictionary of Chinese poetry shall have been compiled, the subject must be considered as almost out of the reach of scholars in Europe. Plenty of aids already exist for the elucidation of prose compositions; but an expression which means one thing in prose will sometimes mean quite another thing in poetry.

There is nothing easier than 'to harden ignorance into contempt,' and to assume that whatever is unknown is not worth knowing; but the excellent use which has already been made of oriental thoughts and imagery, derived from the languages of Asia



more familiar to us, might encourage some extension in the range of our inquiries. Fruits of the highest culture may be improved and varied by foreign grafts; and as our gardens have already been indebted to China for a few choice flowers, who knows but our poetry may some day lie under a similar obligation? However small the prospect of advantage, every scrap of novelty may turn out to be a real gain;—the declining age of some of the finest literature the world ever saw having borne witness, that ordinary topics of poetry will at last grow threadbare, and become tiresome through much use:—

\* Nota magis nulli domus est sua, quàm mihi lucus  
Martis, et Æoliis vicinum rupibus antrum  
Vulcani—quid agant venti, quas torqueat umbras  
Æacus—unde alius furtivæ devehat aurum  
Pelliculæ—quantas jaculetur Monychus ornos:  
Exspectes eadem a summo, minimoque poetâ.\*

In the department of Chinese Romance, a specimen will shortly appear under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Committee. The title of the work, correctly expressed in English, is 'the Fortunate Union.' The term 'romance' may be properly applied to any fiction, of which the personages and incidents are above the level of ordinary life. The orthodox rule used to be, that the hero should sally forth, and fight with everything either bigger or stronger than himself; and the *preux* of the 'Fortunate Union' really answers pretty nearly to this description. He is attended, too, by a follower, who does him as good service as ever was performed by trusty squire to knight-errant; and, after a multitude of adventures and scrapes, produced by the malice of foes and rivals, the heroine is happily and honourably united to her lover, in whom she originally met with a protector from her enemies. It may appear strange that any fiction on so legitimate a plan should be met with in China—such, however, is the case; and it was this circumstance, joined to the spirit of the dialogue, and the merits of the style, which induced the translator to undertake the task of making a complete version, including all the poetical passages. Of the *Haoukewchuen*, for that is the Chinese title, Sir George Staunton has expressed a very high opinion in his miscellaneous notices of China. It is nearly seventy years since Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, edited from a manuscript, partly English and partly Portuguese, a sort of skeleton or abstract, rather than a translation of this romance, and without the poetical passages, under the title of the 'Pleasing History,' which is not the meaning of the original name. Although it abounded in both errors and omissions, this work, at the time when it appeared, was by far the best picture of Chinese manners

manners and society that we possessed ; and Dr. Percy was not answerable for the imperfections of his materials. He was naturally puzzled by some parts of his manuscript, and expresses his surprise in notes at a number of incongruities, which, on a reference to the original, are not found to exist. In fact, at the distance of more than one hundred years since, for that is the date of the manuscript, no countryman of ours could possibly be competent to the task of translation ; and the work in question appears evidently to have been taken down in great part from the mouth of a native, probably in the imperfect jargon of English spoken at Canton.

The 'Fortunate Union' may be considered as a truer picture of existing Chinese manners, inasmuch as the hero espouses but *one wife*. It is not strictly true that their laws sanction *polygamy*, although they permit *concubinage*. A Chinese can have but one *wife* properly so called, who is distinguished by a title, espoused with ceremonies, and chosen from a rank of life, totally different from his handmaids, or mistresses, of whom he may have as many as he pleases ; and though the offspring of the latter possess many of the rights of legitimacy (ranking however after the children of the wife), this circumstance makes little difference as to the truth of the position. Even in the present romance, the profligate rival of the hero aims at effecting his union with the heroine, only by setting aside his previous marriage with her cousin as informal. Any Chinese fiction therefore, and of these there are many, which describes a man espousing two wives, is in this respect no truer a picture of existing manners, than in respect to any other amusing or silly extravagance which it may happen to contain. These observations are not hastily made, being the result of careful examination and inquiry, and derived in China from native authorities ; and the 'Fortunate Union' affords sufficient corroboration, were any required. The resolution of the unfortunate scholar to suffer death rather than allow his daughter to be degraded to the rank of a handmaid, even to a noble, and the attempt of the same noble, towards the conclusion of the story, to espouse the heroine as his wife, *because* he had just lost his former spouse, are abundant confirmation of what we advance. In fact, the *wife* is of equal rank with her husband by birth, and espoused with regular marriage ceremonies, possessing, moreover, certain legal rights,\* such as they are—the *handmaid* is bought for money, and received into the house like a mere domestic. The principle on which Chinese law and custom admit the offspring of concubinage to legitimate rights, is obvious,—the importance which attaches in that country to the securing of male descendants.

\* Staunton's Penal Code, under the head of Marriage,



Many remarkable points of resemblance will be discovered between the 'Fortunate Union' and our own novels and romances at the present day. Every chapter is headed by a few verses bearing some relation to its contents, and some appropriate lines are occasionally introduced as embellishments to the story. After a corresponding fashion, too, with the designations of persons in our own favourite fictions, we should find on translating them literally, that most of the names in similar Chinese works have some allusion to the characters of those who bear them. Thus the hero of the *Haukewchuen* is named from iron, (quasi Ironside); the literal import of the heroine's name is 'Icy-hearted,' a term which in her country implies *chaste*, and not what we should call *cold-hearted*; her father's designation literally means 'dwelling in singleness of purpose,' which sufficiently expresses his inflexible character—and so of many other appellatives. The most advantageous point of comparison, however, lies in the spirit of the dialogue, for which the 'Fortunate Union' is distinguished above any Chinese work of the kind that we have ever met with; and we proceed to make some extracts from it. In the ninth chapter, the worthless uncle of the solitary and secluded heroine hears some false rumours to the disadvantage of the hero Teichoongyu, and being a bitter enemy of his, proceeds with great glee to inform the young lady.

"Niece," said he, "have you heard the strange news?" She pleaded the retired life of a female in her situation as a sufficient reason for being ignorant of what was passing abroad. "Well, then," continued her uncle, "you must know that when I advised you to marry Teichoongyu I had the best opinion of his character; most fortunately, however, you refused steadily to give a hasty assent—your happiness would otherwise have been ruined for life!—Can you guess what sort of person he has proved himself to be?" "I know nothing of his birth and family," replied the young lady; "but from what I have observed of his conduct, it would plainly appear that he is a young man of extraordinary virtue." "Of extraordinary virtue, indeed!" exclaimed the other, impatiently; "you used to have some share of penetration once, niece!—what has become of it on this occasion?" "But how has he belied his former character?" inquired Shueypingsin. "Why, he is nothing better than a practised seducer," replied her uncle. "I know not what schemes he might have had in view when he pretended sickness, and gained a lodging in this house; but you may consider it the height of good luck on your part that he was obliged, by the sound rating I gave him, to desist, and took his departure in an affected passion. The earthen pitcher, however, gets broken at last; and no sooner did he reach the neighbouring village, than he betrayed himself. Pray what was it he did to betray himself?" asked the young lady.

He

He now relates to her the story that he had heard, and takes care at the same time to put in some embellishments of his own.

"Well," said his niece, smiling composedly, "let Teihchoongyu be what you say he is; it concerns myself no more than if the favourite disciple of Confucius had really been proved to be a murderer."

"I know it does not concern you!" exclaimed he; "but this event shews how very difficult it is to be sure of a person's character on a short acquaintance; and that, to avoid the chance of being deceived, one's knowledge must be better founded than on a casual meeting."

"In a matter with which I have so little concern," observed Shuey-pingsin, "there is not much occasion to argue the point; but what you have been pleased to say, seems intended to ridicule my want of penetration in forming a wrong opinion of this young man. Did it relate to any person but himself, I should not think it worth while to say a word in reply; but, after the mutual services we have rendered each other, the slur you throw upon his character implies that our acquaintance was dishonest, and slanders my own reputation equally with his. I have, therefore, a good reason for repelling it."

"I do not know," cried her uncle, "whether to be most angry or amused by what you say. I never had any cause of enmity towards this young man; what should make me slander him, then? He happens to be a libertine, and entices away a young woman. You live quietly at home, and know nothing about it; but the people near the magistrate's office report it to me—why blame me on their account? If you choose to say that you mistook his character, and that this was a thing you could not help, I can understand you; but if you attempt to maintain that he really is not guilty, I suspect all the water in the Yellow River will never wash him clean from the imputation."

"If I think it worth while to maintain anything," replied Shuey-pingsin, "it will be that he is not what you call him, and that the whole is the slanderous invention of worthless people. You may then learn that I was not deceived in my good opinion. Any other point I do not think it necessary to argue."

"My good niece, you are very obstinate," said Shueyun. "That he is guilty, has been proved by a number of witnesses. What is there for you to say on the subject?"

"You assert that it has been proved by witnesses," answered she; "and until we hear something authentic, I will not debate the point with you; but, judging from reason and principle, I must still maintain that this young man cannot be what you say; and though such a report may have gone abroad, (admitting that it be not a fabrication altogether,) there must yet be something more in it than has come to light; for, should he really prove to be guilty of the charge, I will engage to forfeit both my eyes to you."

"Why, the woman he carried off has been apprehended in his company," exclaimed Shueyun, "and taken before the village officer, who transferred them both to his superior. They are now on trial—there can be no fabrication in this. Your attempt to vindicate his character, after matters have reached

"What gaooy shi hekes?" this



this point, proves only that you are blinded by excess of love." "It is vain attempting to persuade you at present, uncle," said the young lady; "but do not be too positive. Inquire a little farther, and you may arrive at the real truth."

The result is, as usual, the entire discomfiture and confusion of the unhappy uncle, whose character for low cunning, and mischievous intrigue, is in perfect *keeping* throughout; and the same remark applies to all the personages of the romance, of every description. We will give one more scene, from the fourteenth chapter. The hero Teihchoongyu discovers, by accident, that one of the emperor's generals, at present under sentence of death, in consequence of certain reverses which he had suffered on the frontier, is the victim of combinations and intrigues among his enemies, and full of resentment at such injustice, walks straight into the court which has condemned him, (of which our hero's father, by the way, is a member), and there stoutly pleads the leader's cause.

'The three members of the triple court had not ventured, after the emperor's approval of his minister's advice, to record their dissent. At the same time, however, that they confirmed the sentence of beheading, and waited only for the Imperial warrant to execute the same, they still felt a secret uneasiness at the prisoner's fate; and when a person was seen entering the court, and thus loudly addressing them, they experienced a mixed sensation of alarm at the disturbance, regret for their sentence, and resentment at the intrusion. Discovering, on a closer view, that it was Teihchoongyu, the other two members felt unwilling to be harsh; but his father struck the table with fury, and rated him in round terms, demanding how he presumed thus madly to address so high a court, assembled there by Imperial commission to decide on a capital case. "The laws admit of no private feelings," cried he, and ordered the intruder into custody; but Teihchoongyu loudly exclaimed, "My lord, you are mistaken! The emperor himself suspends the drum at his palace gate, and admits all to state their hardships without reserve: may I not be allowed to right the injured before this very tribunal of life and death?" "What have you to do with the prisoner," inquired his father, "that you should right his case?" "He is not even an acquaintance," replied Teihchoongyu. "I can have no reasons on his own account; but the difficulty of finding his substitute impels me to intercede for one who is so worthy of being the emperor's general." "The emperor's general must live or die as the emperor pleases," cried Teihying. "What concern is it of your's, that you may behave in this mad style?—Seize him instantly!" The attendants now stepped up to lay their hands on the young man; but the other two members of the court interfered, "Hold!" cried they—and calling him up to the judgment table, they pacified Teihchoongyu with good words.

"Worthy

"Worthy friend, we do not blame your well-intentioned spirit; but the nation has its laws, judges their dignity, and prisoners their sentence. It is not allowable to intrude in this rude manner. The leader has already been imprisoned for more than a year, and Shueykeuyih, who recommended him, exiled on his account. His offences being proved by several concurrent authorities, how shall he now be found guiltless by his judges? The nation's laws, the judges' dignity, and the prisoner's case, alike forbid this! Admitting, however, that we proposed a mitigation of his punishment, it would be impossible to remit the heaviest part of the sentence.\* But the minister has advised his decapitation—the emperor has assented—how, then, shall we attempt to oppose it?"

"Alas," replied Teihchoongyu, sighing, "your lordship's words would better become those worthless ministers who abandon what is right for the sake of their places, their emoluments, or their personal safety: they pertain not to that disinterested spirit which identifies your country's welfare with your own! Were the truth as you state it, the lowest capacity might be more than sufficient to conduct the business of the state: what need of personages of your lordship's weight to minister for the sovereign! Let me ask you, what meant that saying of the ancient emperor, 'Thrice be death delayed,'† or of the ancient minister, 'In three cases only be death inflexibly awarded?' Your reasonings, if true, would go far to deprive these sacred characters of their reputation for wisdom."

"The two other judges answered not a word, but his father broke silence, "Foolish boy, say no more! This man's death is inevitable." Teihchoongyu, however, rejoined with warmth, "Brave men and worthy leaders are the rare productions of heaven: if your lordships are inflexible, and persist in condemning Howheao to death, let me entreat you to condemn me with him!" "But his guilt and incapacity have been proved," said Teihying, "it is only condemning a worthless servant: is there anything extraordinary in that?" "Men's capacities are not so easily known," said his son; "the courage and ability of this leader are such, that, if he be re-appointed to the frontier, he shall prove another ‡ 'wall of a thousand leagues'—no hero of the age may compare with him." "Allowing his capacity to be great," observed the father, "his delinquency is still greater." "The ablest leaders," said Teichoongyu, "must ever be liable to

\* That is, he must be strangled, if not beheaded. The well known prejudice of the Chinese against the mutilation or dismemberment of the body, renders the sentence of decapitation much more terrible to them than strangulation. It is evidently to a feeling somewhat similar among his own countrymen, that Juvenal alludes when, speaking of the fate of Pompey, he adds,

'Hoc cruciatu  
Lentulus, hæc pœnâ caruit, ceciditque Cethegus  
Integer, et jacuit Catilina cadavere toto.'

† Such is the actual practice, in ordinary cases, at the present day: first, by the local magistrate, who refers to the provincial judge; next, by the provincial judge, who refers to the criminal tribunal; lastly, by the criminal tribunal, which refers to the emperor.

‡ The Chinese name for their great wall.

commit



commit errors; and hence, it is customary for the emperor to relieve them for a while, that they may redeem themselves by acts of merit?" "But in that case," remarked one of the judges, "somebody must be surety; will you venture to be answerable for him?" "If Heaven be restored to his command," replied he, "I entreat that my own head may answer for his misconduct, as the just punishment of such rashness." The other two judges now turned to Teihying, and said, "Since your lordship's son thus publicly tenders his personal responsibility, it befits us to make a formal representation, and request his majesty's pleasure." Teihying was compelled, under the circumstances of the case, to assent to this: the leader was accordingly remanded to prison; and Teihchoongyu, being called upon to enter into a written engagement on the spot, was placed in custody for the time being.

We think the attention of the public cannot fail to be powerfully excited towards the Oriental Translation Fund, which has, in the course of a little more than one year, published five works, is carrying many more through the press, and has a long list of others in preparation. The Royal Duke, who lately presided at its annual meeting, very truly observed, that this association had established, *e converso*, the truth of the old English proverb, by saying *little*, and doing *much*. The Travels of Ibn Batuta, the Marco Polo of the east, by Professor Lee of Cambridge; and the Autobiography of Shah Jahangueir, by Major Price—a work which may be placed side by side with the Memoirs of the Emperor Baber, are worthy fruits of such an institution; and we hold the gratitude of the learned world to be not a little due to those whose activity and zeal have procured it substantial support in the highest quarters—but especially to that accomplished and zealous orientalist Lieut.-Col. FitzClarence, to whose exertions, as Dr. Lee says, "the institution owes almost entirely its origin and its efficiency."

ART. V.—*Annals of the Caledonians, Picts, and Scots; and of Strathclyde, Cumberland, Galloway, and Murray.* By Joseph Ritson, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1828.

THE situation of Scotland, in respect to her early history, was, till of late years, extremely odd. Her inhabitants believed themselves, and, by dint of asseveration persuaded others to believe them, one of the most ancient nations in the world, possessed of clear and indisputable documents authenticating their history up to the very earliest era of recorded time. This error was no mere transitory ebullition of vanity, but maintained and fostered

fostered by reference to divers respectable tissues entitled Histories of Scotland,—all ringing the changes upon a set of fables which had been ingeniously invented to prevent the disgrace of avowed ignorance. Thus do

Geographers on pathless downs

Place elephants instead of towns.

Hector Boece, or Boethius, in his '*Scotorum Historia ab illius Gentis Origine*,' first printed at Paris in 1526, is the artist to whose pencil the flourishes in the blank leaves of Scottish story are chiefly to be ascribed. He was certainly a person of learning and talent, since he was the friend of Erasmus, and is described by him as *vir singularis ingenii et facundi oris*. But when Erasmus tells us that even the thought of a falsehood was unknown to him, we can hardly suppose he ever read that work in which friend Hector

in imposition strong,

Beats the best liar that e'er wagg'd a tongue.

For materials, he had before him the Rhyming Chronicle of Wynton, Prior of Lochleven, the Chronicle of John Fordun, and his continuator, Bower, and similar worthies. There was little information probably to be gained from public records, which were not then, as now, accessible to every student; and this, indeed, is some apology for the gross errors of Hector's predecessors, and his credulity in adopting them; but it affords none for the various additions with which it has been his pleasure to embellish the elder figments; bolstering them out with plausible circumstances, and issuing absurd family legends, bardic traditions, and all the crazy extravagancies of popular report, under the authority of a grave Principal, for such he was, of the University of Aberdeen. Still less was he entitled to rest upon such evidence as that of Verimundus, Cornelius Hibernicus, John Campbell, and others, whom no author save himself ever saw, or heard of—men of straw—mere names. Thus we may pardon his repeating, as a tradition occurring in Wynton, and other early historians, how Gathelus, the son of Cecrops, king of Athens, son-in-law to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, (having married his daughter Scota)—this couple, terrified by the plagues inflicted on Pharaoh for his obstinacy, left Egypt in search of a more quiet residence in some distant land;—how, in their exploratory voyage, they founded the cities of Compostella and Lisbon;—how they discovered Ireland and peopled it; and, finally, how they and their followers, the Scots, so called as being the subjects of Scota, obtained possession of North Britain. The anxiety of every nation is as great as that of Falconbridge, to have some proper man for their father; and Boethius, in his day, could not have well avoided retailing what his predecessors had left upon record



record about Gathelus and Scota. But he is totally without excuse, when he augments the falsehood with a circumstance devised by himself; and assures us that when King *Ptolemy* sent abroad a mathematical mission to enlarge the knowledge of geography, they were entertained hospitably at the court of Ruether, an imaginary king of Scotland, and returned delighted at having found, in so remote a region, the language, manners, and government of Egypt. In this, as in other cases, Hector dressed up and adorned the rude fictions of early times, and gave wings to the bug which would otherwise have crawled unnoticed in its native obscurity. Upon such principles, this notable forger put forth his regular pedigree of Scottish kings, some few of whose names are to be found, unquestionably, in a brief and doubtful catalogue of Irish authorities, but most are individually indebted to himself for their very existence, and all of them for their lives, characters, and the respective events of their respective reigns.

A much more eminent man condescended to take him for his guide and authority during this early period, and repeat his fabulous narrative in language equal, for spirit and emphasis, to that of the silver age of Rome—George Buchanan. Lesley, the celebrated bishop of Ross, who had done and suffered so much in the cause of Queen Mary, indited, also, a history of Scotland (published at Rome in 1578) in which he saw no cause to reject the ready, convenient, and creditable list of ancient monarchs drawn up by Boece. A prelate and royalist, he scorned not to see as far into a millstone as Buchanan, a heretic and opposer of the divine right of the sovereign; and accordingly adopted, without hesitation, the history of Gathelus and Scota, which the classical taste of the latter historian had thrown somewhat into the background.

Thus, thanks to the goodly correspondence amongst these grave authors, the annals of Scotland continued to be garnished with a comely catalogue of kings, whose existence no true-born native would suffer to be impugned or challenged. To render their individual stories more diversified, they follow each other arrayed successively in light and darkness—a moderate and worthy prince being as regularly succeeded by a profligate and oppressive tyrant, as the squares of a chess-board are alternated with black and white. According to the universal belief introduced upon such foundations, Fergus I., descended from Gathelus and Scota, in the year before the coming of Christ 330, took possession of the kingdom of North Britain, and bestowed on it the name of Scotland, in which his posterity ever since have reigned.

The Scottish people continued to enjoy their dream of antiquity, and of the immense length of their royal line, for more than half a century,

century, though not without challenge on the subject by the Welsh and Irish, two nations as proud, and one by nature, and the other by mismanagement, very nearly as poor as themselves. The publication of O'Flaherty's '*Ogygia*' gave rise to much resentment among Scottish antiquaries. Mr. Roderick O'Flaherty did much more than out-herod Herod—he out-hectored Hector Boethius. He did not, indeed, pretend to dispute the arrival of Gathelus with his Egyptians or Milesians. On the contrary, he is more particular in noticing the exact day of their arrival than Boethius himself—to wit, the kalends of May, the fifth day of the week, and the seventh of the moon, in the year of creation 2934. But he scorned to allow that Irish chronology was confined by so recent a date as this; and, after giving some account of Cappa, Lagne, and Luafat, three primeval inhabitants of the Green Isle, who had been driven from Spain to Ireland only to be drowned in the deluge, he narrates how Partholane, with a colony of Scythians, took possession of Ireland by a descent on Inver-suegene, in Kerry, in the month of May, the fourteenth day of the moon, and of all days in the week, of a Wednesday, in the year of the world 1969, &c. &c. A more formidable assailant was William Lloyd, bishop successively of St. Asaph, Coventry, and Worcester, who, in his history of the Government of the Church in Great Britain and Ireland, lopped from Boethius's catalogue no less than forty-four kings, supposed to have existed between the arrival of Fergus I. and the fifth century. The bishop was backed and defended by Stillingfleet, in his *Origines Britannicæ*; and the painful Welsh antiquary, Humphry Lhuyd, entered the lists to impugn formally the authority of Boethius, Buchanan, and their brethren.

These assailants were not without an antagonist. Sir George Mackenzie, who at that time (in the reign, namely, of Charles II.) held the office of Lord Advocate, and who is termed, by Dryden, 'that noble wit of Scotland,' stepped forward, *ex officio*, as defender of the antiquities of the royal line. The reasons which he alleges for lifting the gage of battle, as well as the arguments by which he endeavours to support a very feeble cause, show a singular mixture of the spirit of ultra-loyal chivalry with the forensic habits of a king's counsel.

'I leave it,' he says, 'to all indifferent men whether I, as king's advocate, was not in duty obliged to answer a book written by the late reverend and learned bishop of Saint Asaph, to prove that king Fergus, and twenty-four posterior kings, were merely fabulous and idle inventions, since that assertion did not only give the lie flatly to two of our most just and learned kings, but overturned the foundations on which they had built the duty and kindness of their subjects; and  
since



since precedency is one of the chief glories of the crown, and since for this not only kings but subjects fight and debate, how could I suffer this right and privilege of our crown to be stolen from it by this assertion, which did expressly subtract about eight hundred and thirty years from their antiquity?"

Sir George Mackenzie's defence of the royal line is, as might be expected, a specimen of the merest special pleading. It had, however, considerable effect in Scotland, where all good Tories of the day were disposed to believe what was, in their idea, a proof of the inalienable right of the monarch, and where every Whig would have thought it sinful to discredit anything which Buchanan had asserted. There was to both parties a *noli me tangere* in the question; and though Sir Robert Sibbald and others faintly hesitated their doubts, Hector Boethius remained lord of the ascendant, and Fergus I., and his two score of descendants, were swallowed by his readers as they might have bolted a poached egg.

The first step to a calm investigation of the early and obscure parts of Scottish history, occurs in the Dissertation of Father Innes, a Benedictine priest in the Scottish college of Paris. He has collected with labour, and published with considerable accuracy, the ancient chronicles and fragments of Scottish history. (By comparing these with the more specious and highly-manufactured narratives of Boethius and Buchanan, it appears that the more ancient authorities for Scottish history consist—firstly, in a few notices occurring in the Roman writers, which, as might be expected, are casual, and not easily reconcilable with each other; as the remarks of men not very solicitous to be accurate concerning barbarous tribes, frequently, no doubt, changing their situation, manners, and even names—and secondly, one or two meagre lists and chronicles, concerning the Scottish and Pictish kings, preserved in Christian convents.)

At the time when Severus made his march into the northern part of this island we can plainly discover two distinct nations inhabiting the country since called Scotland. 1. Between the wall of Severus, which was finally fixed as the barrier of the Roman empire, extending from the Solway to the mouth of the Tyne, and the ancient and more northern wall built by Hadrian betwixt the Firths of Clyde and Forth, the provinces of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Dumfries, and Clydesdale, with the three Lothians, were inhabited by the *Meata*, or Midland Britons—a species of borderers, who alternately acknowledged the Roman

\* See the Works of Sir George Mackenzie, in two volumes folio, vol. ii. pp. 399, 400.

Yoke, or shook it off, as they perceived the necessity of submission, or the opportunity of resistance. 2. Beyond the wall of Hadrian, and amidst the rude mountains called the Grampian range, were situated the powerful and unconquered race, who are termed by the Romans *Caledonian Britons*; and who, favoured by the strength of the country, left grounds for the boast of their descendants, still cherished in history and song, that

‘When the Romans endeavoured their country to gain,  
Their ancestors fought, and they fought not in vain.’

Thus far is tolerably plain sailing; but in the end of the third century (A. D. 296) occurs the mention of a third people, the *Picts*. In A. D. 306, these are again spoken of by Eumenius the Rhetorician, in an oration delivered at Augustodunum (Autun) in Gaul, before Constantine, the son of Constantius Chlorus, in praise of the exploits of the latter. The turn of expression here would seem to infer, that the Caledonians were, in those later days, classed with other tribes under the general name of *Picts*—‘*Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum*.’ Elsewhere the same orator talks of the *Britons*, the *Picts*, and the *Irish*, as inhabiting and waging war with each other in the isle of Britain. It is tolerably clear, then, that in the beginning of the fourth century, there were no *Scots* in the northern part of Britain, any more than there were, at the same period, English or Angles in its southern division.

The *Scots* were, in the meanwhile, an existing people, although they had not as yet been distinguished in the country which now bears their name.\* They seem to have made their first descent on *Ireland* during the third century, and probably toward the end of it; for none of the authors before that period, namely Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Mela, Ptolemy, Tacitus, Pliny, or Solinus, mention their existence. The Irish tradition infers their having come from Spain; and seas and climate considered, the west of that peninsula seems as natural a point for emigrating to the south of Ireland as any part of the north of Europe. Others, however, are captivated with the resemblance between the words *Scot* and *Seythian*, and insist, at all risks, on holding

\* One of the first times they are mentioned (if, indeed, they are not confounded with a tribe called the Attacotti, inhabiting a part of Monteith and the Lennox) is by St. Jérôme, in the character of cannibals. ‘When a very young boy,’ says he, ‘I myself beheld in Gaul a tribe of British descent, called the *Scots*, devouring human flesh.’ ‘*Quid loquar de cæteri nationibus, cum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderem Scotos, gentem Britannicam, humani vesci carnibus.*’ The assertion is positive; but it is easy to suppose how even a saint, *adhuc adolescentulus*, may have been imposed upon respecting the materials of the banquet. There was a grand controversy, now forgotten, on this passage, arising out of a note in Gibbon, in which Dr. Parr cut a principal figure. Some MSS. for *Scotos* read *Attacottos*.



them to be synonymous. Be that as it may, to *Ireland* came the Scots—and, to the great confusion of history, conferred on the Green Isle the name of Scotland.

The 'first gem of the sea' had already been occupied by the Hiberni, or Hiberniones, of whom nothing is known save that they were probably a colony from Britain—perhaps the same people whom O'Flaherty, assigning to them an indefinite antiquity, distinguishes by the name of Firhomraigh, Fermorians, and affirms to be genuine Autochthones.\* Over these Hiberni, however, the invading Scots appear to have obtained, for the time, a complete superiority. In the very ancient work called St. Patrick's Confession, they are uniformly distinguished as lords of the soil, while the old inhabitants figure as common people or vassals. It was evidently no single invasion which could give the strangers such an ascendancy.

A restless, a wandering, and it would appear a conquering race, the Scots of Ireland soon extended themselves into the north-western extremity of Great Britain, where, after having occupied several of the western islands, they, at length, possessed themselves of Argyll,—the country, that is, of the Gael or Gauls. The Irish Scots, who accomplished this settlement, are usually termed Dalriads, or Dalreudini. This first descent of the Scots on the land to which they were afterwards to give a *permanent* name, was made, it is said, under the command of Cairbar Riadah, who had been forced to fly from Ulster by the arms of Fin M'Coul, the Fingal of Macpherson. The plausible date assigned to this event is about the year 258. The Scots no doubt found Argyll and Cantire thinly peopled, as well as abounding with strong defiles; the one circumstance enabling them easily to obtain possession of the country, and the other assisting them in maintaining it. This Dalriadic colony, however, seems at length to have drawn on themselves the enmity of the Picts—a much more numerous and powerful nation—by whom they were expelled from Scotland, about the middle of the fifth century. They appear, however, to have remained united; at least, the Irish authorities give one catalogue, and the Scottish a similar, though not an exactly corresponding list, of the chiefs succeeding to Cairbar Riadah, by whom the Dalriads were governed, from their first entrance to Argyll to the expulsion from thence—and continuing the genealogy, during their exile, down to Fergus the son of Erch or Eric. This Fergus, according to our later and more sound antiquaries, is the founder of the Scottish line. He led back the Dalreudini to the shores of Argyll, established them in

\* See Father Innes's Essay, p. 517. Tillemont, *Historia Ecclesiæ*, p. 453.

the settlement from which their fathers had been driven by the Picts, and was the first king of the Scots in North Britain, though his kingdom was limited to little more than one county of what is now termed Scotland. This second arrival of the Scoto-Irish seems to have been about 503.

After having thus achieved their final settlement in Britain, the Scots or Scoto-Irish invaders are very frequently named in history—often as combining their forces with those of the Picts in making the furious inroads by which the Roman province of South Britain was long infested and at length totally overrun; and, perhaps, more frequently as engaged in contests with each other. These last became more incessant and deadly after the arrival of the Saxons: these two nations were now compelled to exhaust on each other the warlike spirit which no longer found a vent at the expense of their southern neighbours. At length, the Scots becoming decidedly superior in the struggle, the Picts, A. D. 840, were defeated by Kenneth M'Alpine, the twenty-fourth prince in descent from Fergus the son of Eric; and the Scots, improving their victory, it is said, with exterminating cruelty, the Picts sustained such loss, that their name is afterwards scarce mentioned in history—where, amid the darkness of a barbarous age, they had hitherto made a rather conspicuous figure. This phenomenon, the vanishing of a whole people from the page of history, reminds us of those accidents in natural scenery, where, upon tracing some fine stream with the degree of pleasure which such occupation usually excites, we arrive at the spot where it is swallowed up by

——— 'Caverns measureless to man,  
And sinks in silence to a sunless ocean.'

But we shall be called upon to consider this remarkable fact ere we finish our article.

Father Innes, it must be observed, was an antiquary, not an historian. His Essay was of a negative nature, merely showing what parts of the apocryphal history of Scotland could not possibly be true. He conjured down at once almost one-half of the sceptred shadows, which had kept their fantastic stand in the misty porch of Scottish history. He had ventured into the *mare incognitum*, and ascertained one-half of the islands of former navigators to be, in sailor's language, Cape Flyaways; but he had not pretended to survey the shores and islets of which the dim region actually afforded traces.

The more important part, though not the whole of this research, was left to Sir David Dalrymple, Bart., a Scottish judge, by the title of Lord Hailes. There was never, perhaps, an author  
better



better qualified, from habits and qualities, to become the father of national history, in a country where the real springs had been in a great measure choked up and destroyed, and where fanciful authors had hewn out to themselves broken cisterns which could hold no water. In his profession as a barrister, Dalrymple had been intimate beyond others with that branch of jurisprudence which connects itself with the history and antiquities of Scotland; and his Memorial or Legal Statement, in the great case respecting the succession to the earldom of Sutherland, is still accounted, both in a legal and literary point of view, one of the most able pleadings on the rules of construction which ought to be applied to ancient grants of hereditary nobility that ever enlightened a court of justice. Of a distinguished whig family, he was, by education and early instruction, freed from certain prejudices, not unamiable in their origin, but highly calculated to blind historical judgment, which were, in his day, almost unalienably attached to the character of the opposite party; while his calm and candid temper secured him from embracing in extravagance the tenets of his own Whig friends. The leisure—for a Scottish judge of the Court of Session was not then oppressed with a degree of labour under which the stoutest constitutions have been in later times known to sink, and the strongest minds to give way—the leisure which his office permitted him was sufficient: a noble library of his own, and the full command of the inestimable collection belonging to the Faculty of Advocates, afforded him an ample mine of materials; and habits of accuracy, pushed almost to the verge of prudery, were the warrant at the same time for laborious research and for scrupulous fidelity.

In communicating truths, of which he had to tell many unpleasant to preconceived opinions or prejudices, Lord Hailes's independent and dignified situation obtained for him a credence which might have been refused to a mere literary adventurer. Above all, and far superior in this to future labourers in the same vineyard, Lord Hailes's principles, moral and religious, rendered him incapable of making differences upon abstract questions of history a reason for triumphing over those who might entertain less sound opinions than his own. He at no time rendered a painful truth yet more unacceptable by stating it with bitterness. His aim was to make converts to his opinions by force of argument and persuasion, not by reproach, ridicule, and sarcasm.

The *Annals of Scotland*, by this excellent person, of which the first volume was published in 1776, do not embrace those darker periods

periods of which we have hitherto been treating, and to which we must again return. They commence A.D. 1034, at the well-chosen epoch of the gracious Duncan's ascent to the throne, from which he was precipitated by the treason of his kinsman, Macbeth,—a point of Scottish history which, illuminated by the fire of genius, like some solitary peak in a distant range of mountains touched with the beams of the rising sun, shines with a brilliancy not its own, and seems clear and distinct to the eye, while all around is dark and uncertain. This secures to the first pages of our annalist an attention to which those that follow cannot aspire; for who is not attracted by the well-known sounds of Macbeth, Banquo, Macduff, and Malcolm, and would not willingly listen to the real history of the actors in that immortal drama? As the annals are, in a great measure, a collection of detached facts, recorded under their respective dates, they are, of course, brief, dry notices of insulated occurrences, and possess little interest to the general reader, except that which we have already noticed, till they reach the great events which followed the accession of David I. Lord Hailes here employs language severely conforming to that of the authorities—who afforded him, indeed, information of the events, but no means of arguing on them. As the story advances, the style becomes more animated and interesting, and the author not only details his facts in a clear, precise, and manly manner, but illustrates them by a selection of the most striking details and characteristic expressions collected from old authorities, and also by the shrewd and terse remarks which the progress of the tale suggested to one well acquainted both with books and men. These Annals reach from 1034 down to the death of David II., in 1370-1. A better and surer guide through a history which, till his time, was almost totally unknown, will never be supplied, though unquestionably much remains to be discovered, and some things to be corrected. As was the historian's office and duty, Lord Hailes, in the course of his narrative, overthrew or dispersed the various inventions, traditions, and legends with which the adulation of bards, the superstition of monks, and last, not least, the vanity of Boethius and his kindred, had encumbered the fabric of Scottish history. These popular idols were not to be pulled down—these Dalilabs of the public imagination were not to be destroyed, however, without opposition. Scotland was generally surprised and offended at the great innovation upon her antiquities. From occupying a huge portion of the imagination of the natives, that remainder of the favourite legends, which stood the test of Lord Hailes's refining crucible, dwindled into comparatively a

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matter not worth even thinking on. The feelings of the nation resembled those of the wizzard, whose treasure, derived from the father of falsehood, is turned suddenly into trash—or of an over-trading banker, who awakes, and behold! his paper—is paper. No precise answer was made to Lord Hailes. Lord Elibank, who was remarkable for exercising in paradoxes his very acute understanding, attempted, indeed, a defence of the tradition concerning the supposed league between Charlemagne and the Scottish King Achaius; but this contest of wit and ingenuity with research and learning soon ended; and that precious figment has since slept with its fathers.

With such an impression of Lord Hailes's merits, we are far from asserting his infallibility. With all his talent and industry, he was only a single individual labouring in a difficult task, where the toil of others had hitherto done but little. He may and must have made mistakes and omissions; and, while distrusting the prejudices of others, occasionally was the victim of his own incredulity, and rejected facts which have since been proved to be true, because they seemed improbable. But we contend strenuously, that he who first gave a clue to the labyrinth of Scottish history is entitled to the most profound respect from those whose task he has rendered so easy; and that his errors, when such occur, should be handled with the same affectionate respect as those of a parent.

The emendations thus introduced by Lord Hailes were far from being readily or cordially adopted by his countrymen; but *magna est veritas, et prævalebit*—they took not the less root that they were considered at first with rather unwilling minds, and only admitted because truth was irrefragable. Still it was only on the middle ages of Scottish history, that Dalrymple's labours had thrown actual light. He had blown, like a destined knight, the trumpet of truth before the enchanted castles which Boethius and Buchanan had established on the debateable ground; but when their portals, towers, and barbicans had dissolved before his summons, the space hitherto filled by these delusive monuments remained—mere space. It was to be expected that others would arise to attempt at least carrying into the dim æra of the Caledonians, Picts, Scots, and Dalriads, something of the spirit of Sir David's research. And here, accordingly, there began, ere long, a controversy in which the most violent opinions have been maintained on the slightest authorities, and which may be termed to Scottish antiquaries the very slough of despond, whereon much learning has been thrown without mending the path; or, rather, a Serbonian bog, capable of swamping whole armies of commentators.

The

The first who sounded its depths was the pugnacious John Pinkerton. He was a man of an eager, acute, tenacious temper; a devourer of learning—a very *helluo librorum*, who, relinquishing the profession of the law, to which he was bred up, resolved, to force himself into notice by dint of a display of profound learning, inferring an acquaintance with the most uncommon and abstruse authors, and a great degree of contempt for those whose researches had not matched his own. He entertained or affected great respect for, and acquaintance with, the works of foreign literati; and, assuming an enthusiasm for their learning, indulged his own arrogance by employing their uncivil language, and translating the classical vituperation of *mentiris impudentissime* into the St. Giles's dialect of 'you lie, scoundrel.'

It may puzzle some of our readers who are not familiarly acquainted with the study of antiquities, to guess what opportunities that very abstract pursuit can possibly afford for the use of violent language or party spleen. Indeed, a plain man would imagine, *a priori*, that no more passionless investigation could well be discovered than one touching the language, manners, and fortunes of a nation whose memory is now only preserved by a few brief indications in hoary chronicles, more than a thousand years old, and a dubious chain of popular tradition. Pinkerton, however, contrived to introduce into his argument a deep and peculiar strain of offence. His 'Essay on the History of Scotland preceding the Reign of Malcolm III.' is founded on one wide and sweeping assertion. It pleased Mr. John to divide modern Europe into four classes:—Two of these—and the only two with which we are at present concerned—being first, the *Celts*, the most ancient inhabitants of Europe, 'and who were to the others what the savages of America are to the European settlers there;' and, second, the *Goths*, a mighty and preponderating people, originally Scythians, who, coming westward from the wilds of their native country, occupied, conquered, and colonised all the northern parts of Europe. Mr. Pinkerton debates at great length, and with much display of learning, on the history of the Goths, and the conquests which he states them to have obtained over the Celts, in their progress through all Europe. It is not with this general statement that we are called upon to struggle; but he proceeds to lay down the law, that—'The Celts of Ireland, Wales, and the Highlands of Scotland, are savages, have been savages since the world began, while a separate people, that is, while themselves and of unmixed blood;' and affirms that 'the contempt borne by these Celts for the England-Lowland-Scottish and later Irish, (who are Irish and Scots,) is extreme, and knows no bounds.'



Elsewhere the same strain is pursued—‘The Celts of Scotland always are, and continue to be, a dishonoured, timid, filthy, ignorant, and degraded race’

It is to the lies of our Celtic neighbours that we are indebted for the fables of English history down to within these thirty years, and the almost total perdition of the history of Scotland and Ireland. Geoffroy of Monmouth, most of the Irish historians, and the Highland bards and seannachies in Scotland, show that falsehood is the natural growth of the Celtic mind; and the case is the same to this day. No reprobation can be too strong for such frontless impudence; and to say that a writer is a Celt, is to say that he is a stranger to truth, modesty, and morality. Diodorus Siculus (lib. v., p. 354) remarks the cloudy speech and intellect, synecdochic phrase, and hyperbolical pride of the old Celts. Their idiotic credulity was derided by the Roman poets—“*Et timidus Gallus credulitate fruatur*”—“*Vaniloquum Celtae genius*.”—Characters of nations change—Characters of savage races never.—*Dissertation on the Goths.*

Such extravagant abuse puts a sober-minded reader in remembrance of a case of supposed possession, and induces him to exclaim with the clown, in *Twelfth Night*, ‘O hyperbolical fiend! how vexest thou this man!’

The Highlanders of Scotland, Celts or not, for many of them are of Scandinavian or Gothic origin, had long inherited a large share of the kindness and respect of their countrymen. Three centuries had passed away since they were considered as the enemies of the Lowlanders. Their primitive manners, and mode of life—their ready and constant use of arms—the unquestionable courage which they had displayed on many occasions, and particularly during the wars of Montrose and Dundee, and in the later insurrections of 1715 and 1745—even the severities inflicted on them—had rendered them interesting to their countrymen; in a word, the whole nation was disposed—we think justly—to consider them the representatives of the ancient Scots, from whom the royal line was unquestionably descended, and who, by the admission of Mr. Pinkerton himself, had given name to the whole nation. It cannot be denied that they were a very poor people, indifferent to comforts which they had not the means of obtaining; ignorant, because they had not the means of instruction; contented with the most wretched accommodation; indifferent to cleanliness, which was no especial attribute of their Lowland neighbours—Goths, as Mr. Pinkerton would insist upon terming them;—in short, it must be admitted that these Highland Celts shared all the miseries and privations incident to a people driven by preponderating force, out of a country comparatively fertile, and forced to defend their independence among

among barren rocks and wildernesses. We must also allow that their character comprehends a considerable portion of what they themselves call *spag-linhn*, or assumption of consequence; nor do we see much cause for wonder here, it being the common nature of human beings to seek in such feelings internal solace for the pressure of external circumstances. But when all this is admitted, there must remain with the Highlanders, as a people, the virtues of unshaken faith, hospitality, and a general high-toned feeling of thought and expression approaching more nearly to the enthusiasm of chivalry than any thing to be found among their Lowland neighbours; though these also may claim their peculiar merits. The slur of want of courage will hardly stick upon the Welsh, who so long defended their *paupera regna* against the overbearing force of the whole kingdom of England, and yielded at last less to open force than fraud, and the consequences of their own civil dissensions; and such charges brought against the Irish nation are too ludicrous to admit serious consideration. We presume that a regiment of either of these three races would desire nothing better than to rest the character of their country on the issue of a contest with an equal or superior number, either of Swedes, Danes, or Saxons, whichever might be reckoned the most genuine representatives of the mighty Goths, or of the trans-Tiberini themselves, the unquestionable descendants of the far more mighty Romans, by whom the world was conquered.

The Highland antiquaries justly incurred Pinkerton's severe censure for the readiness with which they had reposed unlimited confidence in the sophisticated poems of Ossian, and endeavoured to pass them as historical authorities upon their neighbours. But, although this castigation was merited, it came with indifferent grace from the author who had, in his first literary work, attempted to palm on the public a whole sheaf of modern antique ballads, which he (John Pinkerton) only confessed to be imitations, when he perceived that no one was disposed to receive them as genuine.

We well remember how angry and mortified the Highlanders were at Pinkerton's impeachment of their national consequence, and how a club of young men of that time, more in playful malice than in serious conviction, enjoyed their vexation, and embroiled the dispute, by assuming the title of *The Mighty Goths*. The humour, however, had its day, and the Highlanders were, in due time, restored to the post of being, after their cognates of Wales, the most ancient and unmingled race of the inhabitants of Britain. When we would describe the genius of Scotland, he still appears as he was seen of yore by an inspired Lowland bard,

Great



\*Great daring darted from his eye,  
A broadsword schogled at his thigh,  
On his right arm a targe.'

Having bestowed an immense profusion of many-langued lore on the Goths in general, it was Mr. Pinkerton's next business to conduct to Scotland a band of this noble people, and place them in the capacity of conquerors over the detested Celts. For this purpose, he selected a tribe residing near Colchis, called Peuki, transported them from the Euxine sea to the mouth of the Danube, and finally to the shores of the Baltic, at the expense of a display of erudition which rather tends to embarrass the reader than to illustrate the argument. You find yourself, while quotations of Greek and Latin are resounding around you, in the situation of the boy whose holiday stock of fireworks has exploded in his pocket, very much alarmed and very little hurt. One good authority of an ancient author, stating these Peuki to have come to Scandinavia from the Euxine sea, and to have gone from thence to Scotland, and occupied the Lowlands of that country, would have been worth a thousand vague insinuations and fanciful deductions, but we are furnished with none such. The conclusion to which Mr. Pinkerton arrives is, that these Peuki of the Euxine, after using the varied names of Peuke, Peukini, Pichtar, Peuchtar, or Pehten, at length settled in the eastern Lowlands of Scotland, under the name of Piks or *Piki*. The Romans, however, found fault, it seems, with this last denomination. The word *Piki* implied, in Latin, *wood-peckers*, and a victory over such an enemy would have sounded oddly in their annals; and for this reason, we are assured, the Romans changed the name of their noble antagonists to Picts. The last step in the real derivation, however, was more probably *Vik-Viriar*—the Picts being the genuine *Vikings*, or sea-kings of the north. Great questions for argument were thus launched forth to the world. If the Picts were Peuki, they were Goths; if they were sea-kings, then they were Scandinavians; in either case, they spoke a Gothic dialect, and must have bequeathed it to their descendants. Hence the question became infinitely more curious than as it related merely to the twilight history of a people, little but whose name survived; in a word, it came to touch on the history and composition of the Scottish language. The Gothic champions boldly advocated the theory that, as the Picts, supposing them Goths, must have spoken a Teutonic dialect, therefore the materials of the existing English tongue must have been possessed in Scotland long before the Angles had given either name or language to old England itself.

The hypothesis of Pinkerton had, in truth, been struck out before

before his day by Sir John Clerk of Pennicuik, though with the modest hesitation of a scholar, and the civilized manners of a gentleman. After publication of the Inquiry, its author obtained many followers, although some of them relapsed to the Celtic faith. Amongst those who remained were Dr. John Jamieson, author of the dictionary, the late John Sibbald, editor of a selection of ancient Scottish poems, and other distinguished archæologists.

George Chalmers raised a banner against Pinkerton on the other side, and long previous to the publication of his great work of Caledonia—a work unequalled, if we consider it as a mass of materials assembled by the labour of a single man—Joseph Ritson, an antiquary of the first order, had embraced the same side with much vehemence. Of this last writer we may say with justice, that, allowing for a certain portion of irritability (a constitutional *disease*), he possessed, in a degree surpassing his contemporaries, the patience, the candour, and the industry necessary for antiquarian researches. He was firm, and somewhat obstinate in his opinions, as was natural in one who had adopted them after much thought. But he piqued himself on the most perfect honesty in research and quotation, and, if you brought him sufficient evidence to convince him of his error, he was the first to avow his conviction to the world. His violence, though often to be regretted, was always sincere and unaffected; while that of Pinkerton was suspected by some of his friends to be in a great measure assumed, for the sake of attracting attention. Certain it is that the latter antiquary laid aside much of the virulence displayed in his earlier publications, as he fell into the vale of years. The sun set heavily on both—for Joseph Ritson's whimsicalities terminated in mental alienation; and the career of Pinkerton, which in its commencement attracted the notice of Gibbon, who desired to adopt him as an associate in the proposed task of editing the British historians, ended in exile, in obscurity, and we fear in indigence. His studious and laborious disposition deserves praise; and the defects we have had to notice with pain, arose in youth from the arrogance of inexperience, and in his latter years from mortification at the failure of a long series of literary attempts—some of which merited another fate.

Ritson's posthumous publication now before us is entitled *Annals of the Caledonians, Picts, and Scots, and of Strathclyde, Camberland, and Galloway*. These *annals* consist of separate lists of *all* the passages concerning each of these peoples and districts,—with the name of the author marked beneath each little extract. Every set of annals, therefore, contains all that one could



could learn by laboriously wading through the whole long catalogue of authorities. It is evident that such a summary of authorities, so collected, and given without fear or favour, must contain the whole of the genuine materials of judgment. It is not every antiquarian disputant whom we would permit to arrange the evidence for us; many of the tribe might wish to bring into court those witnesses only whose testimony made for their own side of the question. But the accuracy and fidelity of Ritson are beyond suspicion.

In the Gothic system, adopted and advocated by Pinkerton, he was met by a singular dilemma, the consequences of which affect, more than he was willing to allow, the train of his whole reasoning. In supposing the *Picts* to have been a Gothic people, he encountered a choice of difficulties: either they were the same with the ancient *Caledonians*, continually spoken of by the Roman historians, from Tacitus to Procopius; or, they must have been a separate people, who invaded and conquered those original natives about the year 296,—when the *Picts* are first mentioned in history,—and who, in the course of the next century, must have totally rooted out and destroyed these *Caledonians*, since the latter are, after the beginning of the third century, rarely mentioned in history.

It is clear that if Mr. Pinkerton could have made any choice betwixt these alternatives, with the least countenance from history, the latter would have best suited his system. Accordingly he frankly tells us, that before he had fully examined the subject, 'he was of opinion that the *Picts* were a new race, who had come in upon the *Caledonians* in the third century, and expelled them.' But finding that this theory, 'although, perhaps, many an acute and wise argument might be employed in it,' was totally in opposition to every existing authority, he assumes credit for renouncing it, and acquiescing in the conclusion that the *Caledonians* and the *Picts* were one and the same people.

This, indeed, is the one point on which most who have considered the question seem to agree; but in acceding to it, Mr. Pinkerton has raised serious objections to many parts of his own theory. In the first place, this invasion from the north of Europe (totally unauthorized by history) puts an end to the whole position about *Sea-Kings*, or *Vik-Viriar*,—for who ever heard of Scandinavian invasions two centuries before the Christian era? In the second place, we are required to believe that the *Piker*, *Pichter*, *Piechtar*, or *Peuchtar*, had, for three centuries and upwards, laid aside all the glories of their name, derived, as it was, from the euphonious sound of *Peuké*, by which their native home on the banks

banks of the Euxine had been distinguished, and which they had bestowed upon a mountainous tract on the shores of the Baltic. We are required, we say, to believe that all these appellations were laid aside and suffered to merge in the general term Caledonians, which is supposed to signify foresters, or the inhabitants of a wooded region,—a term indisputably of Celtic origin. It is even more startling to require our further assent to the proposition that, after a space of three centuries, during which they had been contented to veil their Gothic glories under the Celtic appellation of Caledonians, the nation suddenly re-assumed, and stuck exclusively to, their original name of Picts, or Piks, which they had all along known as their only proper name. If Pinkerton had found such a position in the writings of an unfortunate Celt, what quarter would have been granted?

Pinkerton stands, however, on the authority of Tacitus; and indeed no other authority worthy of much notice has ever been pressed into the service. The Roman historian affords, indeed, no countenance to the idea that the Peukini, or any other people, conquered and took possession of North Britain; but he argues distinctly, that the Caledonians must have been of German origin, *since they resembled the Germans in their large limbs and red hair.* He speaks, however, with much less certainty on the subject than those who have written upon it so many centuries after the people themselves have ceased to exist. His words are—*Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerunt, indigenæ an advecti—ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii: atque ex eo argumenta; namque rutikæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem asseverant. Silurum colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines, et positio contra Hispaniam, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi; seu, procurrentibus in diversa terris, positio cæli corporibus habitum dedit. In universum tamen æstimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est.\** This passage, in our view, seems to exclude the existence of any collateral evidence which might add force to the supposition afforded by corporeal resemblance. If, for example, there had been any rumour among the inhabitants of Caledonia that their ancestors emigrated from Germany, and settled, either forcibly or by permission, upon the coasts which they had since inhabited, Tacitus would not have failed to notice a report corroborative of his opinions. Again, if there had been any feature of national customs, national manners, or national worship, which assimilated the Caledonians to

\* Tacitus in Agricola.



the Germans,—and created a difference betwixt them and the other races of Britain,—Tacitus was neither so bad a reasoner nor so indifferent an observer as to suffer so strong a circumstance to escape his notice. Much more are we entitled to say, that the Caledonians must have spoken the same language with the other nations of Britain, since the fact of their having spoken German, or anything allied to it, could not, for an instant, have escaped the remark of Agricola and his army, and must, of course, when reported to Tacitus, have been considered by him as more decisive proof of their German descent than their large limbs and red hair, since such external similitude might be the work of chance, or, perhaps, of resemblance of climate, while correspondence of language is an infallible mark of common descent.

Under any theory, much cannot be founded *here* on the differences of complexion; since Pinkerton well knew that the Scotch-Irish, undeniably *Celts*, are addressed by a bard of their own as ‘the sons of Alba, the men of the yellow tresses,’ and that in the very song which details the names of their kings.

To return to Tacitus,—‘*Proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi; seu, procurrentibus in diversa terris, positio cæli corporibus habitum dedit.*’ So far the proofs are alike in all the three cases; but mark what follows in that which is applicable only to the descent of the *Britons*, so far as they spring from the *Gauls*:—‘*In universum tamen æstimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione. Sermo haud multum diversus; in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia, et ubi advenere, in detractandis eadem formido;—plus tamen ferociæ Britanni præferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit; nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; amissa virtute pariter ac libertate; quod Britannorum olim victis evenit—cæteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.*’

Here is a proof that Tacitus knew the importance of bringing forward the similarity of manners and language. There may be a dispute *how far* the similarity is asserted by the historian, to have existed betwixt the Britons and Gauls,—whether through the race generally, or only as applicable to those tribes which lay nearest to France. This depends on the interpretation of *vicinum solum*. It may aid us in our interpretation if we consider that the only Britons who could, in the time of Tacitus, be termed *unconquered*, were not such as resided on the sea-coast opposite to Gaul;—for these tribes were first of all invaded and broken;—but the Caledonians, who still maintained stout resistance.

We are not interested in disputing that the Caledonians carried

on

on any such commerce as they possessed by means of the ports of the Low Countries; and it is probable enough that in the fast following changes of such a period, they might augment their population by emigrations from those Belgic shores; in other words, that a stream of German blood thus infused into their Celtic veins, might have made them approach more nearly in appearance to the deep-blooming, large-bodied, strong-limbed, yellow-haired, and blue-eyed Teuton. But by the negative evidence of Tacitus, they had neither his rites, his laws, his altar, nor his language; and we think this positive evidence will bear us out in asserting, that their religion, temper, habits, and speech were decidedly Celtic, being those of old Gaul.

The *Caledonians*, however, maintained an obstinate struggle against the Romans, from the latter part of the first to the beginning of the third century; during which time all the unconquered tribes beyond the Northern wall were designed by this generic appellation, though doubtless consisting, according to the unhappy custom of the Gauls, of small independent states or clans, whom a strong and immediate sense of public and general danger could alone bring to act in concert. The expedition of Severus, as it was the last, so it was the most formidable invasion which the conquerors of the world directed against the barbarians of Britain. This emperor himself, a prince of great military skill, marched from York, at the head of an immense army destined to carry fire and sword to the northern extremity of the island, with the avowed determination not only completely to crush the barbarians, but to cut down their woods, make roads over their mountains and through their marshes, and render the whole country accessible to the Roman legions. Through fatigue, privation, and constant skirmishes, Severus is said, by Dion, to have lost fifty thousand men—a statement which will illustrate the original numbers of his host. He penetrated as far as the Firth of Moray; but, exhausted by losses, and himself broken in health, and afflicted by family dissensions, he was finally compelled to make a treaty with the *Caledonians*, leaving them in possession of the inaccessible country, the attempt to conquer which had cost him such loss. Having made a peace, which he meant should be perpetual, he showed the imperfect nature of his success by again repairing the wall betwixt the Firths of Clyde and Forth, and assigning it as the frontier of the Roman province.

This was accomplished in 210, and in 212 the Britons were again in arms; and now, not only the *Caledonians*, who advanced southward from the barren mountains, in which the arms of the emperor had cooped them up for a short season, but also the  
Meatæ,



Meata, or half-subdued people, who resided between the two walls, were united against the Romans. This incensed Severus so much, that he reassembled his forces with the declared purpose of sparing neither sex nor age in his next campaign; and by slaying even mothers with their unborn infants, to exterminate, if possible, these obstinate barbarians. He died while at York, and was saved the actual guilt of the atrocious campaign which he meditated. After the death of this emperor, we hear little more of the Caledonians under that title; though the name continues to occur occasionally in history. And this brings us back to Pinkerton and his antagonists.

Amidst their confusion of statements, we see, or think we see—for critics are not exempt from the illusions proper to this fairy ground, of which it may be said, ‘the isle is full of noises’—we think, then, we see fair reasons for holding to the opinion of George Chalmers. It has the advantage of agreeing substantially with those of Camden, Selden, and Father Innes. In a word, Chalmers has argued the case of the Pictish origin with much attention, and seems to us to prove clearly that the Picts are no other than the Caledonian Britons, driven to the extremity of Scotland, beyond the Moray Frith, by the overbearing force of the Romans, but who, returning when the decay of the empire, felt through all its frontiers, gave the barbarians, in their turn, the power of becoming the assailants, confined the Romans to a defensive war, which, for the sake of the unhappy colonists, they maintained and renewed from time to time, until at length they left them to their own resources and fairly evacuated the island. The very same people, in short, or confederacy of tribes, who retreated as Caledonians, advanced again, if our theory be the true one, under their new name of Picts.

Nor does there seem any necessity for searching for the etymology of the name further than the obvious meaning of the Latin word *Picti*, very naturally applied to them by the Romans and the Roman colonists. Cæsar had found the Britons of his time in the habit of tattooing their bodies, and staining them with various colours, either from that love of ornament which seems to precede even the invention of decent dress—or from the desire, by thus distinguishing themselves in the field of battle, of inspiring confidence amidst their followers and terror in the enemy. The free Britons retained this custom, while those who were subdued by the Romans laid that, with other warlike habits, aside; and, in the words of Tacitus, lost at once their courage and their liberty. In the time of Agricola, the custom of painting the body was still, probably, so general, that a name derived from its use would not have

have indicated distinctly any particular tribe or body of people; the term of Caledonians, or Woodsmen, was, therefore, bestowed on the barbarians who opposed the father-in-law of Tacitus. But the victory over Galgacus, followed by the successes of Lollius Urbicus and other Roman generals, repelled, from time to time, the attacks of the Britons, and prevented intercourse between the Roman colonists, unless so far as the wealth of the latter was temptation to the poverty of the last, and induced them to predatory incursions. The great effort of Severus must have contributed still further to the increase of this estrangement; and it became every day more natural that both the Roman soldiers and the colonial Britons should distinguish their northern neighbours by a name taken from a practice entirely disused in the peaceful and subjugated province of South Britain. They called, then, those wild foresters the *painted men*; exactly such a title as the English settlers might have bestowed upon the native savages of America, had they not chosen to confuse topography by giving them the name of Indians. Many an epithet, given originally as a nickname to a nation or to a faction, has the luck to be adopted and used by themselves in serious earnest; and we see no reason for hesitating to conclude that the unconquered mountaineers took up the name thus bestowed on them by the Romans, varying the accent by a guttural, as was common among the Celts, and pronouncing the word, as, indeed, it is to this day pronounced in Scotland by the vulgar, *Peght*. We can discover little need for seeking further. Claudian's evidence establishes the fact that these people were really addicted to the habit from which we presume their name to have been assigned to them. In one passage we find—

— ‘nec falso nomine Pictos.’

And in one yet more striking, he represents the victorious legionary as perusing the decaying characters marked on the body of the dying barbarian—

— ‘ferroque notatas  
Perlegit exangues Picto moriente figuras.’

Ritson raises an objection to our system, which we should hardly have expected from so acute an antiquary.

‘Another reason (says he), which will render the pretence of the Picts being Caledonians, or indigenous Britons, still more absurd, is the authentic epistle of Gildas, who, being himself a Briton, and having likewise resided for some time in Ireland, could not possibly have been mistaken in the account he has given of these hostile, savage, and pagan strangers, (*viz.* the *Picts*.) without the slightest intimation that they had degenerated from their parent stock.’—vol. i. p. 88.

Surely,



Surely, in answer to this, it is enough to say that propinquity of blood no more binds individuals or nations in amity, as a matter of necessity, than propinquity of tenets establishes good will among sects—ἐχθραὶ ἀδελφῶν. A rude and fierce people, like the free Britons, whether we call them Caledonians or Picts, must have entertained, against the effeminate and timid colonist and bondsman of Rome, even such a spiteful mixture of anger and contempt as that with which a flock of jackdaws may be seen to welcome a tamed individual of the same breed, who has escaped from his wicker cage in full uniform of cap and bells. Besides the abstract feeling of contempt and hatred nourished by the free savage against the degenerate tyro of civilization; there was, moreover, in this case, every passion afloat which could stimulate the stronger party. It was a war, in which every circumstance tempted to the indulgence of every species of oppression. The free Briton was powerful, the colonist weak; the former accustomed to war, proud, haughty, domineering; the latter effeminate, feeble, and accustomed to constant submission. The one was covetous of the wealth which he could only gain by cruelty and rapine, the other wanted heart to defend it. What could a distant recollection of common descent have availed to restrain such powerful motives for rapacity? or what wonder that Gildas, however querimonious, should not have thought it worth while to record as an exaggeration of the many injuries he and his neighbours received from the Picts, that they were inflicted by their cousins only ten times removed? for, in truth, there had been no intercourse between the southern and northern Britons for at least three centuries, a time long enough to puzzle pedigrees, even in the memory of a Welshman. Lastly, and *ex super abundanti*, it is to be considered that the ravages and atrocities, of which the British Jeremiah complains, were not inflicted by the Picts alone, but by the Scots also, against whom the charge of unkind cousinship could not be objected.

So much for Ritson and Gildas. It is, moreover, clear that the Picts were, one division of them at least, actually in possession of the old name of Caledonians, very slightly altered—for Ammianus Marcellinus expressly tells us that the Picts are divided into Vecturiones and Deucaledonii; the former of which names distinguished those who achieved settlements beyond the wall of Severus; the latter applied to such of the nation as remained in the more northern provinces possessed by the Caledonians of old. When there is such a penury of evidence, every circumstance becomes of importance.

The next subject of bitter argument is the Pictish language:—  
and

and this, indeed, is the only point of their history at all interesting to the present generation. Their manners and customs cannot now be traced; their religion, or rather the superstitions which they received before they were converted to Christianity, are scarcely to be seen; their battles and conquests were like the battles of kites and crows; but if the Picts were really the nation who transmitted to us the first germ of the noble language which has gained immortality from having been so often employed in the service of genius, and in defence of religion and liberty, we ought to collect and cherish the least fact in their history, as we would the ashes of our forefathers.

There was never a question of philological importance pressed within a narrower compass. We are left almost entirely to conjecture. The Picts, during the time the nation flourished, were, like other barbarians, too ardent upon acting to think of recording their feats; and, *de facto*, there are no remains of their language excepting a single word or two. That they had, however, a separate language of their own is marked and witnessed by Bede, who expressly says that the gospel is preached in this island in as many tongues as there are Books of Moses,—*quinque gentium linguas, Anglorum scilicet, Brittonum, Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum.* But in *what degree* the Pictish tongue differed from any of the others named,—whether it was of kin to the Celtic dialects of the Britons and Scots, or to the Gothic one of the Angles, Bede does not say. As little can we gather on this head from Adoman, the biographer of Saint Columba, who tells that in the country of the Picts that zealous missionary was obliged to employ an interpreter. The Welsh and the Scottish Highlanders do not at this day understand each other, though we all know that they speak cognate dialects of the Celtic. We are therefore free, in the absence of proof, to believe that the Picts spoke a third dialect of the Celtic, formed during their long exile into the remote regions beyond the Murray firth, and unintelligible in the end to either of the other Celtic tribes of these islands.

Now comes the single intelligible word of this once celebrated people, which has been accidentally preserved. Bede, in describing the northern wall of the Romans, says that it began at Abercnyh, the well-known Abercorn of later history, and extended to a place called, *sermone Pictorum*, in the Pictish language, *Penfahel*, but in the Saxon language, *Penellun*. Nennius, a Briton, terms the same place *Pengual*, and says it was denominated in Scottish, *Cenail*, but in English, *Penellun*. A single word affords a very narrow ground for controversy, especially where it is fiercely and sternly maintained. It is like coming to slugs and a sawpit. Let



us for once have recourse to etymology. The prefix *Pen* signifies a head or point, whether used literally or analogically. Penman-maur is the peak so called in Welsh; and all the *Bens* in the highlands of Scotland are peaked mountains. Pendragon, or Dragon's point or head, was the British name for the chief of their confederacies when they had the prudence to adopt one. *Fahel*, as pronounced by the Picts, was unquestionably the same with the *gual* of the Welsh; and *guahal*, the *gu* being pronounced like the modern *wh*, as often occurs in Celtic dialects, is simply *whaal* or *wall*: Penfahel, and Pengual, therefore mean the same thing, *caput valli*, namely the Head of the Wall.\* The Picts apparently used a pronunciation still practised in the northern counties, from whence they came, as in Aberdeenshire and Buchan, where the people *hodie* say *fat* instead of *what*, *fit* for *white*, and so forth.

On the other hand, the word Peneltun, by which the same place was distinguished in Saxon, is no more than a compound of the old Pictish and British name, with the addition of *ton* or *town*, usually applied to a dwelling or place of abode, and still used in that sense in modern Anglo-Scottish.† Peneltun is merely Pen-wal-ton, i. e. the town or dwelling at the head of the wall, a very natural name for any residence which might exist or be erected there. We do not, therefore, argue too much in saying that the slight difference between the British Pengual and the Pictish Penfahel consists merely in pronunciation, and that it argues, as far as the evidence goes, that both languages were Celtic. It remains to be noticed that the Scots used the word Cenail (Cean being equivalent in Irish to the British Pen) to denominate the same place. It is therefore probable (as, indeed, we should be inclined to conclude *a priori*), that the Celtic of Ireland, as spoken by the Dalriads, resembled the dialect of the Picts in a less degree than the British did. The prepositions of *Aber* and *Pit*, occurring frequently in the countries possessed by the Picts, are also said to be genuine remains of their language. *Aber*, signifying the opposite side of a river, is used commonly in Gaelic or Celtic;

\* It is well known to all who have looked in a Scottish book of antiquity, that the letters *gh*, absurdly printed *qu*, are almost uniformly placed for *wh*, of which it has the power and force. So *whom* is printed *quhom*, which is printed *quikh*, *what* is printed *quhat*, &c. to the very unnecessary cumberance of the Southron. This mode of expressing the sound is not, however, peculiar to Scotland. In the English chronicles, Guild-hall is often printed *Wheldr-hall*. In the Spanish, the same mode of writing is universally adopted, as *alguazil* is pronounced *alchazil*, &c.

† In Scotland, the *mansion*, though only a farm-house, is always called the town, and the difference between a landward town (frequently a single farm-house) and a borough town, makes the distinction between a solitary residence and what is in English called a town, or assembly of houses.

but then it exists in a similar sense in several Gothic dialects, so that this word affords no evidence on either side. *Pit* is used as a hollow in the Celtic, and the Anglo-Saxon use of the word, in the second and limited sense of a hole in the ground, seems secondary and derivative. The numerous proper names compounded with this prefix, in Fife and elsewhere, show that the Picts, who imposed them, use the word in its more general or Celtic acceptation.

Another piece of evidence on the subject of the Pictish language occurs in the names of their kings, preserved in a certain brief chronicle, written about the tenth century, retrieved from oblivion by the care of Father Innes, and the authenticity of which stands unimpeached. Unhappily the few words with which the chronicle is introduced are in Latin, and its contents are but a beadroll of harsh and very unchristian sounding names,—Drust, Drest, Necton, Morbot-filius, Drest, Gurthinthin-moch. The ingenious George Chalmers takes this unbaptized jargon in hand, and endeavours to prove that they are most of them of Celtic derivation; but to say the truth, etymological pursuits are so easily favoured by a *tour de force*, a little liberality of construction, that unless where derivations are obvious and manifest, they are very apt to remind us of Swift. Indeed, Mr. Chalmers was addicted to the Dean's method. In various instances he sent down to clergymen or others, five or six interpretations of the name of the parish or place which occupied his attention, and left it to his correspondents to select among them that derivation which best suited the localities. Even this equitable freedom of choice did not content some unreasonable persons. The clergyman whom he invited to assist him in selecting the most applicable interpretation of the proper name of his own parish, Stobo, sent him back the whole cargo, with an additional etymology, which he preferred to them all, the component parts being, according to his view, a Latin and a French word, *Sto-beau*, I stand fair, *i. e.* I command a beautiful prospect.

As we do not call into court the derivations of Mr. Chalmers, though making in favour of the side of the question which we have chiefly advocated in this article, so we must omit the evidence of Dr. Jamieson, the learned Scottish lexicographer, whose testimony would otherwise have weight on the opposite side. The doctor, who has done so much for the lowland Scottish brogue, is naturally jealous of its honour and antiquity, and favourable to the system of Pinkerton and other antiquaries, who, disdaining to account the dialect of Dunbar and Burns merely a slight variation of the Anglo-Saxon, first imported from England, and borrowed



from the Northumbrians, and other barbarous people, contend, on the contrary, that it is the lineal legitimate offspring of a noble antique Gothic dialect spoken by the Picts, and that it was generally adopted in Scotland, at least as soon as any Gothic roots had been planted on the southern soil of Great Britain by the Hengists and the Horsas. To verify this ambition of establishing a claim of high antiquity and originality for his Lowland Scottish, we can occasionally see in Dr. Jamieson's excellent book a desire to derive words and synonymes from the Islandic, the Suio-Gothic, and other more remote sources, which, if system had not been in the way, the venerable lexicographer might have found at his own door in the Anglo-Saxon.

The truth is, that we have of late years become more and more persuaded that it is not the mere circumstance of similar words with similar meanings being found in different dialects, all flowing from a common source, which is sufficient to prove that one tribe or people have borrowed their language from another. King James's observation, that *like* is a bad mark, has force here as well as elsewhere. The only feasible method of coming to any conclusion is to inquire carefully in which tongue any given vocable retains its most simple and primitive meaning. But the task of tracing the oblique uses of words to the direct and primitive sense has been much neglected by lexicographers; and by few more than Dr. Jamieson,—of these few one being Dr. Samuel Johnson.

But really—conclusions, formerly adopted as axioms, concerning the existence of four distinct mother languages in Europe, to which all European dialects were to be referred, and which mother languages, belonging to different generic races of mankind, had no resemblance with or derivation from each other, have of late years become extremely doubtful. The more extensively and accurately that the study of language is pursued, the more are men becoming convinced that all human tongues proceed from one and the same root; and even what Pinkerton considered as the impassable gulf between Goth and Celt is every day losing something of its importance. Let us pass, then, from the region of etymology, and return to historical facts, which, few and doubtful, are still the best we can find.

The Picts, advancing from the north against the Roman provinces, were seconded by the Scots or Dalriads, a tribe who, emigrating from Ireland, had twice attempted, and the second time succeeded in, colonizing Argyllshire. They of course lay on the western side of the wall, and were seconded by the tribes called Attacotti, of whom we know little more than that they were Britons,

uncom-

uncommonly savage, and occupied (probably) the shires of Ayr, Lanerk, Stirling, and Dumfries. The joint force of these barbarians was repeatedly driven back by the Romans,—for it was not one effort that could overthrow the colossal power which had been built to endure for ages. In 368 the armies of the free natives on the west frontier, joined with the Picts on the eastern side of the island, who, if not allied, were working to a joint purpose, not only passed the walls, as on former occasions, but followed their success into the very midst of South Britain, inspired terror and confusion into the capital, and were only driven back by Theodosius, who led to Britain, in person, the Jovian and Herculean legions. He thus again compelled to peace the insurgent tribes who, if the description of Gildas may be relied on, differed somewhat in manners (*moribus ex parte dissidentes*), but agreed in their thirst of human blood, in hiding their faces with shaggy hair, and in wearing cloths wrapped loosely around their middle. This passage (Gildas, cap. xv.) seems to intimate that the Picts, as well as the Scots, used the glibh or coolin, and wore the Irish mantle or Highland plaid.

Of other particulars concerning the Picts we learn little. They received the Christian religion, in a nominal manner at least, from the instructions of Saint Columba and Saint Palladius; but it does not appear to have mitigated their ferocity. Palladius died in the country of the Picts about 481.

It is here impossible to avoid remarking, that at Abernethy and at Brechin there are still in existence two of the round towers, of which so many occur in Ireland. Abernethy is said, by uniform tradition, to have been the capital of the Picts, and Brechin in the same district (now the county of Angus) was certainly a place of early importance. In Ireland there exist nearly thirty of these very peculiar buildings, which have been the very *cruces antiquariorum*. They could not have been beacons, for they are often (at Abernethy in particular) placed in low and obscure situations, though there are sites adjacent well calculated for watch-towers. They could not be hermitages, unless we suppose that some caste of anchorites had improved on the idea of Simon Stylites, and taken up their abode in the hollow of such a pillar as that of which the Syrian holy man was contented to occupy the top. They could hardly be belfries, for though always placed close or near to a church, there is no aperture at the top for suffering the sound of the bells to be heard. Minarets they might have been accounted, if we had authority for believing that the ancient Christians were summoned to prayers like the Mahometans by the voice of criers. It is, however, all but impossible to doubt that they were eccle-



siastical buildings; and the most distinct idea we are able to form of them is, from the circumstance that the inestimably singular scene of Irish antiquities, called the Seven Churches in the county of Wicklow, includes one of those round towers, detached in the usual manner, and another erected on the gable-end of the ruinous chapel of St. Kevin, as if some architect of genius had discovered the means of uniting the steeple and the church. These towers might, possibly, have been contrived for the temporary retreat of the priest, and the means of protecting the 'holy things' from desecration on the occasion of alarm, which in those uncertain times suddenly happened, and as suddenly passed away. These edifices at Brechin and Abernethy, however, were certainly constructed after the introduction of Christianity, and were, in all probability, built in imitation of the same round towers in Ireland, under the direction of the Irish monks who brought Christianity into Scotland. We may notice, however, that the masonry of these towers is excellent, and may be held, in some sort, to bear witness to the popular tradition, that the Picts were skilful in architecture.

The only further particular worth notice is, that the Picts, at least their principal leaders, used chariots, which seems to countenance their identity with the Caledonians, a considerable part of whose force consisted in the *corinarii* noticed by Tacitus. There may still be seen, in the churchyard of Meikle, (also in Angusshire,) an ancient monument representing a chief in his chariot, perhaps the only representation of the kind now extant in these kingdoms.

The rich plunder of the British province, and the feeble opposition of the Romanized Britons, tempted fresh incursions of the barbarous tribes. The Scots, when the Romans had left the island, pressed more and more heavily upon the provincialists on the western frontier. There had all along remained on the exterior of the more southern wall a considerable nation of Britons, who occupied the kingdom, as it is called, of Strath Clywd, running from near Melrose on the east, to the Irish sea, and having their metropolis at Dun-Britton, now Dunbarton. This nation, which appears to have consisted of the remnants of the Meate, or midland Britons, the dwellers between the walls, are generally called the Cumbrians of Strath Clyde. They appeared to have comprehended the very savage race of Attacotti; and there can be no doubt that they agreed in manners and in purposes with the Irish Scots, who now, emerging from their native county of Argyll, inflicted great misfortunes on the western side of Roman Britain.

Meantime the Picts laid the eastern frontier waste with the like ferocity.

ferocity. There seems little room to doubt that they passed over the firth and took possession of Lothian, where that part of them which were called Vecturiones (quære Plecturiones, or Picturiones) established settlements, while those which remained in their seats in the north were described as Deucaledonians. This was the high and palmy state of the power of the Picts. Although it may be doubted whether they ever had any permanent residence in what is now called England, yet they harassed it with daily incursions so far southward, that the Britons complained, according to Gildas' figure of speech, that the barbarians drove them on the sea, and the sea repelled them on the sword of the barbarians, an extravagant mode of expressing the progress which the invaders, on either side of the island, had made into the very centre of South Britain. The Romanized Britons, divided into an immense variety of petty states, of which Mr. Turner enumerates thirty-three, were distracted by civil discord, and incapable of any combined or effectual resistance against the northern invaders. On the remedy resorted to by Vortigern, king of the South Britons, to wit, the calling in of Hengist and the Saxons, and its consequences, we need not dwell. Their first arrival took place A.D. 449. Soon after their landing, the Saxons repelled the Scots and the Picts with such slaughter as seems to have put an effectual stop to their incursions.

The fate of war was now changed. The Saxons and Danes retaliated heavily on the barbarians of the north the injuries which they had inflicted upon the Romish Britons, and the southern division of the Pictish nation, termed Vecturiones, seems, at the formation of the Heptarchy, to have been swallowed up in the Saxon kingdom of Northumberland. This conquest, as far as the firth of Forth, was completed by Oswald about A.D. 365. The northern Picts, or Deucaledonians, partially secured by the Firth of Forth, to which their realm still extended, from the retaliations of the Saxons, had found new antagonists in their old allies the Scots of Argyll. These two nations, no longer possessing the means or opportunity of pressing southwards, fell hotly on each other; and we can see, through these dim ages, indistinct marks of their mutual fury. They were like fierce dogs of the chase, who, when their proper prey has escaped them, turn their rage on each other.

There exists, as already noticed, an ancient and genuine list of Scottish kings, from the arrival of the Dalriads under Fergus, the son of Erick, down to Kenneth, called Mac Alpine; and there is a corresponding catalogue of kings of the northern Picts, published by Iunus. Various allusions are made to the battles and successes of the two lines against each other. In A.D. 837, the Scots appear



death accordingly; and thus, in the words of an excellent old ballad,

The Picts were undone, cut off mother's son,  
For not teaching the Scots to brew heather ale.\*

Thus all ancient and modern authorities, historical or traditional, coincide more or less in the fact that the Picts were defeated, and if not totally extirpated, yet destroyed as an independent and existing nation, by the victorious Scots; who, led from the narrow bounds of Argyll by the *mira calliditas* of Kenneth Mac Alpine, extended their sway over the shores of Angus and Fife-shire, so long the native seats of the Pictish race. Every authority yet discovered attests the same fact, however it may be defaced by improbabilities and traditional exaggerations.

But this general belief, however incumbered with difficulties, is a death-blow to the hypothesis of Pinkerton, called the Gothic system. Let us grant to the upholders of that belief that the Picts had come into this country from Scandinavia—let us pass over the improbability that, though possessed of the various aliases of Peukini, Peohtar, Peuchtar, and Pechtar, they veiled themselves for two centuries under the British epithet of Caledonians, or woodmen—that, in or about the year 296, they re-assumed their proper denomination of Picts, and were distinguished, as Pinkerton insists a Gothic people must have been, by conduct and courage, over the inferior Celtic tribes—granting, we say, these improbable circumstances, how is it possible that, possessing an infinite superiority in arts and arms over the Scots, admitted to have been genuine Celts from Ireland, they should have yet succumbed so absolutely under the latter people, that the Pictish dynasty was destroyed, their name and language abolished, and their country seized upon by a people unworthy, according to the leading principle of this system, to loose the very latches of their brogues, if they happened to wear such integuments? That the Celts, inhabiting a much more limited country, should have been victorious, and so completely victorious, over the mighty Goths, must remain an insoluble difficulty to the supporters of a system which assumes the superiority of the latter over the former, as its very ground-stone.

Mr. Pinkerton accordingly feels the difficulty of his position, and has recourse to measures of defence which he would have

\* See the Ek-alektion of Ale, in Ritson's Ancient Songs. This genial secret is not, however, entirely lost. Old moor-fowl shooters, amongst whom *we* (to speak *selon les règles*) once were numbered, may remember remote sheelings and shepherd-huts, in which they have been regaled with a light, lively, and pleasant liquor, brewed chiefly from heath-*owens*. But honey, sugar, or spirit, was always added, in these degenerate days, to assist the fermentation, and the genuine heath-ale of the Picts was supposed to have been independent of such auxiliaries.

reprobated in his opponents. He avails himself of a few scattered notices, in which the succession of Kenneth Mac Alpine to the Pictish throne is noticed, without its being intimated upon what species of revolution that event took place. The Gothic champion argues that, such authorities being silent, we ought to believe in any supposable case whatever, rather than in the conquest of a noble Gothic nation by a horde of contemptible Celts. The suppositions commence with an attempt to take, in common phrase, the bull by the horns. Mr. Pinkerton turns the table on his opponents gallantly, averring that Kenneth was a Pictish, not a Scottish, king, and that under his leading the Picts had defeated the Scots or Dalriads, and annexed their dominion to that of the triumphant Goths. 'As it is to Highland sennachies and Irish churchmen that we owe the conquest of the Picts by the Dalriads, there is every reason to suppose that the usual perversion of Celtic understanding has taken place, and that the truth is the direct reverse.' So that because the fact is affirmed by ancient authorities, and corresponds with the catalogues of kings of both nations which the Inquirer has himself recognized, the chronicles and genealogies must be thrown aside so soon as this evidence becomes inconsistent with Mr. Pinkerton's system. It is, no doubt, one way of defending a hypothesis, to proclaim, *ex cathedra*, that it is inconsistent with reason to doubt it.

But although the Inquirer has ascended the very pinnacle of defiance, and proclaimed from thence an event the positive reverse of which all the world had hitherto believed, upon the evidence of all extant authorities, he seems in his secret soul to have considered his position there as too precarious to be defended, and he speedily offers to capitulate upon much more moderate terms. He admits that it is hard to impeach all those ancient authorities, Celtic though they be, which unite in the person of Kenneth, the son of Alpine, the two kingdoms of the Picts and Scots. Spare me the mortification of owning that the Picts were conquered by the Scots—I will surrender, on the contrary, my unanswerable argument, drawn from the nature of the different races, and will be contented to suppose that Kenneth had some claim to the Pictish kingdom by the mother's side, favoured by a strong party in the kingdom; and that the revolution which united the two nations was of a bloodless character, or at least effected in a great measure by a faction amongst the Picts themselves. This, says our acute author, is a medial opinion betwixt two extremes, one of which avers that Kenneth was merely king of the Picts, and the contrary assertion that he was of the



old Dalriadic race. 'Now though it be true,' he further says, 'that truth is one extreme, and falsehood another, and a medial opinion may, abstractedly considered, be thought to be neither true nor false, yet in human testimony there is generally such a mixture of falsehood in truth, and of truth in falsehood, that the medial point has always been considered as that of truth, wisdom, and virtue. *Medio tutissimus ibis* is a maxim applicable to history as well as to life, and has been followed in doubtful points by most writers of wisdom and moderation.\* To this strain of affected moderation, which seems to throw the mode of writing history into the arbitrary hands of the author, we must decidedly demur. The author who writes the history of the past merely upon his own ideas of probability had as well commence prophet at once. He will then be quite as likely to hit reality; and if he refers his predictions to a distant date, he will be less in danger of confutation. In fact, it seems to us that Mr. Pinkerton rests too much upon his prejudiced and unjust system; ascribing, without distinction, good and bad qualities to two races of men, loading one with abuse, and claiming exclusively for the other the most noble qualities. We can only bestow a passing word on this subject.

That there is such a thing as a national character, as well as an individual one, no one can doubt, any more than that there is such a thing as family resemblance. But though this may in part be owing to qualities derived from parents, yet the national character, and the family face too, are perpetually subjected to the most extraordinary changes. Why else are the modern Italians less warlike than the conquerors of the world?—they share the blood of heroes, but it no longer warms heroic hearts. In the same manner it is absurd to suppose any necessary and permanent superiority in the Gothic over the Celtic tribes. Time was that the former showed predominating points of character. They were ambitious, restless, practised in war, and overran many nations. In everything except numbers, an invading tribe has superiority over that which is invaded. The aggressors have meditated the attempt, calculated the means, are spurred on by desire of spoil, and rendered confident by the very fact of being the assailants,—unincumbered—in most cases—by the aged, the infirm, the females, and children of their tribe, they bring to the conquest few besides those whose arms are to win it. The invaded people, on the other hand, had every reason to incline to submission. Safety for their families, protection for their substance, recommended humiliating treaties with a rapacious foe. When we consider that such were in early

\* *Inquiry*, vol. ii. p. 162.

times the advantages of the invading Goths, such the circumstances unfavourable to the invaded Celts, we need not resort to any theory of a supposed innate superiority to account for the former having, in many or most cases, effected settlements in the country of the latter, or wonder that they often compelled the natives to retreat to the mountains. It was amongst these recesses that we find them making a stand; and even if we deny the praise of national valour to the existing race who retreated thither, it would be outrageous, and against all historical testimony, to refuse it to their descendants—the Celtiberians of Spain, the indigenous Irish, the Cambro-Britons of Wales, or the Scottish Gael, or Highlanders, who with hardy hearts and active hands defended their native hills, and have so often and so undeniably rendered themselves dreaded by the successors of those conquering Goths, who had compelled their fathers to seek refuge in the wilderness.

Neither will the analogy of the animal creation bear out Mr. Pinkerton in imputing such extravagant consequences to the mere circumstance of descent. All persons who deal in breeding horses, cattle, dogs, or the like, remark that to perpetuate peculiar habits, structure of body, and intellectual qualities, if we may so say, in the same line, it is necessary to continue the race from the same stock. But if, on the other hand, the breeder is less desirous to preserve any particular qualification, than to attain general excellence, he endeavours, by crossing various races, to obtain an animal which shall combine the highest properties of each. Thus the greyhound, valued only for one quality, speed, is reared from the best specimens of that peculiar quality; but if it is desired that the creature shall also have tenacity of jaw we mix the race with that of the bull-dog. If we apply this to mankind, we shall find certain peculiar qualities proper to nations living pure and unmixed, and transmitting to their descendants the type which they have received from their own fathers. But if we seek patterns of general excellence, we shall be more likely to find such amongst nations whose original race has been repeatedly crossed. We will not, however, insist upon a subject which may lead into disquisitions as fanciful as those which we are now endeavouring to expose. It is enough to say, that to lay such excessive weight upon the innate or inherited qualities of any peculiar race of Adam seems to us equally unauthorized by moral theory or by physical experience.

But, moreover, to return to our chronicles, the hypothesis of Mr. Pinkerton is contradicted by facts too conclusive to bear dispute. If the Picts had, as he is perversely disposed to contend, defeated the Scots, and subjugated those by whom, according to  
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the ordinary account, they were themselves vanquished, their language, manners, and name must have predominated. The same must have been the case, more or less, if the states and people had been united by any species of friendly alliance. It could only be the general dispersion and desolation of the Pictish nation, which could well nigh destroy the very name of the Picts,—which could totally annihilate their language, and, with some slight exceptions, destroy so completely the memory of their race, that scarce an instance occurs of the proper names familiar to their royal dynasty being again mentioned in history.

The most clear testimony on this subject, in addition to what is found in the brief commentaries already noticed, is that of Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote about the year 1154. He observes, as Bede had done before him, that Britannia originally used five languages,—that of the native British, that of the Angles or Saxons, that of the Scots, that of the Picts, and that of the Romans. 'But,' he proceeds, 'the Picts in his time seemed so far extinct, and their language so utterly destroyed, that all which was recorded of them in ancient history appeared a mere fable.' He goes on to moralize upon the instability of human affairs; dwelling on the strange fact that not only kings, princes, and a whole people had perished, but even the very language, 'which he holds to be the more remarkable, as the language must have been one of those which heaven instituted at the origin of separate tongues.' Thus, an early and impartial authority relates the destruction of the Picts, their name, and their very language—while he accounts for it by Grangousier's solution—the will of Providence.

This stubborn fact, of the total or almost total perishing of the Picts, joined to the certainty that they are very little mentioned in history after Kenneth Mac Alpine's reign, (858,) is poorly accounted for by Pinkerton, who supposes that, however inferior the Scots were to the Picts in valour, they were superior in learning, possessed a clergy of better information, and attentive to recording the events of the time; in consequence of which they (the learned Scots) gradually palmed upon the Picts a language and a history which were not their own. This assertion, which there is no attempt to prove, is so totally devoid of verisimilitude, that it will afford no passage over the gulph which the destruction of the Pictish people opens in the history of Scotland.

Here, therefore, we have arrived at the successive points of conclusion: 1. That the Picts, being the ancient Caledonians, must have spoken a dialect of the Celtic, common to all the original inhabitants of the island. 2. That they and their language, having been dispersed and denationalized by the success

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of the Scots, and the severity with which it was improved, neither could have been in future influential upon the manners or speech of their country; in other words, what is now called the *Scottish* language—(a language, *ex facie*, very little removed from the ancient English, and called expressly, by the oldest Scotch writers themselves *Inglis*)—must have had some other than a Pictish origin.

We are, nevertheless, far from driving these propositions to extremity. We feel that we owe it to the memory of a man of talents and labour, as well as to the numerous and respectable authors who have followed his sentiments, to endeavour to show how far we are influenced by his and their arguments, though far short of the point of absolute conviction.

To return to our two propositions, therefore, we must concede that neither of them is to be understood absolutely and unqualifiedly.

F. Although we conceive the Picts, being *ex concessis* the same people with the Caledonians, must have spoken a dialect in the main Celtic, yet we think it highly probable that, by the time they came to be known under the name of Picts, their language had received and retained a strong infusion of the northern Gothic. The Caledonians, we must remember, when driven beyond the Wall of Severus, chiefly directed their retreat to the eastern coast of the island, and the shores of the *Penland Firth*, to which they are said to have bequeathed their name. Here they must necessarily have had frequent intercourse with the Scandinavians, who were commencing their piratical incursions, and had already possessed themselves of the Orkney and Zetland isles. Intercourse between barbarians, whether of a hostile or amicable nature, leads directly to the poorer language becoming indebted to the more copious for all the words that can express new ideas, or improved arts of war or peace. This tendency to the union of two rude tongues, derives additional force from the general custom of converting captives of war into domestic servants. It may be therefore supposed that, during the times they were pent up beyond the Moray Firth, the Picts, coming into contact with the Norsemen on many points, may have transferred to their own language a considerable portion of that of the worshippers of Odin. When, upon the retreat of the Romans, the Vecturiones, or southern Picts, broke into Lothian and Northumberland, they were not long ere they encountered with Saxons and Danes, and from them their language might receive another stock of Saxon and Danish phraseology; and, already prepared to borrow from that source, they might again assimilate their original Celtic more nearly to a Gothic dialect. We verily believe that, esteeming



esteeming the language of the Picts to be radically Celtic, these repeated collisions and communications between them and tribes of Gothic descent, was sufficient to give it such a tinge of the Teutonic as will fully account for the Scottish words which appear to have been directly derived from the Maso-Gothic, Saio-Gothic, Islandic, or other dialects of the Gothic tongue, without passing through the Anglo-Saxon medium. Of this we shall say a few words more hereafter.

II. When we hold that the dissolution of the Pictish nation took place upon their being defeated by the Scots, we only adopt what the authorities of the period intimate, and not the absurd additions with which either the learned historians of a later age, or the unlearned vulgar, have overloaded a simple tale. We are as far from believing that a great nation was at once and entirely dissolved and annihilated, as we are from swallowing the tradition of the heather ale.

It must be considered that the people of whom we speak had, neither under their former name of Caledonians, nor under the later adopted name of Picts, much the aspect of a separate or independent nation. They were, in all probability, rather a collection of clans or tribes, which, although originally independent of each other, were formed into a sort of federal republic by community of language, manners, and interests, and finally by being placed, for the most part, under command of the same chief or king. Such confederations, like those of the Five nations and Six nations of North America, are common among all savage peoples, and many such were adopted by the Britons, for a longer or a shorter time as exigencies required or permitted. But these associations only resemble the union of detached branches, which, fastened together with a twig, form a faggot, and as such have a distinct and combined existence; although a single stroke of a hedgebill divides the faggot-band, and the boughs separated from each are dispersed and no longer to be recognised as forming a single and individual object. The sword of Kenneth did not, probably, exterminate the Picts, but it cut asunder their band of union, and deprived them, for whatever reason, of their existence as an independent people and nation.

Some would, no doubt, feel shame at the idea of fixing themselves among the ranks of the Scots, their ancient enemies. But besides these, there were two countries in which the Picts formed a part of the inhabitants, where they were not so much affected by the calamity which had fallen upon the great body of the nation which dwelt beyond the Forth.

These countries were—1st. Lothian, into which the southern

Picts

Picts had penetrated, and which they occupied under the name of Vecturiones, as previously noticed. Since the arrival of the Saxons, however, the ascertainment of their superiority in war, and the subsequent invasion of the Danes or Norsemen, these Lothian Picts had lost their character of an individual and conquering people in the southern regions, by superior force, as their northern brethren had lost their original possessions in Angus and Fife shires, by the conquest achieved by the Scots. It is, however, highly probable, that, possessed already of a dialect greatly blended with that of the Gothic tribes, these southern Picts or Vecturiones might contribute a good deal towards the predominance of a language allied, from the circumstances we have mentioned, with the Norse and Anglo-Saxon, and so may have contributed a share to the formation of the Lowland Scottish dialect, which, there is no doubt, was first used in these provinces. Secondly, another point of refuge was open to such of the Picts as refused to submit to the stern rule of Kenneth Mac Alpine: to wit, Galwegia, or the modern Galloway, the history of which district, if fit materials existed to compose it, would be of singular interest to the antiquary. Such materials have not been discovered. But that the country nearest to Ireland had been originally occupied by the Gael or Celts from that island, is clear, both from the name Gaelwegia, and from the epithet of the *Wild Scots of Galloway*, handed down from immemorial tradition, adopted in chronicles and in statutes, and hardly yet abolished from popular use. The Picts had, however, broken in upon these colonists, and, if they had not conquered the district, had at least occupied many parts of it. These Galwegian Picts had been severely warred upon by Alpine, the father of the fortunate Kenneth the Second. His brief history bears that he had made great conquests over the Galwegian Picts, but was finally slain in that country. In Galloway, therefore, there *might* have remained a considerable body of the Pictish nation, and after-events assure us that such was the fact.

The Picts, after their dispersion, are once mentioned by the English Chronicles—viz. as fighting under the command of Constantine—called indifferently King of Scots or *King of Picts*—at the great battle of Brunnanburgh, in 938, when a mighty confederacy of the Northern tribes joined with Anluf or Oluf, a Danish monarch, to subvert the throne of King Athelstane.\* The Picts are also named, in an ancient and spirited poem on this conflict, as forming part of the forces of Constantine, king of Scotland. The epithet probably comprehended such of Lothian, as still retained distinctive manners, together with the Picts of

\* See Sharon Turner's excellent History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. p. 330.



Galloway, who had mingled with the *Wild Scots* of that district and had given their national name to them.

These Picts of Galloway are mentioned for the last time in the reign of David the First of Scotland, and composed a principal division of his army during the war of the Standard. They are described as ferocious savages, half clad and half armed, but of great courage, and advancing haughty pretensions to superiority over the Norman knights who had joined the Scottish host. The cruelties which they practised in ravaging the country, sparing neither sex nor age, and tossing infants upon their bloody lances, seem to be exaggerated by the English historians. They won a great battle at Clitherow, near the sources of the river Ribble, William, son of Duncan, base-born brother of King David, was their commander. But the want of discipline of the Galwegians occasioned misfortunes which counterbalanced the victories gained by their ferocious courage. These wild soldiers mutinied in the Scottish camp, and would have slain the king, if not prevented by a well-judged, though false, alarm, stating the English to be close at hand. Their chiefs brawled and bullied in the council; and, on the night before the battle of Northallerton, A. D. 1138, asserted, as their right, the privilege of leading the van on the ensuing day. It was conceded to them, though reluctantly, as the best way of preserving peace. We may here remark that different English historians call the vanguard, thus composed, by the various names of Picts, Scots, Galwegians, and Men of Lothian. Lord Hailes observes that 'this strange contrariety ought to teach us that the English historians are no certain guides for ascertaining the denominations of the different tribes which inhabited Scotland in ancient times.' This proposition, in the abstract, is as judicious as those of the venerable historian usually are. But, in this particular instance, the body which led the van was so strangely mingled, that any of these four epithets, though apparently contradictory of each other, might without impropriety be applied to them. 1. They were Picts, as sprung from the remains of that people who fled to their kinsmen in Galloway. 2. But they might, in one point of view, be termed Scots, since the Picts possessed the province in common with a colony from Ireland, called the *Wild Scots* of Galloway, and remembered to this day by that name. 3. They were termed Gallovidians, or Galwenses, or Galwegians, as inhabiting the province of Galloway. 4. If there mixed with them any considerable number of the Vecturiones, or Southland Picts, which is a thing highly probable, they might, in consequence of such admixture, be without impropriety termed Lothian men by a foreign historian, who was not greatly interested in knowing himself, or transmitting to posterity, of what precise tribes this 'nefanda exercitus' consisted.

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The following curious circumstance illustrates the doubt which race predominated amongst the Galwegians, during the action. Leading the van, which their presumption had demanded, they rushed on with terrible shouts of 'Abanigh, Albanigh!' *We are the men of Albany*, or Albyn. This war-cry, of course, asserted that the assailants were the ancient inhabitants of Scotland—a boast agreeing with their descent from the Picts or ancient Caledonians. They charged with courage worthy of the vaunt; but when, after a severe struggle, they were driven back by the English, these last shouted in derision, 'Erygh, Erygh—Standard!' that is—'Ye are but Irish—ye are but Irish—the Standard for ever!' The standard alluded to, is the holy banner sent into the field by Thurstan, bishop of York, which formed naturally the war-cry of the English, and indeed gave name to the war. In shouting out the epithet of *Irish* as a reproach, the English alluded to that part of the Galwegians who, though ranked among the Picts, were yet Wild Scots of Irish extraction. To conclude—the people of Galloway spoke a Celtic dialect till within a very late period;—a circumstance unfavourable to those who hold that the Picts spoke a Gothic one—since, in that case, strong Gothic traces must have lingered where the remains of the Pictish people had found their final refuge.

After the battle of the Standard, although the Galwegians are often mentioned, we hear no more of their Pictish descent; and it is probable that, during the time when the district enjoyed a period of stormy independence under its native lords, down to 1234, (when Roland, the last of these, left his lordship to heirs-female,) there was no distinction made between the people of Galloway, whether of Pictish or Hiberno-Scottish descent.

We have now gone hastily through a curious inquiry—Ritson having courteously afforded us the light of his *Chronicles*, illustrating the Latin motto, *vivit post funera virtus*, and speaking as with a voice from the tomb. If by means of the weapons furnished by this industrious antiquary, we have been enabled to point out some flaws in the Gothic system of his celebrated opponent, it is without the least desire to awaken the warmth of the late controversy. We would wish to be considered as only desirous to know the truth in so far as the truth can be discovered, and with the due respect to the ashes of learned and able scholars; for we must not forget that, quoting Chalmers or Ritson against Pinkerton,

'We breathe these dead words in as dead an ear.'

There is, however, a living scholar of great merit, who has written more lately on this interesting subject, and who justly claims our recommendation to such of our readers as are interested



rested in the early history of Britain. Mr. Lowe had distinguished himself by a prize essay, entitled (quaintly enough) 'On the Ancient History of the Kingdom of the Gaelic, the extent of the country, its laws, population, poetry, and learned.' To this essay the Highland Society of London awarded the premium—and deservedly, since we know of few single volumes of recent date offering such a display of research. Mr. Lowe is, we have been told, one of that laborious and ill-requited class of men who have done so much essential service as well as honour to their country—the parochial schoolmasters of Scotland. In such a situation, command of leisure is rare; access to authorities peculiarly difficult; and the student works at an expense of time, labour, and too often health, not easily to be appreciated by those more fortunate scholars, whose hours of study are hours of relaxation. It is to be hoped that Mr. Lowe's talents and zeal will raise him from the respectable but hard-working and ill-remunerated class to which he belongs, and place him in a pulpit of The Kirk.

The defect of the book is an aptitude to lean on slight authorities—a slight mixture, in short, of the old sin of the race. Perhaps the author may not have seen the more recent compositions, in which such forgeries as the laws of Kenneth Mac Alpine, for example, have been unanimously rejected by lawyers and historians. The history of the old book termed the 'Regiam Majestatem,' again, is pretty well understood to have been a *ruse-de-guerre* on the part of Edward I. of England, used for the purpose of riveting the feudal code upon the Scottish nation, as more favourable to his views, and abolishing the consuetudinary laws and customs of the Scots and Bretts; of the Dalriadic Scots, that is, and the Britons of Strath Clyde. Mr. Lowe also swallows, by wholesale, the belief in Ossian—history, poetry, chronology, and all. These things savour a little of the ancient credulity of the Scottish historians, who could find it in their hearts to deny nothing with which they conceived the honour of their *Antiqua Mater* to be concerned. The Essay was originally composed for the Highland Society of London, amongst whom some lingering worshippers of the neglected idol are probably to be found; and this is a circumstance which the candid reader will keep in view. We are extremely sorry that our limits permit us to say nothing further upon the labours of this modest and meritorious young man, and in such a case it would be truly unjust to enlarge on deficiencies.

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ART. VI.—*An Account of some of the most important Diseases peculiar to Women.* By Robert Gooch, M.D. London. 8vo, 1829.

THE work before us, being expressly devoted to medical subjects, cannot, as a whole, be appreciated by the non-professional reader. There are points, however, in medicine, forming that debateable land between technical and general knowledge, which few, who have attained to half the years allotted to our sojourn here, have not been forced to make the subjects of anxious thought; and of these the most painfully interesting is insanity—to which Dr. Gooch has devoted two essays, distinguished in a very uncommon degree for originality, precision, and vigour of thought.\*

The materials which our author has brought together will enable us to examine the validity—Of the opinions current in *medicine* as to the nature and treatment of insanity in general, and puerperal insanity in particular;—Of certain opinions current in *society* as to insanity;—and, thirdly, of certain notions entertained in *law* respecting insanity, considered as a subject of legal medicine.

It is well known that some, who are quite sane at all other times, become deranged—sometimes a few days, sometimes several months, after confinement. We may quote the following case:—

A lady, who I was told had had a “a brain fever” after her former lying-in, came to London to be attended by me in her next confinement. For nine days subsequent to a short and an easy labour, nothing indicated the approach of disease. On the tenth day, however, the shop of a piano-forte maker in Oxford-street caught fire: this occasioned a great bustle in the neighbourhood; as her sitting-room did not look into the street, it was kept from her knowledge during the day; but in the evening, while she was standing at her window, which looked into a yard at the back of the house, a piece of burning matter fell within her sight. I saw her about two hours afterwards, at nine in the evening: her manner was agitated. On being questioned as to her feelings, she kept silent for some time, and then answered abruptly: her pulse was quick; her look and manner odd and unnatural. I slept in the house. At four o’clock in the morning the nurse waked me, and said that her mistress had no sleep; that she was sitting up in bed talking to herself, but that instant had expressed a wish to see me. I rose and went to her; there was only a rush-light in a remote part of the chamber. As soon as she saw who I was, she told me to sit down and look at her. I said, “I do.” “What do

\* The two essays to which we allude are entitled “Disorders of the Mind in Lying-in Women;” and “Thoughts on Insanity as an object of Moral Science.”



you see?" "Nothing but yourself." "Look at my head." "I do." "Do you see nothing particular there?" "Nothing." "Then I was presumptuous: I thought that a glorious light came out of my temples and shone about my head; I thought I was the Virgin Mary." The patient recovered in three weeks.

The practical question to be determined is, what is the state of the body on which the disorder of mind depends? Our medicinal agents can only 'raze out the written troubles of the brain,' through their action on some portion of the organisation. It is of the last importance, therefore, to ascertain that peculiar state of organisation which accompanies insanity; and here Dr. Gooch is opposed not only to popular but to professional prejudices.

'There is a strong disposition,' says he, 'to attribute raving of the mind to inflammation of the brain. Perhaps it originates thus:—that the disorder of the mind, with which we are most familiar, is drunkenness, which is known to be caused by spirits and cured by temperance:—mania is called brain fever; and the sight of a raving patient instantly suggests the thoughts of cupping-glasses, iced caps, low diet, and purgatives.'

Experience, however, according to our author, points to a very different conclusion: it teaches us that disorder of the mind may be connected with very opposite states of the circulation; sometimes with inflammation or active congestion, for which depletion is the shortest remedy; sometimes with an opposite condition of the circulation, which depletion will only aggravate. And, indeed, in order to prove that the excitement of the brain, in puerperal insanity, does not always depend on inflammation, nothing more is necessary than to look over the leading points of the cases narrated by Dr. Gooch as having fallen within his personal observation.

In one of these, the disease occurred in a pale lady without any heat of skin, or much quickness of pulse, and was not relieved by blood-letting: in another, it occurred in one whose constitution was drained and enfeebled by nursing: a third was habitually hysterical, pale, and from want of sufficient physical power always brought forth dead children: in a fourth, insanity followed immense loss of blood: in a fifth, it occurred in one in whom, for urgent reasons, large bleedings were essential to preserve life: in a sixth, who had lived so low, and was of so irritable a constitution, that she appeared as if at the close of some disease which had been overlooked, mania showed itself, and was relieved not by bleedings or cupping, but by means which tranquillized, soothed, and sustained the patient. In a seventh, the attendant treated the case by moderate depletion, by leeching, cupping, purging, and low diet;—she died, not with the symptoms of

of oppressed brain, but with those of exhaustion; and, on examining the body, the whole of the venous system was found extraordinarily empty of blood. In an eighth case, the practitioner, misled by the flushed face, fevered look, hardish pulse, and raving madness, ventured to take away blood; and, on the abstraction of a little more than a tea-cup full, the patient sunk under the stroke of the lancet as if shot. In another, the disease came on after one of those enormous bleedings resorted to for the relief of puerperal convulsion: in both these cases, there was no evidence whatever to be found, after death, of inflammation of the brain. It is impossible to look at these results, gathered together by a competent observer and a faithful narrator, without coming to the conclusion that puerperal insanity is not necessarily a disease of congestion or inflammation, but is generally one of excitement without power. The insanity occurred, in almost every instance here adduced, in persons previously debilitated; and, when treated under the notion that its cause was inflammation or congestion, the patient either sunk rapidly, or was materially injured, or at best was not relieved. It may, however, be objected that these are cases selected to prove a point, and that they bear a small proportion to others in which the insanity is dependent on an overloaded state of the vessels of the brain.

Their very number,' says Dr. Gooch, 'gives a negative to this suspicion: ten cases can never form a small proportion of the experience of one individual, however extensive his opportunities of seeing the disease may be; for puerperal insanity is, not like fever, a disease in which an experienced physician counts his cases by hundreds. Dr. William Hunter said that, in the course of his practice, he had met with about twenty or thirty. There can be no mistake, unless, by some extraordinary accident, all my cases have been exceptions to the general rule—an incredible supposition. They surely prove that those cases of puerperal mania, which are attended by a very rapid pulse, which Dr. William Hunter said generally die, and which he attributed to paraphrenitis, do not depend on that state of the brain which requires depletion, but on a more exhausting excitation of the nervous system, which requires soothing and sustaining treatment.'

In the latest works written on the subject of insanity, opinions diametrically opposed to these are promulgated; the ancient regime of shaving, cupping, bleeding, is recommended, and opiates discountenanced. From these directions it would be inferred that the generality of cases depended on congestion, and required depletion, which is the reverse of the fact. The real inflammatory phrensies of puerperal women are rare. Inflammatory head-aches are not uncommon, but their progress is very different from that of puerperal insanity: the delirium, if any, is slighter,



slighter, and follows the pain and the fever; while in puerperal insanity, the incoherence of mind is excessive, and the pain and fever *accidental*,—sometimes occurring, and sometimes not.

Those who may not feel satisfied with the views so strongly insisted on by Dr. Gooch, will do well to consider the influence of large bleedings on the circulation of the brain. Throughout Dr. Kelly's experiments on animals bled to death, the vessels of the brain, so far from being drained of blood, were found full. But (which is still more conclusive) Dr. P. M. Latham has recorded, in an admirable essay on the epidemic at the Millbank Penitentiary, a series of observations which prove that the very disease, which is commonly supposed to arise from excess of power, originated from a want of it. The Penitentiary was exposed to the depressing influences of malaria; the prisoners were suddenly put upon low diet, each person being allowed only one ounce and a quarter of meat daily. After a short time, they wasted in bulk and strength; the men could only labour half as long as before, and the women fainted at their work. This simple debility ushered in, first, scurvy, dysentery, low fevers, and, at last, affections of the brain and nervous system, such as convulsion, delirium, apoplexy, and mania. When bleeding was tried, the patients fainted after losing four or five ounces, 'and were not better, but perhaps worse'; yet, on examination, the vessels of the brain were found full, and sometimes there was fluid effused.

Here, then, we have three different sets of experiments, proving that that which exhausts the system does not necessarily diminish excitement of the brain; and so far we think Dr. Gooch's position complete. The error which pervades the profession and the public arises from viewing only one side of the question, and consists in *taking the condition of mind—the raving*, as a criterion of the treatment, *instead of the state of the body*. Because there is the excitement of the brain, it is immediately argued 'that excitement must depend on excited vessels, inflammation, and congestion, and must be relieved by bleeding and starving.' Instead of this, the inquiry should be—Is the raving really accompanied with the marks denoting vascular fulness?—is the pulse hard and strong, the eye red, the head painful, the face flushed? If so, this is a case in which depletion would be resorted to by Dr. Gooch,\* and by every other sensible man. But to treat mania accompanied by an opposite state of the circulation, by cupping and low diet, merely because there is raving, is not only a grave error in theory, but a fatal one in practice.

Having made out the principle, we shall not enter into the novel details so admirably stated in the work before us, lest our

\* Vide Case xii. p. 153.

critical remarks should be converted into a medical essay. It must suffice to say, that by far the greater number of those affected with *puerperal* insanity recover completely; that they who have been once affected, are not necessarily liable to be attacked the next time; and that the vast majority of womankind escape altogether; that the treatment should be soothing and sustaining, and that, as a general rule, the patient should be removed from the presence of friends, and confided to the care of experienced attendants.

There are exceptions, however, to this last clause; and it is right that the public should be roused from their apathy respecting the treatment of maniacs; it is right that the friends of the afflicted should know that all hope is not left behind even when the gates of the cell are closed,—that, however judicious the treatment, however attentive the conduct of hirelings, there are cases in which the presence of those once loved has proved blessed medicine, and reason has returned to the brain in the train of kindly emotions suddenly re-awakened in the heart.

‘A lady, twenty-eight years of age, of good constitution but of susceptible mind, became affected with melancholia a few months after her second lying-in. Towards the end of her pregnancy, a frightful incident had occurred to a near relation, which affected her so deeply that she often spent the night sleepless, sitting up in bed thinking of her misfortune, and dreading that she should lose her reason after her confinement. Having nursed her child without feeding it, for three or four months, with much unnecessary anxiety and exertion, she grew thin and weak, and experienced so much confusion of mind that she could not arrange her domestic accounts. She became low spirited—she knew not why; she was advised to wean her child, took some light tonic, went to the sea-side, but at the end of a month returned home, having derived little benefit from her absence. Her spirits became gradually more depressed, and it was impossible to persuade her that she had not some fatal disease: one day it was cancer—another, inflammation of the bowels; and to such a height did her apprehensions arise, that her husband was often brought home by some alarming message, and found her, with a solemn air and in a low whisper, giving directions to her servants, whom she had assembled round her, what to say if she should expire before their master arrived. She now grew much worse, and there was no longer any doubt about her complaint. She was seen by a physician of extensive experience in these diseases, and sent into the country. Many weeks passed: sometimes she was better, sometimes worse; now accusing herself of the deepest depravity, and meditating schemes of self-destruction; then again convinced of the absurdity of her notions, and struggling against the load which weighed on her heart. In this way many weeks passed: at length the disease came upon her with more violence than ever, and, in her self-examination



examination and condemnation, she became quite ferocious. She was now put under the care of an experienced attendant, separated entirely from her husband, children, and friends, placed in a neat cottage surrounded by agreeable country, (it was the finest season of the year,) and visited regularly by her physician. For several weeks she manifested no improvement: sometimes she was occupied with one notion, sometimes with another, but they were always of the most gloomy description. At last it became her firm belief, that she was to be executed for her crimes in the most public and disgraceful way: every noise she heard was that of workmen erecting the scaffold; every carriage, the officers of justice assembling at the execution: but what affected her most deeply, was that her infamy had occasioned the disgrace and death of her children and husband, and that his spirit haunted her. As soon as the evening closed, she would station herself at a window at the back of the cottage, and fix her eyes on a white post that could be seen through the dusk: this was the ghost of her husband—day and night he was whistling in her ears.

Several weeks passed in this way; the daily reports varied, but announced nothing happy. At length her husband became impatient, and begged to have an interview with her, thinking that the best way to convince her he was not dead, was to show himself. This was objected to: he was told the general fact, that patients are more likely to recover when completely separated from their friends;—that if she saw him, she would say it was not himself, but his ghost; but the husband was obstinate, and an interview was consented to.

"As soon as I entered the drawing-room, where she usually spent the day," (I copy his statement, written at the time, and now before me,) "she ran into a corner, hid her face in a handkerchief, then turned round, looked me in the face, one moment appearing delighted at the thought that I was alive, but immediately afterwards assuming a hideous expression of countenance, and screaming out that I was dead, and come to haunt her. This was exactly what Dr. ——— had anticipated, and for some minutes I thought all was lost."

"Finding that persuasion and argument only irritated and confirmed her in her belief, I desisted, and tried to draw off her attention to other subjects. It was some time since she had seen me or her children; I put her arm under mine, took her into the garden, and began to relate what had occurred to me and them since we parted; this excited her attention, she soon became interested, and I entered with the utmost minuteness and circumstantiality into the affairs of the nursery, her home, and her friends. I now felt I was gaining ground, and when I thought I had complete possession of her mind, I ventured to ask her, in a joking manner, whether I was not very communicative for a ghost? She laughed; I immediately drew her from the subject, and again engaged her attention with her children and friends. The plan succeeded beyond my hope. I dined, spent the evening with her, and left her at night perfectly herself again."

"He went next morning, in a state of intense anxiety, to know whether

whether his success was permanent; but her appearance at the window, with a cheerful countenance, soon relieved his apprehensions. While he was there, Dr. ——— came in; he went up stairs, without knowing the effect of the interview, and came down, saying, "It looks like magic!" She had a relapse, in which, for several weeks, she was as bad as ever; but which ceased as suddenly as before, in consequence of interviews with friends calculated to remove the apprehensions by which her mind was haunted. She has since then continued perfectly well, and has had another child, without the slightest threatening of her former malady.

The conclusion which I deduce from the foregoing case is, not that violent mania is curable by conversation (if it should occasion the irruption of relatives during the height of the disease, the communication may do more harm than good); but that there is a stage approaching convalescence, in which the bodily disease is loosening its hold over the mental faculties, and in which the latter are capable of being drawn out of the former by judicious appeals to the mind.

This case, then, is an example of a second error into which practitioners are liable to fall, and have fallen. Dr. Gooch expressly says, that he is fully aware of the efficacy of seclusion in ordinary cases, in the active states of the disease; yet, who can doubt, that the foregoing melancholy history is not applicable to many now in a similar condition? while they who have the care of them little suspect the efficacy of a kind word uttered by a friend; or of the virtue there is in calling up the association of those days when the reason and the feelings were unoppressed. Dr. Heberden and others, in their examinations before the Committee of the House of Commons, stated, that maniacs often felt keenly the neglect of friends. Surely, nothing can be more horrible than the situation of one, whose mind has suffered a *partial* taint, and is struggling against the infirmity, and who sees herself governed by menials,—associated with lunatics; while kindred and friends are content to sigh away their sympathies at a distance.

The last rule, says Dr. Gooch, 'I have to mention, relates to seclusion and control. There can be no doubt that it is generally necessary and useful to separate the patient from all those persons who are sources of excitement of any kind. This, however, can be effected only in one of two ways—either in a separate house, or part of a house, where the patient has no other associates but her nurses,—or in a receptacle for the deranged, where she has no other associates than her nurses and persons similarly afflicted with herself. This is the only society she has, excepting the short and occasional visits of her physician. Thus the power of controlling her, even by force, is placed in the hands, not of enlightened and benevolent persons, but of uneducated menials. I do not know how it can be otherwise, though I wish it could; but I think such a charge ought never to be placed in such hands without the most vigilant scrutiny of its exercise. There may be



be cases—or, there may come a time, at which some interruption to this solitary life may be advisable. When the disease has lasted long—when the patient expresses a strong wish to see some near friend—when she entertains illusions, which the sight of some one may efface, the admission of such person is worth a trial. I shall be told, that when patients are mending, or have recovered, the most common cause of relapse is too early an introduction of friends, and too early a return home. When the patient is recovering, or has recovered, I do not recommend these measures; it is when the patient has not recovered, and is not recovering, that I advise them to be tried: *when month after month passes without amendment, and her mental delusions assume a shape accessible to moral impressions,—then it is that I would advise an interview with a friend.*

There is a third error, into which the most experienced practitioners are liable to fall, and actually have fallen,—that is, in granting certificates of the insanity of persons who really are not insane. This is an error of judgment to which we are all liable; it is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the cases in which it is most likely to be committed should be separated from the rest, and distinctly pointed out so as to form a class easily recognizable. It is manifest, that no doubt can be entertained about the insanity of a man who raves, or of one who believes himself to be the Virgin Mary, or the Grand Seigneur; but there are cases in which the supposition of mental unsoundness rests on the entertainment of a particular notion—which notion, *it is assumed*, is wholly unfounded. Lord Erskine, in one of the best speeches ever pronounced on the subject,\* mentions the following case: A gentleman took up a notion that his brother had administered poison to him, and it became the prominent feature of his insanity; in a few months he recovered his senses, returned to his profession, was a sound and eminent barrister, and, in all respects, a most intelligent member of society; but he never could dislodge from his mind the morbid delusion which disturbed it;—and, under the pressure of that prepossession, disinherited his brother. The question was first tried at the King's Bench, and the jury found for the will. A contrary verdict, however, being given in the Common Pleas, a compromise ultimately took place. Suppose it to have been absolutely true, that the brother had attempted to administer the poison, nothing could have been more rational than to have disinherited him. The crime would have met with, not an adequate, but a very suitable punishment. How is it possible, in such a case, to come to absolute certainty or even moral probability, as to whether the assertion was wholly unfounded or not? and yet, two sets of men, and two judges, in two

\* Speech for James Hatfield.

different courts, acted as if they did know, and in each case returned a verdict—the very discrepancy between them proving that the evidence was not sufficient to warrant a decision either way.

Now, in this and similar cases, where it is difficult, or perhaps impossible, to ascertain whether the single notion, supposed to constitute insanity, be well or ill founded, what is the gauge by which the unsoundness of mind is to be measured? Suppose a husband imagines that his child is not his own:—it is asserted that, as to the paternity of the child, he is under a morbid delusion, and that his conduct to his wife and child is that of a madman, because he has repudiated the one, and disinherited the other—the feelings excited being disproportionate to the cause;—but he *may* be right; and yet shall two doctors dare to measure the *exact* degree of feeling which a *sane* husband *could* exhibit under such circumstances! Surely it would be wiser, as well as more humane, to confess ignorance, than to shut up a man in a mad-house upon such evidence.

We now come to some of the erroneous notions prevalent in *society* respecting insanity.—One of the most common of these is, that insanity is a disease, not of our physical, but of our moral constitution. A short answer to this theory is, that every other deviation of the faculties of the mind from their natural state, with which we are acquainted, is allowed to be caused by bodily disease. Thus the delusion of the nightmare, caused by indigestion—the melancholy accompanying liver affections—the delirium of fever—the different forms of hysteria—are all referable to corporeal disorder, and remediable by medicines affecting the frame. Why should mania, then, be an exception?

One of the arguments which have, probably, given currency to the notion of insanity being a moral disease, is, that it often arises from passions, or from efforts of the mind; ‘the cause and the effect being both mental, the whole must needs be a disease of our moral nature.’—The error lies in supposing that the cause affects the mind directly, and not through the medium of the body. There is no poison, whose action leaves more distinct traces in our frame than the mind. The perusal of a letter, the sudden communication of bad news, will sometimes strike the stoutest to the ground, and render the broken heart something more than a metaphor. Fear can paralyze the limbs; Hope instantaneously give soundness and vigour to the frame; Despair render it lean and tottering. A word—the sight of a person—will crimson the cheek. In short, every organ, to the minutest artery, is affected by mind. And there is no more difficulty in supposing the vessels of the brain to be affected by passion or by thought,



thought, than those of the cheek; while all analogy in medicine leads to the inevitable conclusion that it is the organ which is diseased, and not the power residing in it.

A *second* cause for the belief in the moral theory of insanity is the supposition, 'that the bodily disease which accompanies it, is too slight to occasion mental derangement.' This is a question of fact, and not of conjecture; and our ideas of great and little, as to other matters, apply very loosely to the wonders of our organization. Abscesses containing several ounces of matter have existed in the brain, and produced no sensible effect on mind; yet half a tea spoonful lodged under the skull has created furious madness; and, when let out, the same has ceased. Bullets\* have been lodged in the substance of the brain, and caused no derangement; and yet a spicula of bone, not bigger than the point of a needle, has created phrensy. The objection, says Dr. Gooch, is founded on the supposition that bodily disease is only capable of disturbing the brain of the patient in the same degree that it strikes the senses of an observer. It is certain, he adds, that puerperal insanity depends on a peculiar state of the bodily constitution; yet this state, so far from being obvious, is often known to exist only by a disordered condition of the mind.

A *third* cause of belief in the moral theory of insanity arises out of a contemplation of the mode in which Eccentric Habits are acquired. It is seen that habit has the power of generating in healthy minds something similar to the essential features of insanity; and, 'as in the one case, no bodily disease is inferred, so neither should it be in the other.'

'It is well known (says Dr. G.) that strange habits of mind long continued, are capable of generating great singularity of opinion and feeling: between this moral eccentricity and insanity, there is often a striking resemblance. It is not easy to confound boisterous madness with healthy singularity; but when a lunatic is harmless in conduct—insane only on one point, and talks so rationally on all others, that it is not easy to detect his infirmity, his state of mind is wonderfully like those eccentric and absurd opinions which intellectual habits are capable of producing, and which often cause their possessors to be called mad, half in joke, yet half in earnest. A little insight into the mode of their production will enable us to judge whether this resemblance is apparent or real.

'It is so well known that the mind may brood over a subject till it loses the power of seeing it in a right point of view, that "it is commonly said a man may tell a lie till he believes it." "I wish," said Dr. Johnson, rebuking Boswell for the zeal into which he had

\* Vide a paper by Sir Eberard Home, in the Philosophical Transactions, on the injuries of the brain.

worked himself about the History of Corsica—"I wish there were some cure like *the lover's leap* for heads of which some single idea has obtained possession." Objects which have had frequent access to the mind, seem to have a double power over it,—viz., they not only produce the natural effect of a single application, but they revive the traces or recollections of their former impressions. This is the case not only with the objects of fancy, but with propositions which appeal to the understanding. An opinion produces effect, partly in proportion to the manifest proof which it contains, partly to the frequency with which it has been presented to the mind: this is capable of incalculable accumulation, till at length the object produces an effect, and gains a power over the individual, totally different from what it possesses over one less frequently impressed by it. Objects, by repetition, lose their power over the senses—for the senses have no memory; while they incalculably augment it over the understanding and the affections. It is on this principle that so many trides acquire an influence over us so disproportionate to their importance; that, with the generality of mankind, opinions owe their power more to habit than to evidence; that an old song, however bad, pleases more than a new, however good; that a wag tickles those who are accustomed to him more than those who are not; that the ploughman prefers his coarse and awkward mistress to the loveliest lady of the land; that the constant dropping of daily circumstances on the character wears in its deeper channels than the transient torrents of persuasion.

It is this striking similarity between the erroneous opinions of the insane, and the singular opinions of the eccentric, and this power of habit to generate—even in healthy minds—something so similar to the essential features of insanity, which has been, I suspect, one of the principal causes of the belief of the moral nature of this disease. Yet any one who is familiar with human nature, both sane and insane, would perceive an important difference between the two cases: it is this, that the errors of the eccentric are the results of long habits, continued for a great part of their lives, and fabricated by slow and almost insensible degrees, while the errors of the insane spring up suddenly, within a few months, or even weeks. The patient has suffered some mental agitation—or has received a blow on the head; has been lying in—or is recovering from a fever: the mind becomes confused and hurried, and in a few weeks, or even days, there arise the wildest and most absurd beliefs. In these cases there is neither time nor peculiarity of habits adequate to explain such effects by the intellectual processes above alluded to. Between the erroneous opinions of the insane, and the singular opinions of the eccentric, there is the same difference as there is between that permanent readiness of argument, imagery, and language, which is the result of study and practice, and those sudden and temporary gusts of eloquence produced by a bottle of wine.

A fourth argument for the moral theory arises from the consideration,



deration, that a 'well-contrived incident, a well-expressed argument, or a well-managed conversation,' will effect a cure, and the patient be restored to his senses by a process moral in its nature and moral in its operation. To this it may be answered, in the first place, that, in general, argument and persuasion have no effect in the violence of the disease; and, secondly, that appeals to the mind will remove affections whose origin is *confessedly* corporeal. Thus, in the delirium of fever, a person who, left to himself, would continue to rave, when roused by a loud question, will wake up to answer collectedly, and then relapse.

The last cause noticed by Dr. Gooch, as influencing the belief in the moral theory of insanity is, the fear lest the opposite notion should favour the doctrine of the materiality of the soul. If the diseases of the body disorder the faculties of the mind, it is argued that the faculties of the mind must be the functions of the body. The fallacy of this reasoning will be instantly perceived, if the proposition be extended. Diseases of the liver impair digestion; therefore, digestion is a function of the liver. Defects of the cornea impair vision; vision, therefore, is a function of the cornea. This is not the place to discuss the subject of materialism;—but—

'Whoever,' says Dr. Gooch, 'has convinced himself by other considerations of the immortality of the soul, will find no difficulty in the principle, that diseases of the body disorder the faculties of the mind; and so far from shrinking from it, will see in it a reason for believing that, in "a separate state of existence, it is highly probable that the soul works clearer, and understands brighter, and discourses wiser, and rejoices louder, and loves nobler, and desires purer, and hopes stronger than it can do here."<sup>\*</sup>

If there be any difficulty in understanding how madness can originate from bodily disorder, we recommend the following passage to the reader's serious consideration. It is original—we think it is profound, and, as far as we know, it furnishes the only plausible account of a most mysterious phenomenon:—

'When the body (says Dr. G.) is healthy and the mind sane, our beliefs, emotions, and actions, are produced by mental processes, more or less complete in different individuals; but still in all by mental processes. We believe such a proposition, because we have some evidence for it, good or bad: we experience angry or sorrowful emotions, because something irritating or depressing has occurred to our minds: we inflict punishment upon another from a vindictive emotion excited by a real injury; but in madness these beliefs, emotions, or actions, seem no longer to be the results of mental processes, but to be under the influence of a peculiar bodily state. I have conversed with those

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\* Jeremy Taylor's Sermon on the Death of the Countess of Carberry.

who have recovered from derangement, on the subject of their delusions, and have asked them what could have led them to believe such absurdities or impossibilities—what real or imaginary reasons they had; and they have told me, that they had no reasons at all—that *there* was the thought in their mind, accompanied by the most undoubted confidence of its truth, but how it came there they knew as little as how it went away. Persons on the verge of melancholia will often declare that they are wretched—they know not why; that they have everything to make them happy, and yet they have no interest in life; a distaste for all their ordinary pursuits and pleasures, a wretchedness for which they can give no reason to themselves. In those extraordinary cases in which persons have committed murder on those who had never offended them, and towards whom they felt no antipathy, it seems that they were sometimes urged by some strange impulse, totally different from the sense of injury and thirst for revenge, which impels the sane man to commit such acts. If we are right in supposing that the instincts of animals consist of reasonable acts, not preceded by any reasoning process, but subservient to some bodily sensations in the animal, there would be a striking analogy between the two conditions, and *insanity might be said to be the temporary conversion of human into animal nature*. This has long appeared to me to be the most reasonable conjecture on this dark and mysterious subject.

If, then, to sum up, it be considered that emotions of the mind act on the body,—that the effect of bodily disease on the mind is not measurable by the external signs of it,—that the erroneous conclusions of the insane differ in their origin and progress from the singular opinions of the eccentric;—that, as moral causes influence the body in health, so their influencing it in insanity is no proof that insanity is a moral disease—that the physical theory of insanity no more proves the materiality of the soul than many avowed instances of the influence of body over mind:—If to these considerations be added the fact, that physical injuries cause insanity, and medicines acting on the body remove it, we cannot avoid taking insanity from the solitary and singular station it holds as a moral disease, and replacing it among those in which an unnatural state of mind attends an unnatural state of the body.

The question whether insanity be a malady of our moral or of our physical nature is anything but an idle one; since it involves nothing less than the consideration whether cure shall consist in physic or metaphysic,—whether professional or non-professional men are the fittest to minister to the mind diseased. It is far from our intention to deny the influence of mind upon mind; and the candid reader will have perceived that more than once we have stated the efficacy of making the mind the instrument of its



own cure—not by any direct influence on itself—but by virtue of the influence which it exercises over the body.

There are two classes to whom the truth, that the mind influences the body, and through the body, itself, ought to be a subject of serious consideration—public men and parents. The circumstances which environ the former are singularly adapted to strike at once at the body and the mind, and require, therefore, the utmost watchfulness to oppose their action. While the brain and the heart are oppressed by incessant labour and anxiety, the functions of the stomach and alimentary canal, indirectly deranged by these, are further and directly disturbed by late hours, sumptuous dinners, and sedentary habits; and, in their turn, react on the head and blood-vessels. The second class, parents, are deeply concerned in this question, with a view to the business of education. It is the vice of the age to substitute learning for wisdom,—to educate the head, and to forget that there is a more important education necessary for the heart. The reason is cultivated at an age when nature does not furnish the elements necessary to a successful cultivation of it; and the child is solicited to reflection when he is only capable of sensation and emotion. In infancy, the attention and the memory are only excited strongly by things which impress the senses and move the heart; and a father shall instil more solid and available instruction in one hour spent in the fields, where wisdom and goodness are exemplified, seen, and felt, than in a month spent in the study, where they are expounded in stereotyped aphorisms.

No physician doubts that precocious children, in fifty cases for one, are much the worse for the discipline they have undergone. The mind seems to have been strained, and the foundations of insanity are laid. When the studies of maturer years are stuffed into the head of a child, people do not reflect on the anatomical fact, that the brain of an infant is not the brain of a man; that the one is confirmed, and can bear exertion,—the other is growing, and requires repose;—that to force the attention to abstract facts—to load the memory with chronological and historical or scientific detail—in short, to expect a child's brain to bear with impunity the exertions of a man's—is just as rational as it would be to hazard the same sort of experiment on its muscles.

The first eight \* or ten years of life should be devoted to the education

\* The following anatomical facts, selected from Wenzel's celebrated work, '*De penitiori Structura Cerebri Hominis et Brutorum*,' show that, up to the seventh year of life, very great changes are going on in the structure of the brain, and demand, therefore, the utmost attention, not to interrupt them by improper or over excitement; just that degree of exercise should be given to the brain, at this period, as is necessary

education of the heart, to the formation of principles, rather than to the acquirement of what is usually termed knowledge. Nature herself points out such a course; for the emotions are then the liveliest, and most easily moulded, being as yet unalloyed by passion. It is from this source that the mass of men are hereafter to draw their sum of happiness or misery; the actions of the immense majority are, under all circumstances, determined much more by feeling than by reflection: in truth, life presents an infinity of occasions where it is essential to happiness that we should feel rightly, very few where it is at all necessary that we should think profoundly.

In the education of the heart, the foundations of insanity may be laid in two ways: by great severity, or by over-indulgence.

'We believe with M. Pinel,' says Esquirol, 'that extreme severity, reproaches on the slightest faults, menaces, blows, exasperate and irritate children, destroy the parental influence, and produce perverse inclinations, and even madness; especially if these cruelties are the effects of the caprice or the immorality of the father.'

On the effects of over-indulgence, this author has a very remarkable passage:—

'It is a ridiculous and fatal tenderness,' says he, 'which causes the reason of mature years to succumb to the caprices of infancy. Everybody gives to his son an education above his station and fortune; so that children, despising the knowledge of their parents, disdain the influence of their experience. Accustomed to follow his inclinations, and unused to be thwarted, the child, become man, cannot resist the vicissitudes, the reverses, and the commotions of life. At the slightest stroke of adversity, madness bursts out, the reason being deprived of support, while the passions are unrestrained and resistless.'

We would particularly direct the attention of the reader to the assertion—made, be it remembered, by a most competent judge—that one of the causes of insanity is an education unsuited to the individual's station in society; and we would ask if it be not among the most obvious propensities of the present day to over-

necessary to its health, and the best is *oral* instruction, exemplified by objects which strike the senses. The dimensions of the brain are as follows:—

| BRAIN PROPER.                         |                 |                                       |                                    |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Length.                               | Inch.           | Breadth.                              | Inch.                              |
| At the third month after conception . | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | At the third month after conception . | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$                    |
| At birth . . . . .                    | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | At birth . . . . .                    | 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ to 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| At the seventh year . . . . .         | 6 or 7          | At the seventh year . . . . .         | 5 to 6                             |
| At the eightieth year . . . . .       | 6 or 7          | At the eightieth year . . . . .       | the same.                          |

It appears, therefore, that the brain proper increases rather more in length and breadth during the six months immediately preceding birth, than during the first seven years after birth; that these dimensions arrive at their maximum at the age of seven; and that they suffer no change during the whole of after-life. The weight of the whole brain arrives most commonly at its maximum at the age of three years, and remains without diminution the whole of after-life.



educate? It is not to useful, but to useless, knowledge that we object. Knowledge, it is true, is power; but it furnishes the power to do evil as well as good; and as there is a greater proneness in human nature to the one than to the other, so unassisted knowledge is mischievous in proportion to its extent. While learning is put forth in every shape, *wisdom* is almost wholly neglected. Does any man believe, that, to furnish the future weaver or carpenter with the education of a scholar or a man of science, will make him more contented in the sphere in which he is thrown? Is it not, rather, palpable, that the more fitted he is for a higher station in society—the more talents he has acquired—the greater the effort of mind must be to keep him happy and contented in that to which fortune has fixed him? A few minds, of heroic strength and elevation, will stand such trials as these triumphantly: Granted—but what comes of the great, the immense, the miserable majority? Is it right to tamper with the happiness of mankind in this fashion? Ask any physician what classes of persons are most largely represented in the madhouse: he will answer, unless we be sadly mistaken, *private tutors* and (still more wretched) *governesses*.

A second erroneous opinion, generally entertained in society, is, that madness and great wit are nearly allied. This versified dictum of Dryden is as true, as that great light and darkness are nearly allied, or great strength and weakness, or any other similar nonsense. The mistake has arisen out of the vague analogy between the energy of genius and the energy of madness. In both, the ideas are vigorous and copious; but in the one they are arranged and collected—in the other, disjointed and incoherent. That men of undoubted talents become insane, there can be no question; but it is monstrous to connect the want of mind with strength of intellect—and the ravings of madness with extreme clearness, precision, and vigour of thought. The causes of the insanity of gifted men may be easily traced to some excess of study or feeling, or some injurious habit of body. So far is the proposition from being true, that the reader may soon convince himself, by turning to any biographical work, that they who have been most remarkable for intellect, have retained it the longest and worked it the most.

There is a third error, the extension of which we cannot answer for, but which seems to have been entertained by some of the select committee on lunatics and lunatic asylums—viz., that insanity, being a bodily disease, is *always* curable by medicine. There are so many bodily ailments incurable by physic, that the very statement of the proposition disproves it. The general health in scrofula shall appear to be excellent, and the mind and body working

working well, yet the experienced physician not only knows the malady, but knows that the constitutional taint, which lurks under the fair outside, is not remediable by art. When the disorder of the mind is unaccompanied by any disorder of the body, medicines have little power over mania.

The validity of the prevalent notions on insanity, considered as a subject of medical jurisprudence, we must at present pass very briefly in review. In the trial of Bellingham for the murder of Mr. Perceval, Sir Vicary Gibbs, the attorney-general, made this statement:—

‘A man may be deranged in his mind—his intellect may be insufficient to enable him to conduct the common affairs of life, such as disposing of his property, or judging of the claims which his respective relations have upon him—yet such a man is not discharged from his responsibility for criminal acts. I say this upon the authority of the first sages in this country, and upon the authority of the established law at all times—which law has never been questioned—that, although a man be incapable of conducting his own affairs, he may still be answerable for his criminal acts, *if he possess a mind capable of distinguishing right from wrong.*’

The presiding judge, in his charge to the jury on the same trial, makes a similar avowal:—

‘There was another species of madness, in which persons were subject to temporary paroxysms, in which they were guilty of acts of extravagance—this was called lunacy. If these persons were to commit a crime, when they were not affected with the malady, they would be to all intents and purposes amenable to justice. *So long as they could distinguish good from evil, so long they would be answerable for their conduct.*’

If the above statements amount to this, that whatever delusion a lunatic may labour under, he is responsible for crime, if he can distinguish right from wrong, we do not think the principle holds good. Nothing can be better than what Lord Erskine has said on this head.

‘Let me suppose that the character of the insane delusion consisted in the belief that some given person was a brute animal, or an inanimate being, (and such cases have existed,) and that, upon the trial of such a lunatic for murder, you firmly upon your oaths were convinced, upon the uncontradicted evidence of an hundred persons, that he believed the man he had destroyed to have been a potter’s vessel; that it was quite impossible to doubt that fact, although, to all other intents and purposes, he was sane. Suppose, further, that he believed the man whom he destroyed, but whom he destroyed as a potter’s vessel, to be the property of another, and that he had malice against



such supposed person, and that he meant to injure him, knowing the act he was doing to be malicious and injurious; and that, in short, he had full knowledge of all the principles of good and evil—yet would it be possible to convict such a person of murder, if, from the influence of his disease, he was ignorant of the relation he stood in to the man he had destroyed, and was utterly unconscious that he had struck at the life of a human being? I only put this case, and many others might be brought as examples, to illustrate that the knowledge of good and evil is too general a description.

In the same speech, however, Lord Erskine has ventured to define the true character of insanity, and founded upon it a conclusion which we think will scarcely hold good.

*Delusion*, therefore, where there is no phrenzy or raving madness, is the true character of insanity; and where it cannot be predicated of a man standing for life or death for a crime, he ought not, in my opinion, to be acquitted.

Suppose a woman imagines that her husband is unfaithful to her, and that she, labouring, *quoad hoc*, under no delusion, becomes mad and murders him—is she a subject for the cell or the gallows? Without pretending to decide this question legally, it is certain that madness is not always accompanied by delusion, and that it is not necessary to prove insane belief to make out insanity. On this subject, Dr. Gooch has the following pertinent observations.

I attended a deranged lady, whose predominant belief was that her husband was unfaithful to her. The notion, so far from being unreasonable, was, I believe, true; and she had known it for many years without any unnatural disquietude, but now it engrossed all her thoughts. She neglected her ordinary pursuits, took a dislike to her friends, felt no interest about her children, and sat silent and motionless from morning till night. After continuing deranged for many months, she recovered, although she still retained the same opinion. In what, then, consisted her insanity? Not in the groundlessness and unreasonableness of the predominant belief, but in its withdrawing her attention from all other thoughts and pursuits, in its overwhelming influence over her feelings and conduct.

Dr. Johnson, who seldom touched any subject without lighting on the truth, perceived this principle. "Madness," says he, "frequently discovers itself merely by unnecessary deviation from the usual modes of the world. My poor friend Smart shewed the disturbance of his mind by falling upon his knees, and saying his prayers in the street, or in any other unusual place. Now although, rationally speaking, it is greater madness not to pray at all than to pray as Smart did, I am afraid that there are so many who do not pray, that their understanding is not called in question."

Speech for James Hatfield, p. 24.

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We shall cite another case from Haslam,\* in which the murderer seems to have had a keen sense of right and wrong (the opening sentence proves it), and certainly laboured under no delusion when he committed the crime, and yet he was mad. The narration was made by the maniac to the doctor.

'The man whom I stabbed richly deserved it: he behaved to me with great violence and cruelty; he degraded my nature as a human being; he tied me down, handcuffed me, and confined my hands much higher than my head with a leathern thong; he stretched me on a bed of torture. After some days, he released me. I gave him warning, for I told his wife I would have justice of him: on her communicating this to him, he came to me in a furious passion, threw me down, dragged me through the court-yard, thumped me on the breast, and confined me in a dark and damp cell. Not liking this situation, I was induced to play the hypocrite. I pretended extreme sorrow for having threatened him, and, by an affectation of repentance, prevailed on him to release me. For several days I paid him great attention, and lent him every assistance: he seemed much pleased with the flattery, and became very friendly in his behaviour towards me. Going one day into the kitchen where his wife was busied, I saw a knife—(this was too great a temptation to be resisted)—I concealed it, and carried it about me. For some time afterwards, the same friendly intercourse was maintained between us; but, as he was one day unlocking his garden door, I seized the opportunity, and plunged the knife up to the hilt in his back.'

In cases of this class, the shades of madness run into the excesses of reasonable and accountable creatures, with so slight a variation of tint, that the utmost caution is required to distinguish between them, and with the utmost caution it is often scarcely possible to do so. It is in this class of cases that counsel either deceive themselves, or the jury, by resorting to one or other of the following modes of defence. They attempt to prove a madman not mad, by taking some mode of thinking in sane people similar to that in the maniac, only less in degree, and then arguing that, as the one is not madness, the other cannot be. Here the very excess should excite suspicion sufficient to cause the strictest investigation to be made touching the general habits of the supposed lunatic, his health, and whether there is madness in his family. It is only on a long and patient scrutiny that many mono-maniacs (or persons mad on a single point) are to be detected.

A second mode of defence, equally sophistical, is resorted to by asserting that the madman is only an eccentric man. The observations on this head as to the rise and characteristics of eccentricity, as distinguished from insanity, already quoted from Dr. Gooch, will assist materially those who wish to determine the question of



lunacy honestly. The whole of the author's remarks on this part of his subject are admirable; many a case turns on the distinction between eccentricity and insanity; and definite notions on this head are of the highest value.

The persons (he says elsewhere) who have passed for eccentric, and whom I have had opportunities of observing, I would divide into three classes; 1st, Those who differ from the rest of mankind chiefly in their objects and pursuits, instead of desiring and aiming at the common objects of human wishes,—namely, rising in life, the attainment of a competence, the acquisition of wealth and power;—they are contented in these respects to remain stationary, and they dedicate the whole of their lives and talents to the cultivation of their minds, and the acquisition of knowledge. This peculiarity of pursuit, unless counteracted by much intercourse with polished society, generates various peculiarities in their appearance, habits, manners, and modes of expression: they are careless, often slovenly in their dress, awkward in their manners, singular, and often pedantic in the topics and language of their conversation. Such persons are called eccentric, but their eccentricity consists only in their pursuits and manners; it is the simplest and most unquestionable form of eccentricity, and is compatible with the healthiest, happiest, and most vigorous state of mind. The second class consists of persons who differ from the rest of mankind in the singularity of their opinions—with the same materials they draw inferences widely different from those of sensible and competent judges: they are persons of great confidence in their own judgment, defective either in knowledge or comprehensiveness of mind, and by separating those facts which are favourable to their opinions, by frequent meditation on them, and by keeping out of sight the opposite facts, they attain the firmest conviction of their peculiar notions. This process will sometimes carry a man a great way. There is at this time in America, a Captain Symes, who is convinced that the earth is perforated from pole to pole—that the sea flows through it, that the perforation is navigable;—and he is said to be planning a voyage to explore it. This form of eccentricity, in a minor degree, is very common. The persons subject to it are often clever and zealous; but they never possess very superior minds; they have the zeal for knowledge without corresponding sagacity: still they are eccentric, not mad, for they arrive at their conclusions through an intellectual process, though a crooked one. It is a law of the human understanding, that a little evidence perpetually presented to the mind will produce as much conviction as a greater quantity presented rarely.

There is still another class, who are called eccentric. Those whom I have had an opportunity of observing closely have been remarkable for a high opinion of themselves, quite disproportionate to their apparent powers or actual achievements, and for rashness of conduct never corrected by experience; some of them have had singularly calm and sweet dispositions, others have been of stormy tem-  
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pers, subject to violent gusts from trifling provocations: they have had singular opinions without any intelligible reasons for them, and have most of them had a peculiarly formal and solemn manner. After continuing many years in this state, and passing among their friends for eccentric characters, they have ultimately become deranged. I need not say that this peculiarity of mind, although constantly mistaken for eccentricity, is, in truth, slumbering undeveloped madness. The signs which ought to create suspicion of this state are these: insanity being more or less prevalent in the family; a singularity of opinions, manners, and actions, inexplicable by the peculiar pursuits of the individual; enormous self-esteem; mischievous schemes obstinately persisted in, and uncorrected by experience.

A third mode of defence, in cases of monomaniacs, is to assert the impossibility of the mind being mad on one subject. 'The mind is one and indivisible, and cannot, therefore, be partially mad.' This is metaphysics against fact, and the direct answer is to quote one example, where it would be easy to quote thousands. But, to meet the argument as it is proposed, we have the analogy of other diseases to show that a general malady shows itself in a part only. Thus scrofula is a constitutional or general malady, and yet it will show itself only in the swelling of a single gland, while every function of the body shall, to all appearance, be performed in the healthiest manner. If the brain be the instrument of thought, where is the difficulty of supposing that one key may jar, while all the rest yield the usual tones to the same touch?

Such are a few of the thoughts suggested to us by the perusal of these two admirable essays. The extracts which we have made will satisfy the general reader that the opinions to which we have alluded have been moulded in the mind of one, who has seen well, thinks deeply, and explains his thoughts with that simplicity of language which always accompanies power. To the professional reader we have nothing to say; for, if he have attended at all to the progress of medicine, he will see at a glance that there is not a single one of the ten essays contained in Dr. Gooch's work, which does not prove an important practical point,—thus adding to the stores of human knowledge, and to the means of alleviating human suffering. No such work has appeared, on the branch of medicine professed by our author, since the time of that admirable scholar and profound physician, Dr. William Hunter.



1808, it is continued in the year 1793, and having continued in it till 1804.

ART. VII.—1. *Essai Statistique sur le Royaume de Portugal et d'Algarve, comparé aux autres Etats de l'Europe, et suivi d'un Coup-d'œil sur l'Etat actuel des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-arts parmi les Portugais des deux hémisphères.* Par Adrien Balbi, Ancien Professeur de Géographie, de Physique et de Mathématique, Membre Correspondant de l'Académie de Trévise, &c. &c. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1822.

2. *Sketches of Portuguese Life, Manners, Costume, and Character; illustrated by twenty coloured Plates.* By A. P. D. G. 8vo. London. 1826.

3. *Portugal Illustrated; in a Series of Letters.* By the Rev. W. M. Kimsey, B. D., Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; and Chaplain to the Right Hon. Lord Auckland. *Embellished with a Map, Plates of Coins, Vignettes, Modinhas; and various Engravings of Costume, Landscape Scenery, &c.* Second Edition. Royal 8vo. London. 1829.

4. *An Historical View of the Revolutions of Portugal, since the close of the Peninsular War; exhibiting a full Account of the events which have led to the present State of the Country.* By an Eye-Witness. 8vo. London. 1827.

5. *Injusta Aclamação do Serenissimo Infante D. Miguel; ou Analyse e Refutação Juridica do Assento dos chamados Tres Estados do Reino de Portugal de 11 de Julho de 1828.* Pelo Desembargador Antonio de Silva Lopes Rocha, Advogado da Casa da Suplicação de Lisboa. London. 1828.

6. *Examen Rapide de l'Acte fait par les Prétendus Etats du Royaume de Portugal. Assemblés à Lisbonne le 23 Juin 1828.* Par Jm. A. de Magalhaens, Docteur en Droit, Député aux Cortès de 1826 et 1827; Secrétaire de la Junta Governativa du Porto au Département des Affaires Etrangères. London. 1828.

7. *Correio Braziliense.* 29 vols. From 1808 to 1822.

8. *Investigador Portuguez.* 23 vols. From 1811 to 1818.

THE first book in this list is a useful and laborious work, in which the author has aimed at more than it was possible for him to accomplish, but has accomplished much, giving abundant proof of industrious ability, and of a disposition to see everything in the most hopeful and favourable light. The *Sketches of Portuguese Life* come from a person much more intimately acquainted with the people, concerning whom he writes; he describes himself, as having entered the Portuguese civil service at the age of twenty,

twenty, in the year 1793, and having continued in it till 1804, when, unable any longer to resist the torrent of intrigue to which every foreigner in that service is subjected, he quitted for a time both his adopted country and profession. But in 1809, an advantageous situation being offered to him in the victualling department of the British army then in Portugal, he returned to that kingdom, with advantages possessed by few of his nation—a good knowledge of the language and the people. It is principally from his later experience, during this second residence of many years, which terminated only at a recent period, that he has attempted to describe the state of society in Portugal. The disgust once provoked in his mind by unjust treatment has long subsided, and he is conscious rather of partiality for, than prejudice against, the Portuguese and their country. The tendency to caricature which appears in the prints to this volume might lead a reader to suspect something of a kindred exaggeration in the descriptions; and the anecdotes which he relates might strengthen the suspicion in those who are not acquainted with Portugal: but on that point the author speaks with the confidence of a man who is thoroughly conversant with his subject, and refers those who may entertain such doubts to any one who has resided in Portugal. His account, indeed, accords but too well with that of all travellers who have given the whole dark side of the truth.

Mr. Kinsey's book is of a very different description. That gentleman did not remain long enough in the country to become acquainted with the worst features of its society, nor to lose the pleasure of novelty, and the sense of admiration which its monuments of art and its magnificent scenery may well excite. Blest with the active and useful inclination to collect and communicate whatever information was within his reach, he has faithfully and pleasantly related all that he saw and learnt; and the prints which embellish his book are, most of them, so good, that a more beautiful volume has not issued from the press in this golden, or rather steel, age of engravers.

The 'View of the Revolutions of Portugal since the Close of the Peninsular War,' is a book of great ability, written with full knowledge of the subject on which it treats, in the best spirit, with sound judgment and perfect discretion. In its author, the late Captain John Murray Browne, the British army has lost a man who was likely to have been one of its brightest ornaments; for he possessed, in an eminent degree, not only the physical and intellectual endowments requisite for his profession, but the gentleness and benignity of disposition which are required to temper it, and those vital principles of morality and religion which can alone secure the happiest



happiest disposition against the evil tendencies of a military life ; so that in mature manhood he had no cause to repent having chosen for himself this course in childhood, and persisted in his choice against the wishes of his father. He was the only son of a clergyman at Norwich, who, yielding most reluctantly to the ardent but determined inclination of the boy, obtained a commission for him, while yet a mere youth, in 1809, and he immediately joined the 48th regiment, in Spain. He was in the battle of Busaco, and in that of Albuhera, on which last dreadful day his conduct attracted the favourable notice of his commanding officer. After sharing for some time in the honours achieved by the second division, under Lord Hill, he entered the 13th Portuguese infantry, and in that service was noted by Sir Benjamin D'Urban as an officer of the greatest promise. In that service he crossed the Pyrenees, and bore his part in the victories which terminated the Peninsular war. Soon afterwards, Marshal Beresford appointed him to the situation of assistant quarter-master-general ; and from the favourable reports which were made of him, unaccompanied by any solicitations on his own part, the Duke of York promoted him to a captaincy. He performed the duties of his staff situation in a manner which gained for him the esteem and confidence of Sir Archibald Campbell, to whose Portuguese division he was attached. His zeal and fidelity, indeed, were such, that they exposed him to imminent peril ; and once he narrowly escaped assassination from some of the revolutionary party, whose purpose, of seducing troops from their allegiance, he had discovered and baffled. When the British officers were dismissed by the ruling party, in 1820, he retired to a *quinta*, near Torres Novas, and there, being now a married man, farmed a little property, and quietly cultivated his olives. But it was not likely that one so well known in that country, and so thoroughly qualified for public life, would long be left to enjoy retirement ; or that he would cease to take a lively interest in public affairs, or, feeling that interest, forbear to take a part in them. Accordingly, when he saw with what cruel indignities the poor old king of Portugal was treated, on his return from Brazil, indignation excited a generous feeling for him, and he entered into his interests with an ardour and a sincerity to which that unhappy king had been little accustomed, but which he perceived and felt, and valued as they deserved. One most important service Captain Browne rendered him, by influencing, at a most perilous time, certain local authorities in his favour ; and by his own great exertions, and by rousing the king to an unusual effort. John VI. was so sensible of this, that he wished to make him

him his aide-de-camp, being the only requital which, in the state of thralldom wherein he was held, it was in his power to offer; but to have accepted this, he must have given up his British commission, and his ambition was to rise in the service of his own country. In proportion as he had deserved well of the king, had he obtained the ill-will of those by whom the king was beset; they hated him for his English blood, his English principles, and above all, for having frustrated their design. Leaving, at length, a scene of intrigues, baseness, and ingratitude, he returned to England, and the king of Portugal, as a last proof of gratitude, directed his ambassador to solicit promotion for him in his name. The application was not pressed, because Captain Browne wished to complete a course of study at Sandhurst, before he made any further arrangement. John VI., meantime, died. Deeming it necessary, then, not to let such a recommendation be lost, he applied to the Marquess Palmella, and to the Marquess the Duke of York returned a most favourable answer, through Mr. Canning. The death of the Duke and of Mr. Canning, which both, so fatally, soon followed, did not affect his interests; his claims were acknowledged, and in the beginning of 1828 he joined the 75th regiment, at Castlebar, in Ireland, with fairer prospects than were generally understood by those who saw him doing captain's duty with a regiment after all his services. The regiment was removed to Mullingar in the spring; soon afterwards, he went on the lake to fish, missed a stroke when rowing, fell over, and was taken up dead. Such demonstrations of true grief have rarely been witnessed at a military funeral as when this excellent man, in whose society his brother officers delighted, and whom the soldiers loved as much as they respected, was committed to the grave. Not one of the regiment was absent when the service was performed. By this sudden stroke of calamity, a widowed mother was bereft of her only son, a sister of her protector, a most affectionate wife of her husband, and three young children of their father; and the army lost an officer, than whom no one in the service was more likely to have done honour to his country.

The volume which he published a few months only before his death is not one which will go the way of ephemeral publications—it will always have its place in the *Bibliotheca Historica* of that kingdom to which it relates; and it is one of those books which no person can ever peruse without a feeling of respect for the author.

Captain Browne begins by describing the condition in which Portugal was left at the termination of the Peninsular war. How  
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any country should have been reduced to such a state after a contest so bravely sustained and so gloriously concluded, would be unintelligible, without some knowledge of the condition in which it was found at the commencement of that contest. This is not the place for inquiring into the causes which brought about the debasement of a people formerly so distinguished for enterprise and energy; and for the part they bore in the history of the world, that there exists a Persian map, in which Portugal is called the capital of the Franks. Their moral and intellectual degradation reached its lowest point towards the middle of the last century, under John V.; but those were tranquil times; there were neither political nor financial difficulties to contend with; and the Brazilian mines sent in their produce so abundantly, that during a series of years the Portuguese government was the richest in Europe. There were no complicated questions of political economy to be considered—no solicitude about balancing the ways and means. Gold and diamonds came by the annual fleet as regularly as harvest returned, and the vintage, and the olive gathering. The government had only to receive and spend; and the receipts were so great, that it seemed never to regard the extent of its expenditure. The king was an easy, good-natured, superstitious voluptuary; he indulged the people with burning a few Jews now and then—had his harem in a nunnery, a little way from Lisbon—dealt largely with Rome, for spiritual wares—and kept clear accounts with his confessor. No expense was deemed too great for adorning a few favoured churches; candlesticks were ordered from Italy, of the stateliest height, greatest calibre, and finest workmanship; mosaic pictures; and altar-frontispieces of lapis-lazzuli and silver, the cost of the sculpture exceeding the value of these precious materials. Such literature, also, as the Inquisition would tolerate, partook of this overflowing wealth; and the Royal Academy had money at its disposal, for printing, in an expensive form, whatever it thought fit; among which are sixteen huge volumes of its own proceedings—the most worthless that ever academy published.

Machiavelli\* lays it down as a general rule, that no commonwealth or kingdom can either be well founded or effectually reformed, except by a single person; he holds legislation in its highest degree to be, as Harrington says of invention, a solitary thing. This maxim Machiavelli derived from ancient

\* *E debben pigliare questo per una regola generale, che non mai o di rado, occorre che alcuna repubblica o regno sia da principio ordinato bene, o al tutto di nuovo fuori degli ordini vecchi ristabilito; se non è ordinato da uno; anzi è necessario che uno solo sia quello che dia il modo, a quella cui mente dipenda qualunque simile ordinazione.*—Discorsi sopra Livio, lib. i. c. 9.

history; and modern history confirms it thus far, that no nation has at any time been eminently prosperous, unless a single mind predominated in its councils. Portugal was governed by a single mind after the death of John V., during the whole of his successor's reign, and that so vigorous a one, that it gave fair ground of hope for such a thorough reformation of a thoroughly corrupted system, as could only be brought about by despotic power, wisely directed to the best ends. Circumstances had given Pombal complete ascendancy over a weak, well-intentioned king, whom he faithfully served; he set about the work of reform with a resolution and ability which have obtained for him, until this day, from the Portuguese people the appellation of the Great Marquis (*O Grande Marquês*); but, as in every instance wherein a man has armed himself with such power, professing, hoping, and even (as in Cromwell's case) sincerely and religiously intending to employ it righteously, the reformer became a tyrant himself. Pombal was made so, not by ambition, for he had no objects in view but what were lawful and just, if they could have been effected by lawful and just means; not by any meaner passions—but by the sense of insecurity, distrust, suspicion, the treachery and the baseness, with which he was surrounded, and the opinion of human nature which he formed from the conduct not only of those by whom he was secretly opposed, but of those also who served him. The moral and political Calvinism in which most practical politicians end, with whatever theories they may begin, their course, hardened a heart which was not naturally compassionate; and having persuaded himself that men in general could not be treated worse than they deserved, he cared not what sufferings he inflicted upon individuals. When his victims were put to death it was with tortures, not such as the law (always sufficiently barbarous) had enacted, but specially enjoined for the occasion: when they were imprisoned, it was in dungeons, and for life. When the king's death brought about his fall, eight hundred state-prisoners were set at liberty; some of them had been incarcerated in early youth, and came out grey-headed men; and some found themselves so forlorn and friendless, after the destruction of their families and fortunes, that they entreated, as the only kindness which could be shown them, to be received into their dungeons again. No moral reformation could be expected from such a reformer. His views extended not so far; they rested in the intellectual improvement of the nation, and in the promotion of its trade and manufactures. In the first of these objects he succeeded, by delivering Portugal from the Jesuits, and reforming the university, which, under their influence, had sunk to the lowest point of degradation; in the second, he succeeded also, to a certain degree, though



though some of his measures are of questionable policy, and are matter of discussion at this day. More he would have effected had his administration continued longer. And though some of his best measures were undone when the friars recovered their ascendancy at court, immediately upon his overthrow, Portugal is yet beholden to him for a greatly improved system of education, for the restoration of its literature, and for a great increase of commercial activity. But nothing was done towards reviving the old constitutional forms and institutions, which, in the best days of Portugal, were the checks upon its absolute monarchy; nothing toward giving efficacy to good laws; nothing toward restoring a sense of integrity in the magistrates and judges, of honour in the nobles, of morality and religion, as distinct from the perfunctory observance of superstitious services, in all ranks. In none of these great and vital points did he attempt to improve the condition of his degraded country; nor had any improvement been effected or attempted in them since, till those revolutionary experiments of which we shall speak hereafter. The scandalous corruption of justice in civil cases, and the open contempt of it in criminal ones, would seem incredible to those who live in a land where it is as impossible to bribe a judge as to obtain impunity for a flagrant and notorious act of legal guilt. But the representations, incredible as they appear, which all travellers have made of the state of Portugal, in this respect, are unexaggerated. Every crime which did not come under the cognizance of the Inquisition, might be committed without fear of punishment, almost without risk of molestation; every thing was allowed to take its course, except law, literature, conscience, and freemasonry. Costigan's Sketches, which were published something more than forty years ago, describe a state of flagitious lawlessness more resembling what we might expect to find in the most barbarous parts of the Mahommedan world than in a European and Christian nation; and yet, though some of the atrocious tragedies which are related in that book may be circumstantially inaccurate, (and from their very nature, indeed, are likely to be so,) the general representation beyond all doubt is faithful. Brigadier Ferrier, an Irish officer in the Portuguese service, is known to have been the author of this book. We once heard a brother officer of his, in the same service, doubt his claim to it; and the reason which he gave for doubting it was, that shocking as the facts are which are there stated, Ferrier knew so many more, and worse, of the same kind, that if he had written the work it must have presented a much more unfavourable picture of the national character. The 'Sketches of Portuguese Life' are perfectly in keeping with Brigadier Ferrier's, though forty years elapsed between

between their publication; each authenticates the other, for such a resemblance could not have existed, unless both had been drawn from the life.

The reader who should form his opinion of Portugal from these books, and give that belief to them which all persons who are well acquainted with that country will agree in assuring him that they are entitled to, would suppose the Portuguese to be some of the wickedest people upon earth; and those travellers who know no more of them than what may be seen at Lisbon, would assent to the conclusion. Yet such an opinion, however fairly and unavoidably it might be formed from such premises, would be most unjust. The proof is full and damnatory against the privileged classes, against the government, and 'all who are in authority under it';—as to the populace of the metropolis, the refuse of civilised society is, to the opprobrium of civilization, the same everywhere. But it is not by these that the nation is to be estimated; these were its diseased members, its fungous excrescences, its wens and cancers, its boils and blains. The people—(we are speaking, it must be remembered, of what Portugal was at the commencement of the Peninsular war)—the people, as a people, partook so little of the corruption, that after allowing all that can be allowed (much as that is) to the conservative influence of long established order, and of those Christian principles which retain their vitality and their saving virtue amid the grossest and darkest superstition, much must be ascribed to a national character that deserved to be called eminently and almost singularly good. Let us imagine what London would be if the doors of all its churches stood open day and night, offering an asylum for murderers; and if any man might stab another in the street without risk of being molested on his way to such a place of security: let us imagine what the whole of England would be if quarrels were as commonly decided by the knife as they are by fair fighting, among the lower orders; and if, among the higher, it were the custom to employ an assassin instead of sending a challenge;—if a miscreant incurred no more danger by killing his wife, than he does by deserting her, or by offering her for sale with a halter round her neck; if the criminal laws were in a state of perpetual abeyance, so that if thief, robber, or murderer, happened, by any capricious exercise of authority, to be sent to prison, the worst he would have to apprehend would be that of begging at the grate for alms, till a general gaol delivery took place, which was effected when the prison was full, by turning one set of prisoners loose to make room for another! Let us suppose, also, that all fear of punishment in another world was effectually taken away by a religion in which all the lower classes entirely believed. Let us suppose what

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Great Britain would be if this were the state of laws, manners, and belief, and imagine, if we can imagine, what would be the condition of a country then, which has its Thurtells and its Corders, its Burkes and its Hares, now! That consideration may enable us to render justice to the Portuguese. The peasantry, notwithstanding this lawlessness, this utter destitution of all good government, were an inoffensive, good people: for the trading part of the community, it may suffice to say, that in no other part of Europe, or the world, did the British merchant rely with more confidence on the probity of those with whom he dealt; and, with regard to literature, nowhere, we verily believe, were there so many persons who were engaged in it purely for its own sake; steadily pursuing their quiet and meritorious labours, without the expectation or possibility of reward; neither dreaming of fame or emolument, or encouragement of any kind, but contented with the consciousness that they were collecting and preserving knowledge, which hereafter, at some indefinite time, others would find useful.

It has been truly observed, that, during the middle ages, more and greater crimes were committed by the higher classes than by the lower; because the people were kept in fear, and in order, and in place, whereas the privileged orders were powerful enough to set the laws at defiance. So it continued to be in Portugal, although a great alteration had been produced in the character of both classes. The higher orders were much worse than they had been in the middle ages, having lost not only the chivalrous virtues, but even the manly qualities which such times call forth. The peasantry, on the other hand, were much better, because they retained the simplicity of former days, but instead of a warlike, were become habitually a quiet and peaceful people. Murders, arising from jealousy, or from sudden anger, were to be expected, where the laws took no cognizance of such occurrences, and the priest dispensed a spiritual pardon upon the easiest terms. Such crimes, therefore, were, of course, common; and of course, also, those crimes which grow out of the relations of a highly civilized and complicated society were not found among them. But robbery was scarcely heard of, except in the vicinity of the capital; there was no country in which a traveller felt himself more secure, though he well knew that the laws afforded him no security. This was the case before the French invaded that kingdom in 1807; and that it should have been so, as certainly it was, can only be ascribed to the general probity of the people, and to that original goodness in the national character which continued to exist wherever it was not within the sphere of a contagious and pestilent corruption.

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That the Portuguese peasantry deserved this character, is what all persons who were well acquainted with Portugal would testify; and it is fully acknowledged even by those writers who speak with least reserve of what may be called the established corruption of the government, in all its branches, of the aristocracy, and of the priests, monks, and friars. The author of the 'Sketches' says of the peasantry, that their distinguishing characteristics are industry, patience under privations, intrepidity and courage; and that they only stand in need of a government which would call forth, in a greater degree, their natural good qualities:—

'I would not advocate so warmly, or, in fact,' he says, 'at all, some other classes of Portuguese; for whatever measure of corruption, in every respect, this world can contain, is to be found to superfluity in those orders. . . . The farther removed from the city and its sophistications, the more does the real character of the Portuguese peasantry appear in its proper light; and certainly there are no people who realise more nearly than themselves the description which poets have so often imagined of rural virtue and pastoral simplicity. If a stranger appears, among them, they make him, quite unsolicited, a tender of every thing he may stand in need of for his refreshment. There does the sportsman pursue his prey,' (it is a sportsman who writes,) 'through vineyards full of delicious grapes, and melon fields covered with that fruit, without other barriers to protect them than mutual confidence. No boards, with appalling inscriptions of steel traps and spring guns, annoy the sight, and disgrace the national character of generosity, by holding out to you, *in terrorem*, the prospect of immediate death, if you climb over a hedge to pick up your game. It is with no such apprehensive selfishness that the Portuguese countryman guards his property. I never coasted along a melon field in my life, but the proprietor, if within sight, would come forward and solicit my making choice of the ripest and best fruit, without the least feeling of interestedness; nay, he would have felt indignant if a remuneration had even been proffered.'

These people (and they constituted the great body of the nation) were contented with their condition, before the war; though they had cause enough for discontent, had there been any persons whose patriotic calling it was to teach them that they ought to be discontented. Their condition was the same from year to year, and from generation to generation. Such as their lot was, it had been that of their ancestors before them, and would, they expected, be that of their descendants after them; they had, therefore, neither regrets nor craving for worldly prosperity. Where they were born, there they grew from infancy to manhood, from manhood to old age; there they saw their children to the third and fourth generation, under the same roof; and there they were gathered to their fathers. This was the ordinary course of a peasant's life; and in this he was contented and happy,—



'Pleased that his coffin should stand in as humble a room as his cradle.'

WM. TAYLOR.

The exceptions to this were, when parents, from a vow made in sickness or in affliction, or under a more settled principle of superstitious devotion, or from the only kind of ambition which ever entered into a peasant's views, destined one of their sons for the frock; or if a youth, when he came to years of choice, took that course himself, thinking a friar's life easier than a husbandman's, or for the sake of escaping the military service. That service was a grievance, which at one time occasioned emigration to an alarming extent. Other grievances they felt only at times, and then as arising from the corruption or tyranny of the immediate agents, not as the evils of the government itself. The government, they always believed, would have redressed their wrongs, if it were but acquainted with them; but so confirmed was the habit of patient and submissive loyalty in the Portuguese peasantry, that they never imputed as a fault to the government the abominable system which rendered it impossible for the grievances of the subject to reach the ear of the sovereign,—the maladministration of the laws, the malversation which prevailed in every department, and the total neglect of all its duties. The stability of their condition rendered them thus contented; they were not affected by the state of foreign markets, by the opening or closing of distant ports, by commercial panics, by experiments in legislation made in conformity with the theories of men whose peculiar talent it is always to make what is bad worse, and never to leave what is well alone; nor by any of those fluctuations which occasion so much misery in these kingdoms. The benignity of their climate, in which it is a pleasure to exist and breathe, seemed to have communicated itself to their disposition, and undoubtedly influenced it in no inconsiderable degree; it had neither relaxed, nor rendered them idle, and therefore dissolute; but it affected them with a sense of well-being, through the bounty of Providence; their heritage had fallen to them in a goodly land, upon which the heavens smiled, and where the earth had not been cursed for their sake. And though no government could be more unlike that patriarchal one to which its sycophants likened it, there was in the people just such a feeling of filial, confiding obedience as is supposed in such a state. The Portuguese were proud to think that their king was as absolute as king could be; they appeared to believe that his power could only be exercised for their good, and therefore could not be limited without injury to themselves.

This was the bright side of the picture; the colours are not overcharged, nor was the favourable character confined to the mere

mere peasantry. 'At a distance from the capital, I know not any nation,' says General Mackinnon, 'where there appears to be more purity of morals than in Portugal. They have in this country a peculiar virtue, from the kindness with which they treat servants, many of whom, attached to the same family from one generation to another, acquire by their savings small properties, which in time enable them to rise and become independent.' In one house where he was entertained there were not less than forty servants, with their children, residing there. The name, indeed, for servant in that language, seems originally to have implied one bred in the family—a child of the house. To this cause it may in part be owing that nothing like that distance between master and servant, which is observed here, was maintained in Portugal; in its stead, there was a familiarity on both sides, altogether inconsistent with our manners and with the constitution of our society. In this respect the habit of old times continued even where the hereditary feeling had ceased to exist; and there was also the less creditable, though not less efficient, cause,—that the *fidalgos*, as to the intellectual part of their education, were not elevated above their domestics. The heir-apparent of a titled family would have deemed it a degradation to receive an academical education; consequently there was not one *fidalgo titular* who had been educated at Coimbra, unless he had been a second son, and succeeded to the family honours upon an elder brother's death. Pombal would have remedied this, and have raised the nation to the standard of French civilization under a government as despotic as the then French monarchy; but no sooner was he displaced, than the privilege of remaining illiterate was reasserted by this thoroughly degenerate order. This was an evil which, in its consequences, directly affected the state in its weightiest concern; for the presidents of the tribunals were usually chosen from this class of men, who would have been deemed to have dishonoured themselves if they had gone through any regular course of study in their youth; and of these presidents the council of state was formed! The council was established when the French revolution first seriously alarmed the Portuguese government. Instead of looking for talents, and opening a channel for them to make their way for the public good, they instituted a council consisting of men who, as one of their own countrymen describes them, were bred up in a contemptuous dislike for study; incapable, for lack of education, to understand the interests of their own country or of any other; and wanting energy both of body and mind for the application and arduous labour which their office required—of body as well as of mind,—for physical degeneracy had visibly been produced



by long-continued moral deterioration. What could this miserable and long misguided government do? Affairs of state were prescriptively in the hands of this class; and there were literally no means by which a man of ability and information could make himself known, and open for himself a way into public life. Every book of modern times, which treated of morals, politics, or legislation, or touched upon them, if it was of any merit or reputation, was prohibited. A Portugeze could not acquire the knowledge indispensable for a statesman, even such as statesmen are in this brazen age, without breaking the laws of his country, and putting himself in danger of the Inquisition; for it was only to be obtained by reading, in secret, books which it was a crime to possess. But if stolen water be sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant, can it be supposed that men would not hunger and thirst for the prohibited bread of knowledge, and the forbidden waters of instruction? This prohibitory system was more effectual against good books than bad ones; for one copy of Montesquieu, twenty of the *Système de la Nature*, or the *Pucelle*, would be imported; the worse such books were, the more likely they were to be prized by those who had contracted either a taste or a desire for them, and the greater was the temptation to introduce them, because they bore, in consequence, a higher price. There was also a worse consequence; the prohibition stamped the book with an imaginary value; its authority became, as it were, canonical to those who could not obtain it without difficulty, nor read it but in secret and with some degree of danger, that danger operating as a provocative to many—as a deterrent, perhaps, to none.

Thus, at the beginning of the French Revolution, there were a set of men, who had sucked in poison from the vilest French books, and who were confirmed in the atheism, or at least in the hatred of Christianity, which they there learnt, by all that they saw of religion in their own country, all that they knew of it, and all that they were allowed to read upon the subject, if they had been disposed to seek for information which might remove their doubts and establish their faith. There had been a French party in Portugal from the time of the Succession War; a new one arose now, which adhered to the French side, upon different but no better grounds—and, little as was the intelligence which it could obtain of passing events in France, followed, nevertheless, implicitly all the mutations of the Revolution. They saw and lamented, at the beginning of their career, ingenuously, the evils of their own government, and the grievances of the people; but perceiving how hopeless it was to look, even, still more so to labour, for any reformation, and becoming wise in their generation as they advanced

in years, they usually contented themselves, when they could, by becoming members of the corrupt and nefarious system, which, as they could not amend, they deemed it wise to share in. The more fortunate of these men were thus from time to time drafted into the service of the state; and then their only anxiety was that the fabric of government, with all its abuses, might last, as the phrase is, their time. Many who missed of such promotion, or were on their way to it, amused themselves with freemasonry, of which they are said by one of their countrymen (an adept himself in the mysteries of this cryptic science) to have known nothing; it served them for a secret bond of union, and for that reason freemasonry was supposed by the government and by the Inquisition to comprise whatever is impious in speculative opinions, and dangerous in political ones. Certainly, it was a distinctive mark among themselves of those who would have overthrown the existing despotism, temporal and spiritual, if they could; a desire in which every Portuguese who loved his country must have partaken, had there appeared a reasonable hope of erecting anything better in their stead. Having no such hope, such of the Portuguese as were blessed by nature with gentle hearts and peaceable dispositions, as well as thoughtful and inquiring minds, involved themselves in no clandestine associations, but followed quietly their own pursuits; and while they mourned over the degradation of their country, became more attached to it by patriotic feeling, from the melancholy pride with which they called to mind its former greatness.

In this state Portugal was surprised by the first French invasion. The royal family took flight to Brazil, escaping just in time; the treacherous invaders were received without resistance, in obedience to the Prince Regent's last directions; and if there had been as little loyalty and as little love of their country in the people as was manifested by the privileged orders, Portugal must have become whatever Buonaparte had pleased to make it—a tributary kingdom, or a province of his military empire. Here in England it is commonly believed that men who have what is called a large stake in the country, may, because of that stake, be relied on, if not for sound judgment, for safe intentions at all times, and for patriotic conduct in arduous ones. What has happened in other countries during this revolutionary age, has shown that no reliance can be more fallacious. The men on whom a government may surely depend, in its hour of need, are not those who have the largest properties to lose, because the desire of preserving that property may as easily influence them on the one side as the other. During the Great Rebellion in our own country, although more principle was found on both parts than



has often been manifested in such a crisis, it was, nevertheless, no uncommon policy, when the issue began to appear doubtful, for families to divide, and fight on both sides, with the intent that whichever side might prevail, the family estates might be preserved. The strength of a nation at such times is found in those who are attached, heart and soul, to its institutions—who think of no other stake than their hearths and altars, and who believe and feel that it is their religious duty to fear God and honour the king, and die, should they be called upon so to do, in the defence of their native land. Thus it was in Portugal: of the nobles who had not emigrated with the court, some actively supported the French usurpation, the rest passively submitted to it: the Patriarch and the Inquisition assisted it with the whole weight of their pastoral exhortations and spiritual authority. The literate class, if they had been disposed to awaken a national spirit in their countrymen, had no means of appealing to it; but of that class, they who were thoroughly possessed with revolutionary opinions, had no other desire than that of profiting, as far as possible, in their own persons, by the sort of revolution which had taken place. Better men looked helplessly on, as they had done under the previous misgovernment, and groaned in secret now over the miseries of their country, as they had before done for its degradation and decay. But the peasantry, in various parts of the country, without concert or combination, took arms.

Just at this time the first political journal which had ever appeared in the Portuguese language was commenced in London, by Hippolyto Joseph da Costa Pereira Furtado de Mendonça,—an event of some importance in the literature of Portugal, but of far more in its political relations. This person of many names was born at Nova Colonia, on the River Plata; being a Brazilian, therefore, by birth, and foreseeing also the inevitable separation of that great colony from the mother-country, an event which, whatever might be the course of events in Europe, must be near at hand, and could not by any policy be prevented, he gave his journal the name of the Brazilian Courier (*Correio Braziliense*). Hippolyto had graduated at Coimbra, had been in the United States, in France, and in England, and held the office of *Director Literario* in the junta of the Royal Press, when, in the summer of 1802, a few days after returning from England, he was arrested by an order from the Intendant of Police—that Manique, whose name will not be forgotten in Portugal while any remembrance of its long misgovernment shall be preserved. Augereau, who was a fencing-master at Lisbon when the French revolution began, and had been sent out of the country by this intendant (probably with sufficient reason), charged a Portuguese

guese royal messenger, an old acquaintance, whom he entertained in his quarters on the Pyrenean frontier, to make it known in Lisbon, on his return, that he was coming there with an army, and would make a drum of Manique's skin. Bishop Latimer used to say that the sign of the judge's skin would be a goodly sign in our own courts of justice; and certainly, if ever there was an intendant of police who deserved to have his hide thus exhibited for a warning to his successors, it was this Manique. Hippolyto's own story is a specimen of this man's administration. The order for his arrest directed that he should be committed to prison and kept in solitary confinement,\* assigning as the cause for his arrest, that he had gone to England without a passport; and enjoining that his papers should be seized, and search made for any badges of freemasonry. Hippolyto represented that he had been provided with a passport, in due form, from the secretary of state's office; moreover, that he had leave of absence from the prince for his voyage, and was charged with commissions, on the royal account, for the public library and the royal press. The only effect of this defence was, to call forth a reprimand for his presumption in supposing that the intendant would have ordered him to be arrested without a sufficient cause. To the Limoeiro, accordingly, he was conveyed, which is the common prison; there he was placed in solitary confinement, and in that confinement left for eight days, when, on the eighth night, he was taken into another apartment, to undergo a secret examination from the same corregidor who had arrested him. Hippolyto, who had taken a degree in laws, and very well understood those of his own country, immediately required that an end should be put to his solitary imprisonment, by virtue of a law which forbade such confinement to be continued longer than five days, unless the *regidor* and two other *dezembargadores* should concur in declaring that there was a necessity for prolonging it. To this the man in authority replied, that the law to which he appealed was not applicable in his case, for he had been apprehended by the police, whose magistrates were bound by no law, but, on the contrary, were invested with unlimited power, both to investigate crimes and to punish them. The law, indeed, was not more clearly on Hippolyto's side, than the practice which had superseded all law was on that of the corregidor. In vain did he claim his right of appeal against this breach of law; he was coolly told that there was no right of appeal for one who was in secret custody: the examination was then proceeded with, and turned wholly upon his credentials as a freemason, which had been found among his papers. These he at once acknowledged; admitted that he had been ini-

\* *De Segredo, con rigorosa incommunicação.*



tiated at Philadelphia; declared that curiosity, and the desire of being enabled to form a correct opinion concerning a society which he found to be held in good esteem abroad, though it was discouraged in his own country, had been his only motive; and insisted, that as there was no law in Portugal which forbade any man to become a freemason, he had committed no offence in making use of his natural liberty. Moreover, he argued, that if it was against the law in Portugal, it was not so in America, where he had been initiated; consequently he was not amenable in the one country for having done what was perfectly legal in another. The reply to this was, that the Inquisition had condemned the society, and therefore he very well knew that, in entering it, he was committing a crime.

After several examinations, and six months' solitary confinement, so rigorously observed, that orders were given to inflict the same punishment upon any person who should inquire for him at the prison, he was removed, at night, to the Inquisition, and there placed in a vaulted cell, the dimensions of which were twelve feet by eight. Its only light was what a grating in the door admitted from the corridor, which received its own light from upper windows, opening into an area; its only furniture a rug, which was to serve for covering and for bed upon an *estrado*, or raised platform of wood, a jug for water, and another vessel, which was emptied only once a week, while the inhabitant of the cell attended mass. The floor was tiled, and in winter the massive stone walls were covered with moisture, so that his clothes were continually wet during that season. Let not the reader expect a tale of horrors here, at which the heart sickens and the eye recoils; no bodily tortures were applied in this case; but it is an example of that deliberate injustice, that cold-blooded inhumanity, that merciless, reckless, stupid tyranny, which the Portuguese government had long permitted its ministers to exercise at their own discretion, and which was continually exercised under a reigning family, none of whose members had for many generations shown any disposition for cruelty—such being, as they have ever been, and ever must be, the effects of delegated despotism. Hippolyto has not explained in what motives of personal ill-will this persecution originated; freemasonry was the only offence alleged against him, and the heaviest sentence which could have been passed upon that charge would have been reclusion for some time in a convent, there to go through a course of spiritual exercises. This would not have satisfied those persons at whose instigation he had been arrested, and whose intention it appears to have been that he should die, as many others had done, broken-hearted, or driven mad by such confinement. The language addressed to him

him by his examiner was always in that strain of vile hypocrisy, which excites almost as much indignation at the falsehood and treachery of that accursed tribunal, as is roused by its barbarities. He was told to rely upon its justice—to trust its mercy—to deserve its indulgence; he was even indulged with coffee for his breakfast, with wine because of his health; and with a clean shirt, in the third month of his imprisonment there. More than two years and a half he remained in his solitary cell, and there he might, probably, have ended his days, if he had not found means of escaping to England.

Hippolyto published in England (1811) a narrative of his persecution, together with the codes of the Portuguese Inquisition of 1640 and 1774. For obvious reasons, he gave no details concerning his escape; there is this consolatory inference from it, that as the Inquisition had their spies everywhere, so in latter times the objects of persecution had their friends in the holy office itself, and that the corruption, which had become general in every department of the government, was applied sometimes to a good end. A man who had thus suffered under the senseless and merciless system of misrule in his own country; whose fortunes there had been irreparably ruined, and who had been driven into what he could only consider as banishment for life, might have been forgiven if he had conducted his journal in a revolutionary spirit, and endeavoured, by every possible means that a free press afforded him, to annoy and assail the government by which he had been oppressed. Whether any personal feelings might explain and invalidate some of the personal articles which appeared in the *Correio Braziliense*, we know not; very possibly it might, and hardly possible it is that it should not have been thus manifested, if opportunity occurred. But the journal was long distinguished by its general moderation. No work of this kind was ever commenced at a better time, nor planned with better judgment, nor conducted, on the whole, with greater discretion. The editor set out with no ambitious desire of displaying his own talents in composition. Portugal was in the power of the French, and its relations with Brazil were, consequently, so altered, that by no possible course of events could that great colony ever be brought back to its former state of absolute dependence. A movement had just taken place in Spain, which, in its results, whatever might be the issue, would inevitably affect the whole of Spanish America. Hippolyto was a Brazilian himself, and for Brazil his journal was chiefly intended; but Brazil was now the seat of the Portuguese government. What appeared to be his professed and principal object was, to supply the people in that country with a monthly collection of official papers, and authentic statements of passing events.



events. Neither to Brazil nor Portugal would the greater part of these find their way in any other channel ; and he well knew that no system of police could exclude his journal from either country. It was published for a commercial people, and therefore he made it as useful for them as commercial details, documents, and occasional papers upon commercial topics in which they were concerned, could render it. Literary and scientific notices were added as the work proceeded, but without the slightest attempt at making it appear either a literary or scientific journal. His own reflections were never unnecessarily introduced, and therefore they came with more weight when there was occasion for them. Moreover, Hippolyto was a true Portuguese in the sensitiveness which he felt for the honour of Portugal, and in the respect which he cherished for everything in it which deserved respect. During the progress of the war, if at any time the British generals or the British government seemed in the slightest instance to be unmindful of the consideration due to Portugal as to a sovereign state, he noticed it resentfully ; and sometimes took up groundless matter for complaint. But this was touching a string with which he well knew that the minds of all his countrymen were in unison, however widely they might differ from him in other points, and however much they might disagree among themselves. By this national feeling, which he constantly manifested, by the dutiful respect with which he uniformly spoke of the royal family, never hinting at the tremendous moral responsibility which lay upon them for the abuses which they had so long suffered to exist ; by his just detestation of Buonaparte's tyranny ; and by the attachment which he expressed for the laws, the institutions, and the government of his own country, such as in their origin and intent they were, and in theory they are, and such as they ought to be,—he obtained for his journal a certain degree of acceptance at the court of Brazil. John VI., then Prince of Brazil, was known to read it, and to make no secret of the satisfaction which he had in perusing it, though its free importation was not permitted. It was said that he once mentioned the subject to a kinsman of the editor's, saying he liked to read the truth, and desiring that Hippolyto might be told so, and at the same time cautioned to publish nothing but the truth. And it is more than probable that from this journal that well-meaning prince first derived those intentions of bringing about a constitutional reform in the Portuguese government, which it would have been happy for that country if he had possessed vigour enough of character to effect.

The publication of a Portuguese journal in London, intended for sale in Brazil, where it was sure to be prohibited, might have seemed a rash speculation, which could not possibly succeed.

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Succeed, however, it did ; and it excited so much interest both in Brazil and Portugal, that the Portuguese ministers in this country, who were frequently the objects of attack there, deemed it advisable to set up a rival journal in their own defence, and with the hope of superseding it. Accordingly, the '*Investigador Portuguez*' was commenced in 1814, with higher pretensions, scientific and literary, than the *Correio* had put forth. This, also, was a sign of the times : an appeal to the public, through the press, from Portuguese statesmen, not, indeed, by themselves, but by persons whom they were known to encourage, was a new thing under the sun ; and it was now felt that the freedom of the British press can affect other governments than our own. Though set on foot with no such intention, the *Investigador* promoted the moral revolution which had begun. There was no censor to emasculate the author's manuscript, and therefore there was an air of freedom about it, which it could not have worn had it been published in Portugal or in Brazil, and which carried with it sufficient proof that it came from a free country.

From the time that the defence of Portugal was entrusted to a British general—that a British commander was appointed to reform the Portuguese army—and that the British ambassador became one of the Portuguese regency, it was evident, that although the British government might have no intention of promoting any political changes in Portugal, such changes must inevitably ensue. The press did not break loose there, as it had done in Spain, because there had, at no time, been an actual dissolution of government ; but its bonds were relaxed. The *Gazette* was no longer the only newspaper. Dispatches were published, which, coming from British generals, carried in their name the stamp of authenticity ; for hitherto, even if a work which contained good political information, and opposed the revolutionary opinions of the age, was allowed to be translated, the Portuguese received it with suspicion, as if they could not place confidence in anything which their government told them, or permitted them to hear. But they believed Lord Wellington and Marshal Beresford ; and thus newspapers acquired an authority which they had never before possessed—and at a time when passing events were of such weighty and immediate importance as to excite the most eager desire for news. Even the jealousy (not to say the secret dislike) with which some of the persons in office regarded British influence, led to a degree of freedom in the press which was unprecedented in that country ; and for the sake of that feeling, papers, written in a spirit of ill-will towards their necessary but envied allies, were suffered to appear. A case occurred, in which a publication of this kind involved a breach of discipline, which

Marshal



Marshal Beresford thought it necessary to notice in an order of the day. Here, it was observed, was an instance of the beneficial effect produced by English ascendancy in Portugal; for in an order, military in its form and character, and therefore necessarily conceived in an absolute spirit, not a word was directed against the newspaper in which the offensive paper was published, nor those who had allowed its insertion. A Briton, it was added, however much his profession and habits might incline him to favour arbitrary authority, regarded the liberty of the press as a public right, which was not to be assailed, even when it was exercised in the manner most contrary to his wishes.

The British government has been reproached for not having exerted its influence to improve the condition of Portugal, by reforming its institutions; but this was not possible. No nation which retains its independence can be reformed by foreign dictation—especially a high-minded people, among whom the most corrupted order faithfully preserved the pride of their ancestors, though they had degenerated from all their other qualities. The task of reforming the Portuguese army was easy as far as it regarded the men, because there were good materials to work upon; there was full power, the condition of the men was greatly improved, and they were, at the same time, raised in their own esteem. In any civil reform which could have been attempted, these favourable circumstances would all have been reversed. The worst part of the nation, instead of the best, was to be dealt with; and the process would have offended their prejudices, mortified their pride, and curtailed their profits. The power which would have been required for attempting any such reform could not have been asked, nor could it have been conceded; and if conceded, it could not have been exercised to any efficient end. Marshal Beresford brought the army into an excellent state, because no country could have supplied men better fitted to become good soldiers; but the same country could not supply officers; the men were qualified by nature; those who should have officered them were disqualified by the degrading influence of long misrule. One generation might have remedied this defect, if the system which Marshal Beresford introduced had been persevered in, so powerful and so certain are the effects of discipline; but in every other department there was corruption in every part of it, root, trunk, and branches. Hercules himself might have been deterred from attempting to cleanse such an Augean stable.

But even if the experiment of introducing constitutional reforms in other countries had proved more successful than Great Britain had hitherto found it, Portugal was not the place, nor that the time, for repeating it. Portugal was not the place, be-  
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cause anything which might seem even remotely to affect the established system of superstition, would at once have destroyed that cordial good will with which the English were regarded by the great body of the nation; and yet, no reform could be efficient, unless it applied some corrective to this inveterate disease, which had undermined the constitution of the kingdom. And it was not the time, while a struggle for life or death was going on, which occupied the whole attention of our statesmen. Our business was, to deliver Portugal from the French, and then to beat down the power of Buonaparte, without which there could be no peace for Europe. Those objects were effected; but when peace was restored, Portugal was left with all its old evils, and with the heavy addition to them which the war and the removal of the court to Brazil had produced. The devastation which had been wantonly inflicted upon that poor country by its atrocious invaders; and the dreadful consumption of human life, by famine, disease, and miseries of every kind, in consequence of that invasion, nature would soon have remedied; these were physical evils, of which, in a few years, no trace would have remained, except in history. But there was no such healing for the moral and political evils, some of which the course of events during the contest had accelerated, and others it had caused. Before the removal of the court, Lisbon had been one of the most flourishing ports in Europe; a more beautiful or cheerful sight was nowhere to be seen, than the Tagus presented from any of that city's seven hills, when the flags of all nations were flying there. This was a forced prosperity, unjustly maintained at the cost of a colony which already, in its numerical population, exceeded the mother-country. The ports of Brazil having once been opened to foreign vessels, as of necessity they were when the French colours were hoisted at the mouth of the Tagus, it was impossible that they could ever again be closed; and in losing this monopoly, Portugal lost its last remaining source of wealth, except what might be drawn from its own resources, which resources could never be called forth till the country had undergone a political regeneration. The government had been accustomed to derive its main revenue from other springs than that of national industry, which is the only unfailing one. First, it had the Indian trade; when that failed, the Brazilian mines became productive; and as the fifths of gold diminished, the commerce of Brazil increased—the great reason why mining was not pursued with the same ardour being, that the Brazilians were becoming more commercial and less adventurous; and moreover found that government took from them a smaller proportion in the shape of duties, than of fifths. But when that trade was diverted from Lisbon, there was nothing



to supply the loss : the loss had not been felt during the war, because the war produced a trade of its own, foreign and internal. But when peace was come, it was then seen that the Tagus was no longer alive with shipping, as in the former days of prosperity, nor as when Massena and his army of robbers looked upon the vessels which rode securely in its ample bay, like wolves at a fold which they dared not enter, because the shepherd and his dogs were there. The feverish excitement of that internal trade which the presence of an army creates had ceased also ; and then the nation became sensible of its exhaustion. In this exhausted state, it had to find remittances for an absentee court, and for the nobles who had accompanied it in its removal. Those persons had given, in that removal, the best proof of patriotism : for rather than submit to a foreign yoke, they had forsaken their native land, with no hope of returning to it, and left their hereditary possessions to the invader. But they were now become great absentee proprietors, drawing all they could from an impoverished country.

Pombal had left a surplus in the treasury when he was sent into retirement ; from that time there was, year after year, a growing deficit, not occasioned by war, plague, pestilence, famine, or any other public calamity, but the mere effect of misconduct and embezzlement. No accounts were ever made public, and peculation might be committed with as little risk as murder. But the first extraordinary expense which the war with France occasioned brought on financial difficulties. The peace with France cost seventeen millions of francs, five millions of which, it is said, went to Lucien Buonaparte, who conducted the negociation at Madrid. Ten millions more were extorted by Napoleon, in 1804, from a government miserably weak and defenceless. Paper money had been issued, and, like every thing else in that poor country, so mismanaged, that the government itself set the example of discrediting it, so that this, which professed to bear an interest of six per cent., was presently at a discount of twenty ; half-payment might be made in it at par ; but as this could not be if the sum was less than half a moidore, there was a certain loss upon all the current expenses of daily life, which fell heavily upon all persons who received small salaries ; and especially upon the officers, who were badly paid at the best, and always irregularly. Marshal Beresford had obtained the king's sanction to a military code, which would have augmented their pay, and kept the army in that state of efficiency to which he had brought it. For this purpose he had made a voyage to Brazil ; but the king had one will, and his ministers in Portugal had another, and their hearts' desire was to frustrate every measure which Marshal Beresford proposed, and to render him unpopular with the army and with the nation. They were

were jealous of him as a foreigner, nor could they bear that an honourable eye should look upon their proceedings. Upon so frivolous a question as whether the tobacco contractors should supply a Portuguese bishop in China with a few pounds of snuff, for presents to the mandarins, they would not take upon themselves to decide without referring to the court at Rio; but where the discipline of the army, the comfort, and even the subsistence of the officers were concerned, there they at once disregarded the king's determination.

The security of the government before the invasion of 1807, had rested upon the perfect acquiescence of the great body of the nation in the old system, with all its accumulated corruptions; the peasantry because they were contented with their condition; the trading and literate parts of the community because they were born to it, as they were to mosquitos and other vermin, and a thermometer which in the summer is seldom much below ninety; and because, however mournfully the more enlightened regarded the degradation of their country, and anticipated the anarchy which sooner or later it must bring on, they thought it better to bear the evils to which they were accustomed than accelerate others, the extent or end of which were beyond their foresight. These motives for contentment or for submission no longer existed. Captain Browne may show us to what a state the war had reduced the peasantry.

‘To a mind not steeled against the pleadings of humanity, the field of battle presented a less painful view, when strown with the mangled forms of dead and dying, than did the rescued villages, where, in order to secure Portugal from the reflux of this desolating tide, we were necessitated to receive from her children almost their last mouthful of bread, and to see them paid with what in itself was a wretched compensation, though all we had to give. And even this inadequate remuneration was again diminished, as we have seen, by the iniquitous frauds of those insatiate fiends, who drained the last drops of vital blood from kindred veins—from the exhausted pulses of their own countrymen—to glut their detestable avarice. A military man cannot easily revert to the feelings of that period in measured language, especially when he hears it asserted that Portugal was a gainer by the peninsular war. Collectively, as one among the nations of the world, her character was undoubtedly exalted, and invested with a brilliancy that had for nearly two centuries been totally lost. Individually too, the agents of designing fraud flourished upon their iniquitous spoils, and many were seen starting into sudden importance, who, but for these events, would have lived and died in native obscurity and contempt. It is true that some few fortunes were accumulated, even by honest means, among the mercantile dealers in Lisbon, and that some favourable national qualities were then developed and brought into action, which might otherwise have lain unexcited and dormant. But  
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can a nation be said to gain, when the great bulk of her population are evidently and fatally impoverished, and when a devastating blight has passed over the budding promise of all her internal resources?—p. 11—17.

The vine and the olive repaid the Portuguese farmer better than any other production with which nature has blest that country. But vineyards must not be neglected; they require annual pruning, and unless the soil be turned up once in two or three years, the vines are in danger of perishing. In many parts this could not be done because of the presence of the armies, in many it was left undone in despair; consequently the vines decayed beyond a possibility of recovery, and the ground which they had covered became a waste. Landor places in his *Elysium* those who

‘Sow’d the slow olive for a race unborn.’

The length of time which elapses before these trees come into bearing, renders the destruction of them the most lasting injury of this kind which can be inflicted upon a country; but this mischief was committed by our own troops in the first campaign through ignorance, by Massena’s army purposely, and with so malignant a determination, that where the trees had escaped a very prevalent disease which covers them with a black rust, there they cut down a far greater number than where they were thus blighted; ‘as if,’ says Captain Browne, ‘the relentlessness of nature towards those whose subsistence depended on her wonted operations, had given a new stimulus to man in the cruel work of afflicting his fellow-creatures.’ Now, after an interval of seventeen years, the shoots from the trees which were thus wantonly cut down, were in full bearing, and more productive than the trees themselves would have been at this time; but during the great part of these intermediate years the cultivator had no return from what used to be his most valuable and his most certain crop. And where the oliveyards had escaped, the owner refrained, for poverty, from pruning them; the fear of diminishing his next crop, distressed as he already was, withheld him; the same motive continued year after year; pressing wants deterred him from any sacrifices of present emolument; and though the owner knew that this must end in the ruin of his trees, ruined as he already was himself, he was too hopeless to regard a distant evil, as well as too helpless to provide against it. This was the condition of even the more fortunate peasantry, whose homesteads had not been destroyed. The sense of well-being, which had rendered them contented, and therefore dutiful, subjects, was at an end; and without knowing what change to desire, or in what manner any change was to effect an improvement in their state, they were now ready to acquiesce in any revolution, because it afforded them a vague hope of advantage, and they had now nothing to lose. But seven years of war had trained up  
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a very different class of men, who had been rendered ferocious by the miseries which had been brought upon them, by the vengeance in which they had indulged, and by the predatory habits to which they had been driven. To these were to be added those who, in the irregular service, had been accustomed to a life of licence, and who, had there been everywhere constant employment for the honest labourer, would, nevertheless, rather have lived as marauders, than have earned their daily bread; and there were those also who had been cast upon the world, in childhood, to subsist upon charity, or as they could. These were they whose parents and near relatives had disappeared during the war; and who were so numerous in some of the provinces, that edict after edict was issued enjoining the local authorities to provide for them, but making no provision for their support. Formerly, that vicious and miserable description of persons, who are bred in the filth and corruption of crowded society, and are at once the pest and the disgrace of civilization, were found only in Lisbon, and a few of the other large towns; now every part of Portugal was infested by them; it had been a safe country for the traveller before the war; the laws afforded him no protection, but the character of the peasantry was such that he needed none; then he felt himself secure everywhere, now he was everywhere in danger. Here were wretches ready for revolution; for though they could not desire more anarchy than existed, as to all objects of preventive policy, or penal law, yet evil being their good, the most disturbed times would be for them the best.

A change not less dangerous to the stability of the existing system had been produced also both in the commercial and literate classes. The former could no longer console themselves with their own prosperity for the national decay: Brazil, whether it remained united to Portugal or not, was lost to them; and they knew enough of England to understand that its wealth and power were owing to its free institutions. Commercial men, therefore, though not disposed to engage in revolutionary movements, saw that all things were tending to them, and wished for such a crisis. Come, they well knew it must; and the sooner a foreseen and inevitable evil is met the better, especially when there is hope and possibility that it may bring relief after it. Men of letters were actively employed in accelerating this crisis. That quiet class, who pursued their studies calmly, in retirement, and loved knowledge for its own sake, and for the contentment which they found in seeking it, had greatly diminished; and no such men were now growing up either in cloisters or in private life. The present generation were trained in a different school, and had taken a widely different course. Hippolyto's Journal had of course been prohibited,



prohibited, but men in Portugal could not be prevented from corresponding with it; and in the rival journal, to which free admission was permitted, as long as it continued, men were sometimes employed whose revolutionary views went far beyond Hippolyto's:—for it must not be dissembled that among all the influential classes in that poor country, want of principle is the endemic and cancerous disease. Two other journals were now also published in London of a far more democratic character than any thing which had ever before appeared in the Portuguese tongue: their direct object was to bring about a revolution, and they became less measured in their language as the crisis seemed nearer to their wishes. They had coadjutors in France, aiming at the same end; and Hippolyto himself did not preserve the moderation or the equity with which he had begun. He encouraged the ungenerous and ungrateful spirit towards Marshal Beresford which the governors in Lisbon cherished in themselves and sought to produce in others,—and his animadversions gradually assumed a character of deep malignity.

Meantime the measures of the Portuguese rulers, with regard to the press, evinced their want of wisdom, their consciousness of weakness and insecurity, and their obstinate determination to allow of no reform of any kind, till it should be forced upon them. Never were erring men more thoroughly demented. Two notable proofs of this were given during the war, although at that time the greater influence of the British government, and their constant intercourse with the British representatives and the British general, had shamed them into something less jealous and less timid than their habitual policy. The board at Lisbon had licensed, in 1811, the translation of a book upon the cabinet of St. Cloud, and of a pamphlet upon the English constitution, and this drew upon the board a public reprimand, in the form of an *Aviso*, from the court in Brazil. In the first of these works, the *Aviso* said, things were contained exceedingly injurious to the queen of Spain's character, repeating all the calumnies which had been published against that august and unfortunate personage. In the second, the beauties of the English constitution were set forth in the brightest colours, and, as it were, proposed for adoption; as if it were possible for one nation to set aside its own form of government and adopt another without the greatest inconveniences; and perilous as it was in such calamitous times to set before the people even true representations, of which no application could be made. The board was, therefore, admonished that it should not allow the publication of any work, whether original or translated, in which the memory and reputation of sovereigns in general should be insulted, more especially of those who were either related  
to,

to, or in alliance with, the royal family; neither of any work which should attack any religion, or even any sect of Christianity established in any of the European states, because such discussions served only to engage the people, who were incapable of pursuing these subjects with due reflection, in matters which would easily mislead them, and occasion their unhappiness. On the other hand, they should promote the publication of works relating to the arts and sciences, industry in all its branches, and useful reforms which might produce real good to the people, and by the enthusiasm which at this crisis they might excite, would have the happy effect of diverting them from ideas, out of which assuredly no good could arise!

The other example is less characteristic, but it indicates, if it be possible, greater folly. No notice whatever of the Spanish Cortes was allowed to be taken in the Portuguese newspapers. The Portuguese troops were serving with the Spanish, in Spain; it was a matter of public notoriety that this assembly had been convened there; its proceedings were, and could not but be, a topic of general interest and common discourse; and yet this imbecile government forbade all mention of it by the Portuguese press, as if the very mention of a Cortes were sufficient to raise its ghost in Portugal. As a specimen of what they thought might usefully and decorously be published, it may be worth while to notice an address from the priorate of the order of Malta to the prince of Brazil, spoken by one of their *Commendadores* at the head of a deputation of the knights. The orator said, that if, on the one hand, his soul exulted and was exalted with the noblest vanity, at the honour of appearing thus in the sovereign and ever adorable presence of his royal highness,—on the other, all his faculties appeared to shrink when he compared their imbecility with the strength which was required for properly discharging so sublime a commission,—that commission being to deliver this address! The Prince of Brazil was a poor superstitious, weak, good man, with so humiliating a consciousness of his own weakness, that it may be charitably believed his sins of omission as a sovereign have not deprived him of the blessing promised to the poor in spirit; and this was the prince whom the *Commendador*, in the name of the priorate, addressed to his face, as the inimitable and most perfect exemplar of all the most brilliant virtues; the purest emanation of the Divine Essence which, since the mystery of the Redemption, the Almighty had ever appointed to reign over men, and attract from them that veneration, that voluntary adoration, that due and blind obedience which their religion taught them to render unto him as the lively image of the Omnipotent on earth! He was the only one among the monarchs of Christendom, chosen



and anointed by the Lord to be the impenetrable shield of his holy faith, and of social order; the royal and irresistible power of his virtues had drawn to him the Light Divine, which inspired him with the sage and intrepid resolution that had confounded and checked the torrent of impiety. In that crisis, from which a new era would be dated in the annals of eternity,—in that crisis when the Almighty exposed the royal mind of his royal highness to the most violent trials, and to the most dangerous delusions, it might have seemed as if he had forgotten, or been doubtful of, the perfection of his own work, if he had not foreknown that the immense power which his Omnipotent hands had transmitted to those of his royal highness would be applied to the defence of his own cause; that by one act he would place three parts of the world in safety, and that the sound of that blow would awaken in the other Courage from its lethargy, Reason from its stupor, Religion from its delusion, and unite them against dominant Impiety. In that crisis it had pleased the Almighty, in his inscrutable decrees, that his royal highness should suffer, as it had formerly pleased him that his only begotten Son should come upon earth and suffer, in order that he might enter into glory!

It seems almost necessary to apologise for laying before English readers this specimen of impious adulation,—and yet the moral and political picture of Portugal during these years would be incomplete without it.

Is it to be wondered at, if sovereigns have thought that there were no bounds either to their authority or to the obedience of their subjects, where such juice of cursed hebenon as this was distilled, by flatterers and infused into their ears? The prince was assured, also, in language, the force of which (not to say the impiety) can scarcely be estimated by Protestant readers, that while Portugal was under the yoke of the invaders, his name was *sacramented* in the hearts of his people. A hymn to his honour was composed for a public occasion in London, and performed to the tune of God save the King; but the expression of Portuguese loyalty was not to be kept within such bounds as that good old national song, jacobite as in its origin it was; and, therefore, it ran thus,—

God save our noble king,

His will is law.\*

\* *Deos guarde o nosso Rey,*  
*Sua vontade he ley;*  
*Ah viva el Rey.*

Another stanza runs thus,—

*No Luzo coração*  
*Perfesta submissão*  
*Do nosso Rey?*

Even

Even upon the theory of the Portuguese constitution, absolute as the monarchy is, this unqualified assertion cannot be maintained; and, practically, it was not the will of this poor, well-intentioned prince which was law, but that of his ministers, and of any person who had obtained authority under them, by influence or by direct corruption,—all, from the highest to the lowest, acting as if there had been no other law than their own will and pleasure. Captain Browne has not spoken too strongly when he says that the principal employment of many of these persons consisted in plundering those whom they were appointed to superintend and to protect:—

‘Concealment, indeed,’ he says, ‘was hardly attempted on the spot by these corrupt functionaries, who enriched themselves from the spoliation of their neighbours, as may be inferred from the laconic and expressive terms in which a person just appointed to the situation of *Capitão Mor* announced the tidings to his wife: “Madam, (said he,) I congratulate you upon the increase to your income of three thousand cruzados a year.” Considering that no government pay was attached to the office, this will give a tolerable idea of the extent of the practice by which it was rendered a place of emolument.’

Hippolyto’s case is an instance of the sort of law which such will produce—and cases of the same kind occurred at the pleasure of any person in power; and sometimes, where there was no imaginable motive of personal ill-will or political jealousy, from mere neglect, and the insolence of irresponsible authority.

Such was the state of government in Portugal. Yet the people had been so long accustomed to this misrule, that the Turks themselves were not more contented with their established order than the Portuguese as a nation were, while things continued in their ordinary course. So long as they felt no direct oppression themselves, the capricious tyranny which might fall upon their neighbours excited only a cold compassion. But, now, there was a general pressure of distress; the government was embarrassed in a far greater degree than it ever had been before; and the pressure in consequence bore with most severity upon the army, the only body of men who had power in their hands, and who, because of their English training, were disposed to impute all the evils which they endured to government. The common soldiers enjoyed an advantage which enabled the most of them to support themselves with comfort, even when their pay was in arrear; every man was allowed to follow the calling by which he earned his livelihood before he was enlisted, and, for this purpose, they were permitted also to accommodate one another, by occasional exchange of duty. But the contentment wherewith they formerly acquiesced in the abuses to which they were subjected, and which they saw every-  
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where around them, was destroyed. The reputation which they had obtained during the war, and the consciousness of how well they deserved it, had raised them in their own esteem. They had also been treated by the British officers with a degree of care, and kindness and consideration, which they were not accustomed to receive from their own countrymen;—perhaps even with more uniform and general kindness than British soldiers would have been, because the relation in which a foreign officer stands to his men, leads naturally and insensibly to a kindlier feeling on both sides. For that pride which the distinctions of society occasion in too great a part of mankind, and which military habits and feelings are not likely to lessen, meets with many correctives in such a situation: the vice itself, however rankly it may grow in its own soil, droops upon transplantation. There is a consciousness, on the officer's side, that the men have an advantage over him, in their familiar acquaintance with their own language, and in local knowledge of every kind; he is continually reminded that he has much to learn from them; he is aware also, that there may be prejudices against him as a foreigner, which he must endeavour to overcome, and that, on this account, it is more especially his interest and his duty to conciliate their good will. The men, on their part, are sensible of all this, and are actuated by similar or relative considerations. And, in the case of the Portuguese army, there were these favourable circumstances, that the foreign officers were of a nation for whom a feeling of hereditary good will was cherished by the people; and that there was in the men a strong desire of improving under their discipline, and showing that they were worthy to take the field with their British allies, against the most formidable force which Buonaparte could send against them.

But in proportion as the army learnt to respect itself was its attachment to the government shaken. It was not possible that the soldiers could associate with British soldiers, so long, so familiarly as they did, without forming for themselves an opinion that England owed the great superiority, which it evidently possessed, to its civil institutions. To its religion they, of course, ascribed nothing, nor indeed thought of it, except, perhaps, to wonder that an heretical nation should so visibly have prospered; and, for natural advantages, they knew that their own country, blessed as it was with the vine and the olive, was the more favoured land. The most artful propagandist of revolutionary doctrines could not have infused a persuasion of this kind so deeply or so surely as it was fixed in their minds by casual observation, and such reflections as inevitably arose. This was likely to be felt in a greater degree and with more dangerous effect by the officers: they were, at the same time, better and worse prepared for it; better, by their state  
of

of knowledge—worse, because of the opinions and feelings upon which such a persuasion was to be engrafted: for the code of national morals, to which the practice of the nation was faithfully conformed, had taught them, whatever object they might have in view, not to be scrupulous concerning means. Now among the officers there was not that good will toward the English which was general among the privates—nor was it possible that there should be so. Individuals among them there were just enough to acknowledge that the army could not have been so effectually re-formed, or rather re-created, except by the exertions and constant superintendence of British officers, under a British commander; and whose feelings, in consequence, were as generous as their views were just. But no such justice, and no such generosity, were found in men of inferior minds and unhappier dispositions: they were mortified that there should be so many English officers in the service, holding situations which they coveted; and they were more mortified by their consciousness that under English officers the men preferred to serve. From envy to hatred the transition is short: both feelings mingled with the first revolutionary schemes; and the murder of Marshal Beresford was one of the points upon which the officers engaged in Gomes Freire's conspiracy had determined.

A most erroneous view of this conspiracy has been taken, and industriously circulated by some, whose object is sufficiently evident; it was their policy to represent the intended rebellion as nothing more than a revolt against the commander in chief, and a patriotic attempt to render Portugal independent of England. But proofs most indisputable were adduced that the design of Gomes Freire terminated in nothing less than a total overthrow of the existing government, and destruction of all constituted authorities, in whose place himself and about twenty others were to preside over the kingdom, but without any plan or regulation for their future guidance, in this most delicate and important office. It was a wild, undigested scheme of anarchy, fraught with consequences the most calamitous to the country, and all connected with it; and the odium cast on the commander in chief, as if he had recommended the decisive mode of proceeding adopted by the government in dealing forth the due reward of discovered treason on its unprincipled projectors, was but one among the many malicious falsehoods, invented to excite the indignation of Portugal against her truest friend.'—p. 36.

The manner in which Hippolyto treated of this conspiracy was most detestable: he represented the execution of the criminals as Marshal Beresford's work, and spoke of them as men who suffered not for treason, but were sacrificed because they had formed the design of ridding their country of him by putting him to death! He spoke of Gomes Freire as an illustrious and unfortunate patriot; and, whenever he touched upon the subject, evinced a total disre-

gard



gard for truth, and seemed to consider the intended assassination as lightly as the worst part of his countrymen regard the practice of that customary crime. He denied the guilt of the conspirators, because, he said, there was no evidence of it:—but this was the special pleading of an advocate who cared nothing for the veracity of his statements, or the validity of his argument, so he could make out a specious case to serve his present purpose. There had not, indeed, been a trial by jury, neither were the whole proceedings laid before the public, because the one is not the law of Portugal, and the other not the custom: but the forms of Portuguese law had been regularly observed, and the result of the examination had been published in the sentence; and of the guilt of the persons condemned there was all the judicial proof which in that country is required, and all the moral proof that can be required anywhere. One of the leaders shot himself as soon as he was arrested: believing the wound to be mortal, he confessed every thing; and the confession which he had thus made in the fear of immediate death, he ratified when out of danger from that cause, and a second time at the place of execution: his fellow-sufferers, also, made the fullest avowal. Of Gomes Freire's execution we have seen no authentic account: he suffered apart from the other conspirators, and at some distance from Lisbon; but an English officer was present at the death of those others, eleven in number, during the whole ten hours of the tragedy—for so long it was, from the time when they arrived on the ground till the last poor penitent wretch was turned off: he was near enough to observe minutely the whole proceedings, and to hear all that was intended to be heard. ‘The monks,’ he says, ‘appeared to me to do their duty on this occasion with much credit to themselves, and with more appearance of real feeling than I could have expected to see in men of their abandoned lives. All that I heard them say appeared to be very much to the purpose; and when, after their entreaties, the dying sinners made avowals of the heinousness of their projected crimes, they urged them to speak out, in order that the world might hear them confess the justice of their sentence. Each of them in his turn acknowledged that the object of the conspiracy was not only the subversion of the existing order of things—but that it was also directed to other views, which, if they had succeeded, must have been productive of the greatest possible confusion. They begged pardon of their sovereign, and of every individual in the state.’ That this is the testimony of a British officer, we happen to know, and that entire credit may be given to it. ~~It is a very good account, and is a very good account of the~~ Gomes Freire had, like Sidney and Russel, the advantage of a good name; finer anecdotes are not to be found in heroic history than

than might be related of his ancestors; but the latter course of his own life had not been such as might entitle him to the confidence of his countrymen. He was born and educated at Vienna; his mother being an Austrian; had served in the Prussian army in his youth; and, in the service of the Empress Catherine, had distinguished himself at the storming of Oczakow—a distinction on which it would be little satisfaction to reflect. Thus in foreign and active service he had acquired more knowledge of his profession than was common among Portuguese officers at that time; and when we saw him, some three and thirty years ago, review his own regiment, near Lisbon, he was esteemed the best officer in the army. That reputation he did nothing to support in the campaign of 1801; and when Junot was in possession of Lisbon, he accepted the situation of second in command of that corps which Junot ordered into France; willingly he is said to have accepted it, and to have induced others, by persuasion as well as example, thus to serve the enemy of their country. It was never Gomes Freire's chance to serve against his father's country, Portugal, to which his own allegiance was due; but he bore arms against his mother's, which was the country of his own birth and breeding; and against Prussia and Russia, both which for a time he had made his own. It was not deemed dishonourable in the days of the Condottieri, nor in the wars of the Netherlands, for soldiers, in the exercise of their profession, to pass from one service to another, and fight to-day against those who had been their companions in arms yesterday. This is a point on which it may be believed that a better moral feeling exists at present; be that as it may, no doubt can be entertained concerning the manner in which a person so circumstanced as Gomes Freire ought to have acted, when Portugal was at war with France, and a French army was laying his country waste. If he had not opportunity of following Romana's example, nor inclination to imitate the hazardous adventure of Albuquerque, who made his way alone and in disguise to his native land; there was a plain and honourable middle course,—that of laying down his commission, and waiting the event in peace. Those Portuguese who continued to serve in Buonaparte's armies till the end of the war, though they did not serve in Portugal itself, were nevertheless virtually and actually engaged against her; so evident a truth is this, that a battalion of Spaniards and Portuguese, who were employed in garrison at Dantzic, when the allies laid siege to that place, in the winter of 1813-14, refused to bear arms against the besiegers, nor could they by any menaces be deterred from persisting in this resolution, in consequence of which they were made to work upon the fortifications. Had officers, and of the highest grade, been



been offered the same alternative (which would not have been the case), that alternative ought to have been their choice.

The utmost favour that should have been granted to men who had thus disserved their country, was liberty to return to it; and then 'the mercy of oblivion.' With regard to those who actually served in the French army against their own countrymen, a more correct judgment was formed by the governors of Portugal than by their colleague, Sir Charles Stuart. A Portuguese serving in Massena's army was taken in disguise, on the frontiers, charged with dispatches from that general to France. He was recognized, tried, and condemned to death. Sir Charles protested against the sentence, upon the ground, that the prince of Brazil, when he departed from Portugal, had not, in his proclamation,\* given any proof that he considered the French as having entered that country with hostile intentions; consequently his subjects were at liberty to enter into the French service, and to continue in it, if they thought good, after hostilities were declared; moreover there was an article in the convention of Cintra, granting security to all persons who had served the enemy in any capacity; and that security could not be affected by any law, least of all by any law made subsequent to the emigration. In this light, he said, the Commander-in-chief considered it; and as the British government was compromised in the transaction, he solemnly protested against the punishment which in the present case had been awarded. To this the governors replied, that although the prince had ordered his subjects to receive the French as friends, that order did not authorize them to act as traitors against him, after the restoration of his authority, by bearing arms against their country; and that the convention of Cintra could not bind a sovereign who had taken no part in framing it, and who had not assented to it, still less could it be supposed to afford impunity for crimes subsequently committed.

Acts of amnesty become necessary in those unhappy times, when some of the greatest criminals escape punishment, by reason of their connexions or their power; when, because of the multitude of offenders, it is impossible to execute justice upon all; and when it is of the greatest consequence to secure the innocent, and those against whom there may exist cause for suspicion, but no proof of guilt, from unjust, vexatious, or malicious persecution. The security, therefore, which was granted by the convention of Cintra was humane and politic; and of the many services which Marshal Beresford rendered to Portugal, it was not the least, that in the following year he obtained, first the suspension, and afterwards the repeal, of certain decrees which

\* *Não reconhecia por forma alguma a hostilidade do exército Francês.*

would

would have nullified that article. But the governors argued rightly, that it never could have been intended to serve as a plenary indulgence for future treason. Had they acted as justly as they reasoned, some of the greatest evils which have since befallen their unfortunate country would have been averted. The traitor in question, as there were no Portuguese concerned enough for him to put forth that undue influence in his behalf by which the course of law could at any time be set aside, was executed in person; and the governors also passed sentence upon certain nobles and others who were serving in Massena's army, set a price upon their heads, and executed them in effigy. The price would, no doubt, have been paid, had the heads been brought in; and had the traitors themselves been made prisoners while Massena was in the country—or while the remembrance of the abominations and atrocities committed by his troops was fresh, it would hardly have been possible to have saved them from the punishment which they so thoroughly deserved. But Portuguese justice is neither blind, nor deaf, nor even-handed; her eyes are always looking for the lure, her ears open to the whisperer; her right arm lame and withered, the left long and strong, stretched out, and with an open and itching palm. Men, who knew that they could not escape the infamy with which their names would be recorded in the history of their country, would feel the disgrace of a sentence—each as little as he did the bight of the rope whereby his wooden proxy was suspended. The punishment which they could have felt was not inflicted, for it is affirmed that the legal forfeiture of their estates was not enforced, and that the rents were regularly received by their agents, or by persons in their confidence. It is affirmed, also, that when Junot was in Lisbon, arrangements were made by the French for publishing a gazette, for which a Portuguese editor was appointed, with a fixed salary, which he began to receive from the date of the appointment. The battle of Vimero, and the convention to which it led, took place early enough to prevent the appearance of this journal; and yet the intended editor continued, in the year 1813, to receive his sinecure salary for the treasonable service which he had engaged to perform!

Of such a government anything might be believed; it was capable of any negligence, however gross; any impolicy, however palpable; any injustice, however grievous; and this, without implying any peculiar defect of understanding or pravity of mind in those who administered it. Their conduct was the natural effect of their situation; they acted only as their predecessors had done before them—and as their successors, till the end of the chapter, would do after them—in that spirit of proud, unreasoning recklessness, which the exercise of absolute and irresponsible power produces



duces in those whose miserable fortune it is to be entrusted with it. That the machine and all its tackling was out of repair they knew,—crazy and creaking, the joints loose, the iron-work rusty, the timber decayed, the harness rotten: break down and overturn it must; their only solicitude was to keep it in the old ruts till the end of their stage; if it held together till they gave up the reins, what happened afterwards would be no concern of theirs. But here lay the hopelessness of the case, that no change of government could change the character of those who, under any government, would be employed. If one set of men were displaced, it would only be to make room for another,—bred in the same corruption, trained in the same school, whose sense of honour was of the same touch, whose morals were at the same standard of alloy. It would be but the fable of the fox and the flies. The nation, however, was ready for any change; and the only measure which could have averted a disastrous one would have been for the king to have returned, and supported some vigorous and upright minister in carrying into effect a system of thorough constitutional reform: new foundations were not wanting,—so deeply and so well had the old been laid. But the king, weak by nature, irresolute by habit, and timid from an ever-present sense of his own infirmities, was placed in circumstances which might have perplexed a stronger mind. While he was beset by evil counsellors in one country, and represented by a miserable regency in the other, abuses were continued in both, which, slow as they had hitherto been in producing it, were now rapidly bringing on a revolutionary crisis. The attempt at revolution was made in Pernambuco, prematurely, to the destruction of those engaged in it, and to the misfortune of Brazil; for, among those who perished in this guilty and rash undertaking, were men who, if they had waited for the course of events, might, at this day, have been a blessing and an honour to their country. If the king had doubted it before, this event must have convinced him that nothing but the presence of the court in Brazil could preserve that country from a revolution, the immediate effect of which would be to break it into a number of anarchical commonwealths, and the probable end—such tragedies, in all the most flourishing parts, as that of St. Domingo. But it had now become as impossible to keep Portugal in dependence upon a distant king in Brazil, as to reduce Brazil again to a state of dependence upon Portugal; and while Marshal Beresford was at the Rio,—representing to the king the real condition of his European dominions, the state of his army, and the necessity of applying some speedy remedy to the existing evils, advantage was taken of his absence to effect one of those military revolutions, which were then the influenza of the times. The history of that revolution should

should be read in the very satisfactory and authentic sketch of it by Captain Murray Browne. 'The commanding officer of a regiment in Porto had made rather too free with the contents of the regimental chest entrusted to his care; and he knew that a commissioner would soon arrive to examine his accounts. This was by no means desirable, and to avert his impending disgrace and ruin, he made common cause with his country, and resolved, by one bold, revolutionary movement, to relieve both the national distress and his own.' Thus it commenced,—and the progress was worthy of such a beginning.

Parties soon manifested themselves; one was for a union with Spain; another for a constitutional monarchy, under another branch of the Braganzan family; a third, and this the most numerous, for making the poor old king their instrument and their slave. They dismissed the British officers; they proclaimed a pardon for all the yet-unpardoned traitors who had borne arms against their native land; they provoked a separation with Brazil, and even sent troops thither with the insane hope of retaining that great colonial empire by force. When they had brought their king from Brazil, they treated him with studied indignity, and in so doing, they roused against him and their whole proceedings,—not his meek spirit, but the spirit of the nation at large, among whom the feeling of personal loyalty still existed in full strength. They acted with insolence and injustice towards the queen, who, with all the worst qualities of her race, had strength of character enough to have made her conspicuous in the blackest ages of history; and they wantonly insulted the Infante Don Miguel, who was his mother's own son. A few members of the Cortes there were who meant well, and would have done well if they could; all talked liberally; and this must be said to their honour, that they shed no blood; but they demurred at no other act of tyranny. Better and wiser men might, and, indeed, must have disappointed the hopes of a suffering people, who looked to legislative measures for immediate benefits which no legislation could bestow; but they would neither have provoked the contempt, nor drawn upon themselves the indignation of their countrymen. While they were in possession of the stage, Signor Balbi collected the materials for his laborious compilation; the diligent Italian believed all their professions, thought that the regeneration of the Portuguese was effected, and that Astræa would return to earth, and fix her abode at Lisbon. Alas! instead of Astræa, a new Nossa Senhora made her appearance in a rabbit-hole, and Don Miguel put down the heroes of the Cortes, as easily as they had set the regency aside. Blacker scenes then ensued, which, whenever truth shall be brought to light, will show that the age of historical tragedy is not

yet



yet gone by. One who had been a notorious traitor, who as such had been condemned to an infamous death, and executed in effigy while he was serving in Massena's army, had returned to Portugal upon the general invitation which the Cortes held out to such enemies of their country. This man obtained complete ascendancy over the king, and made the worst use of it. Hating the English as heartily as he had done when they baffled and defeated the invading army in which he held a command, he prevented the king from recalling Marshal Beresford, and he surrounded him with revolutionary adventurers, to the exclusion of all those who had served him with fidelity in evil times.

\* Under the government of the Cortes, men had been brought into notice who, on the ground of birth or property, had no claim to advancement; but whose enthusiasm in the popular cause, directed by a competent portion of natural talent, ensured them a degree of distinction when thus enabled to make themselves conspicuous. These men were treated with kindness and attention by the king, who, either from the dictates of his native benevolence, or the fear of their again recovering the ascendancy, or else acting in obedience to the counsel of his favourite Pamplona, appeared to be forming from among them a party wherewith to defend himself, alike against the intrigues of the constitutionalists and the suspected plots of the ultra-royalists. This, of course, produced the estrangement of many distinguished friends, who beheld the intrusion, as they considered it, of an order so plebeian, with all the jealous pride for which the aristocracy of the Peninsula are famed.

† The precise object of Pamplona in recommending this course to his master cannot easily be divined; but the whole tenour of his life leads to the conclusion that his motive could not be good. His policy, however, succeeded in promoting his own interests: he was appointed principal minister to the king, and in that office formed every department of the government in subordination to him. As the minister of war, he took into his hands both the patronage and management of the army; and he availed himself of this power to surround the infant so exclusively with his own creatures, that he could do nothing but what had already been marked out for him by Pamplona. So completely was the prince enthralled by this man, and so notorious was the fact, that instead of being spoken of as generalissimo, according to the rank which the king had conferred upon him, he was frequently called, in derision, and in reference to his subordinate powers, "Clerk of the army." How the king maintained a government which the prevailing influence of Pamplona shortly rendered again universally unpopular, has been made a matter of surprise; but, perhaps, the strongest argument in its behalf was contained in the imposing presence of an English line-of-battle ship, which, on the occupation of Spain by the French troops, had been sent to the Tagus. The continuance of this vessel in the river, and the pledge of British support which

which it seemed to offer to the king's authority, tended, no doubt, in some measure to overawe the discontented of both parties, whose numbers were rapidly increasing throughout the kingdom.

The extreme harshness maintained towards the queen, and the unmeasured severity of her treatment, excited the compassion of many, and daily augmented the number of her friends; until the whole of the party which had been originally the king's, espoused her cause, while the constitutionalists had disappeared; and the king, with the exception of the faction immediately about him, was without political supporters. Yet, among the lower orders, he was beloved with an enthusiasm that, all circumstances considered, almost deserves the name of infatuation; and to the prevalence of such a feeling I can bear personal testimony, having witnessed at this time one of the most striking ebullitions of native loyalty that ever I saw displayed.

The king had ordered a wolf-hunt to take place, near Santarem; and for that purpose, the peasantry of the surrounding country were commanded to assemble in different directions, all moving upon a point where the royal shooting-party were to await the approach of their prey, to be thus driven towards them in a manner similar to that in which the *tinchel* of the Highland hunters collects the deer. A circle of several leagues was formed, which narrowed as the individuals comprising it approached the central station. When this duty was performed, such a scene ensued as baffles description. The joy of the rustics was of an almost frantic character, when, to the number of about three thousand, they caught a glimpse of the royal carriages, upon which they pressed as though resolved to demolish them. While some shouted their strenuous *vivas* in the most joyous tone, others were bathed in tears of silent delight; and many were thrown to the earth in their attempts to kneel, as the carriages moved off.

My astonishment was really great; for I well knew that, in addition to the long-protracted miseries to which these poor creatures had been subjected, through the contentions of their rulers, many of them were, at this moment, in a starving condition; for no allowance was made for their support during their attendance, some for three days, others for less, to promote the royal pastime, at a considerable distance from their homes. Nor could they bear away provision for that period, without leaving their helpless families destitute. Half an hour previous to this enthusiastic display, I had seen the cavalry, who were employed to keep the cordon entire, roughly striking some of them with the flat of their sabres, because they did not move exactly in their assigned places; yet all was insufficient to abate the force of their loyal devotion. I was riding near the king's carriage, when a poor woman, with an infant in her arms, ran out from a cottage, and throwing herself on her knees, with so little regard to her personal safety that she was in great danger of being rode over, sobbed out, "Let me see my king! Look, my child, at our beloved father:—now I can die contented."

In all this there was no artifice, no attempt to produce stage effect,



effect, nor any expectation of personal advantage. All was evidently from the heart; and no one could witness, with indifference, such an affecting burst of simple love from an almost perishing people to a monarch, who, whatever he might possess of the will, had not enjoyed the power of conferring one national benefit upon them. It was impossible to view the miserable condition and the artless good feeling of these poor creatures, without a sentiment of deep commiseration, and an ardent desire that they might be brought to participate in the blessings which civil and religious liberty never fail to produce.—p. 115—121.

The favourite, who had now been created Count of Subsera, persuaded the unhappy king that Don Miguel's intention was to depose him, and place his mother at the head of affairs. The king had but too much reason to know that any thing might be believed of his consort; and he must have had cause also to distrust the disposition of this, her second son; but that son had hitherto kept the straight and honourable line of duty, and he had rendered the most essential service to him. Happy would it have been for all parties if he had then been treated with the confidence which at that time he deserved, a constitutional government established, and the succession secured to him, as it ought to have been;—happy would this have been for all parties, and most of all for Don Miguel himself. Sinister influence prevented this; and the subsequent transactions might seem rather to have occurred in barbarous ages, or in Moorish countries, than in a Christian and European kingdom in our own days. The murder of the Marquis of Loulé in the palace, while the royal family was there, in revenge for his friend Subsera's conduct, the assumption of power by Don Miguel, and the arrests which he ordered upon the scale of a Roman proscription, roused the king, both by a sense of personal and immediate danger, to the only act of vigour that he ever exerted; and Miguel was secured on board an English man-of-war, and sent out of the country. These events are put in the clearest light, and related in the most temperate and candid spirit, by Captain Browne, than whom no person had better opportunities of knowing the whole truth. The death of the king was for himself a deliverance devoutly to have been wished, but a great misfortune to the country: irresolute to the last, he left the succession unsettled. His will, however, inclining, as beyond a doubt he did, to Don Pedro's claim, could not have decided it. On either side a strong case might be made out; but when a question is ultimately to be resolved by might, the legal and rightful claim, though it were clear as day, is worth no more than Magna Charta was in Oliver Cromwell's estimation. In this case, the ablest jurists might doubt to whom the succession had

had devolved, and have interminably disputed upon it. Equity would have adjudged it to Don Miguel, had there been no forfeiture on his part; but he waived all other claims by acceding to the arrangement for intermarrying with his niece, (a customary connection in that family!) and accepting the throne in her right; and he swore to maintain the constitutional charter, which, at the time of that arrangement, Pedro, exerting an extraordinary power on an extraordinary occasion, sent over from Brazil; and which, with all possible solemnity and legal form, was accepted in Portugal. That oath he has violated, and is now reigning as absolute king. Undoubtedly the inclination of the people is for an absolute monarchy, because they lived peaceably and contentedly before they heard of revolutions and constitutions; and, in their ignorance, they suppose that, under an absolute monarchy, things, as far as they are concerned, would revert to their former state. The best-administered government could not realise that expectation: it remains to be seen what course their disappointment will take under the worst.

Any government in Portugal would at this time find its revenues insufficient to support even the necessary civil and ordinary military establishments; and yet an extraordinary armed force is and must be needful while any revolutionary designs are to be apprehended, and till habits of peaceful order can be restored, among a people whom distress has rendered predatory. From the time of the removal to Brazil there has been a drain of the gold currency; and that beautiful coinage, formerly the best in Europe, and which was once as current in Great Britain as the money of our own sovereign, is now as rarely to be seen in Portugal as guineas were here in the days of the Bullion question. It has continually been flowing out of the country, and nothing has flowed in to replace it. Here are difficulties which might almost weigh down the spirit and break the heart of a good king, even though he could count upon the sympathy and friendship of other powers, and hope for their assistance. But the present ruler has broken his faith; he has stained his hands in blood, and shown himself capable, as far as the will and the heart go, of treading in the steps of those monarchs, to whose names the epithet of 'the cruel' is annexed in history. The steps of a Portuguese king, who, in some parts of his character, sufficiently resembled Don Miguel, though he had fewer crimes to answer for, may be seen at this day in the palace at Cintra, deeply worn in the tiled pavement of the room which served him for his prison. A faithful counsellor, or a faithful confessor, (who might, perhaps, more easily be found, and less unwillingly heard,) should advise Miguel to pace that foot-worn floor, in his own palace, to and fro, and consider upon that spot by what



means a second *Catastrophe de Portugal* may be averted, which if it overtake him, is likely to be more tragic than that which befel the last Affonso. It is not by violence and tyranny that it can be averted, but by retracing some of his own steps, and doing that which is lawful and right.

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ART. VIII.—*A Dissertation on the Course and probable Termination of the Niger.* By Lieut.-Gen. Sir Rufane Donkin, G.C.H., K.C.B., and F.R.S. London. 1829.

WE certainly thought there had been an end to all further speculation concerning this endless river; but it seems we were mistaken. A new candidate for fame has started a fresh hare, and run her down in grand style over ground never coursed before: scarcely a single point of the compass had escaped from having the honour of directing this mysterious stream to its termination, with the exception of one—and upon that one Sir Rufane Donkin has pounced, and thus completed the circle. This work, then, has novelty on its side, which always goes a great way; being an article of high request in the literary workshop. The intellectual as well as the corporeal part of man seems to require that the appetite for change should be gratified by variety and novelty; and Sir Rufane has given us both. His little volume is not limited to 'A Dissertation on the Course and probable Termination of the Niger,' but comprises also many other learned disquisitions, from the Greek definite article to the Greek digamma. But we shall strictly confine ourselves to the main subject—on which, indeed, we feel ourselves particularly called upon to make a few brief observations; because, firstly, the conclusions arrived at are contrary to known facts—because, secondly, we feel that the author is deceiving himself in supposing that, by applying the words *Neel* or *Νεῖλος* to all great rivers, 'we shall find our geographical difficulties dispersing, one after the other, like mists before the sun;' (p. 19);—and because, thirdly, we know Sir Rufane to be an excellent scholar, of a clear, intelligent, logical, and comprehensive mind, ingenious in argument, and forcible in language; and, consequently, whatever proceeds from his pen, will always be entitled to respect, and must command attention. Having said thus much, which we do from an honest conviction of its truth, we feel some little diffidence in venturing to point out, and endeavouring to rectify, what we conceive to be mistaken notions, hastily taken up and adopted, without due consideration of the present state of our knowledge of Africa; having no basis to rest upon, but the fanciful and erroneous statements of the Greeks, Romans, and Arabs, all of whom, having

having no personal knowledge of their subject, ran riot in speculative geography, and, for want of facts, indulged in the wildest fancies.

In our criticism of Sir Rufane Donkin's book, we shall confine ourselves to the three principal points of his argument. 1. That geographers and travellers have been all wrong in searching for THE Niger, or THE Nile, instead of A Niger or A Nile. 2. That the first meridian of Ptolemy was not in the Canary or 'Fortunate' Islands; but on the Cape de Verde Islands; an error made either by himself, or his commentators and map-makers, by which he has been robbed of 7° of longitude. 3. That the termination of the Niger is to be found in the gulf of Sydra or Syrtis.

1. The object which the General seems to have in view, in setting the two articles by the ears, is that of securing to himself a disposable Nile or Niger, to pave the way for his new and ingenious speculation. For this purpose, he commences his plan of operations with a long discussion on the word Nile or Neel, which, he tells us, signifies *indigo*, or *blue*; and is applied in the East to designate any great or blue river, as instanced in the Sinde or Indus, which is sometimes called the Neel by the natives. Major Rennell had long ago made the same observations; and we believe that not only the Hindoos, but the Persians and Arabians have a word of the same sound and import, which they also sometimes apply, not, however, to any river, but, κατ' ἐξοχην, to some particular, great river: thus the Arabs call the great river of Soudan, the Neel el Abeed, the 'great river of slaves.' But the question on which we are at issue with our author is, whether the Greeks ever employed the word Νεῖλος in this sense? Let us hear what the General says in the affirmative:—'Herodotus tells us that there was "a Nile," or, at least, a black or deep river in Thessaly. His words are, in speaking of this river, οὐ καλεῖται Μέλαις; for Μέλαις is the translation into Greek of the oriental word Kala, and, with some modification, of Neil or Neel; and it was only by long use that Νεῖλος became a legitimate Greek word.' (p. 17.)

Sir Rufane, we suspect, in writing this curious paragraph, had some design to turn the flank of his readers. The spurious progeny of a blue begotten by a black, we can well suppose, would require 'long use' to establish its claim to legitimacy. The association of the two colours is not very common, except about the eyes of one of the *fancy* after a set-to. The conclusion of the paragraph is rather a whimsical *non sequitur*:—'Indeed,' says our author, 'the Greek and Latin historians mention seven or eight rivers by the name of "Melas,"'—and what are we to understand by this? except that the Greek and Latin historians



called these seven or eight *black* rivers so many *Niles*, or *blue* rivers.—‘And if his name be *George*!’ says Falconbridge, ‘I’ll call him *Peter*!’ Now we maintain, without hesitation, that there is no instance of the Greeks applying the word Νεῖλος in any other sense, or to any other river, than to the Nile of Egypt, and that Herodotus applies it exclusively to that, and to no other.

And here we shall make our stand in favour of the definite article *the*, against the General’s indefinite *a*, in comparing *his* version of the story of the Nasamonians and *ours*. The General says, and says truly, that Herodotus ‘has been misrepresented by his quoters and by his editors;’ and he adds, that the information he (Herodotus) had from King Etearchus [he had *none* from Etearchus] related to these people having seen *a* Nile, and not *the* Nile.’ This second assertion is supported on the authority of two MSS. mentioned in the edition of Schweighauser, in which the definite article, in one particular passage, is omitted—τον abest,—the reading being thus;—καὶ Ετεάρχης συνεβόλλετο εἶναι Νεῖλον;—which Sir Rufane interprets, ‘and Etearchus *added* that this was *a* Nile.’ Now, if we admit the two codices to be right, and all the rest to be wrong, which we are by no means disposed to do, we submit, with all humility, that the omission of the definite article does not necessarily imply an indefinite. But letting this pass, we cannot but observe that the little Greek sentence above mentioned furnishes an instance of the manner in which Herodotus is sometimes ‘misrepresented by his quoters;’ and, we may also add, ‘by his translators,’ too; for, with all due submission to Sir Rufane, Etearchus did not *add*, but ‘*supposed*,’ or ‘*conjectured*,’ (εἰρεβόλλετο) ‘that this was the Nile.’ It is material also to the point in question, further to observe, that Herodotus does not pretend to have received his information respecting the great river from Etearchus,—and the General, therefore, is not correct in saying, (p. 11,) that ‘Herodotus *quotes* King Etearchus, as *telling him* that “the river these young men saw was the Nile.”’ Herodotus had no communication with Etearchus; he had the story of these youths, not from Etearchus, but from some Cyrenæans, who had it from Etearchus, who had it from some Nasamonians, who, it may be presumed, had it from their countrymen, perhaps from the youths themselves; so that, in fact, Herodotus received the story at *fourth* hand. The Cyrenæans too, be it observed, were discoursing with Etearchus concerning the head of *the* Nile, ‘as a thing,’ says Herodotus, ‘altogether unknown,’ and this led to the story. In adopting Sir Rufane’s version, the story would read thus: ‘The Nasamonians arrived at a city, and past that city flowed a *great* river, a *blue* river, or a *Nile*; and Etearchus *added* that this

† ἡ δὲ πόλις ὅπου αὐτοὶ ἐβόλλετο εἶναι τὸν ποταμὸν καλεῖται Νεῖλος.

was a great river, a blue river, or a Nile.' Herodotus will hardly be accused of having written in this fashion. He, as well as Etearchus, who was king or chief of the Oasis of Ammon, was fully acquainted with all that was known of the Nile of Egypt, whose undiscovered fountains were the grand and leading objects of conjecture and research; and on whose increase or decrease depended all the hopes and fears of plenty or of famine. On hearing, therefore, that a great river had been discovered in Africa, flowing towards the rising sun, nothing could be more natural than the concluding sentence of Herodotus:—'and Etearchus supposed it to be the Nile'—that Nile, about which, and which alone, he had been discoursing through some score of his pages. Did Sir Rufane Donkin observe the words in which Herodotus winds up the discussion, viz.: Νείλου μὲν νῦν περὶ τοσαῦτα εἰρησθαι;—'and thus I have finished my account of the Nile'? But if the shadow of a doubt could for a moment be entertained, that the Nile of Egypt and that alone was the one meant, the following sentence must at once disperse it:—'and his (Etearchus') opinion is not unreasonable,' says Herodotus, 'because the Nile descends from Libya,'—ρεῖ γὰρ Αἰθίως ὁ Νεῖλος; and he concludes this part of his subject by observing, that he will say no more about the Nile, περὶ τοῦ Νείλου, 'only that it flows into the sea by way of Egypt.' This Egyptian Nile, most certainly, was the only Nile acknowledged by the Greeks and Romans—the latter of whom had also but one Niger; and, if we read Herodotus and Pliny right, that Niger is a very different river from the one known by that name in modern times, as we hope to be able to show.

2. That the General should 'have been much disappointed in Ptolemy, as a geographer and guide, as far as relates to central Africa,' we are not in the least surprised; believing, as we do, with M. Gosselin, that Soudan or Nigritia was wholly unknown to him and to all the Greek colonists of his time. But he had acquired a knowledge of a considerable portion of the western coast from the pilots and navigators of that age. Here, however, a perplexing difficulty occurred to Sir Rufane, which it was absolutely necessary to get rid of before he could stir a step. Ptolemy, it appears, has laid down the mouth of the river Salathus, on this coast, in 9° E. longitude, and 22° N. latitude (where, by the way, there is no river at all); whereas that part of the coast is barely two degrees of longitude from Ptolemy's first meridian on the island of Ferro, one of the Canaries, as modern geographers have hitherto drawn it; thus exhibiting an error of seven degrees of longitude, according to Ptolemy, if we adopt the island of Ferro as his first meridian. The consequences of this loss the General must state in his own words:—

'However, I was unwilling to disturb a received opinion, and I went



went on constructing my map, step by step, according to the meridian of Ferro, adhering closely to Ptolemy's own words, and I thus proceeded till I came to deal with the Lakes Chelonidæ, with the Garamantica Pharanx, and other places he mentions in speaking of the Geir; when I found that in laying them down I had exhausted all the longitude I had at my disposal; and that by a formidable land slip of seven degrees eastward, I was overlying almost the whole of Bornou, the whole of Darfour, and all the western part of Abyssinia; and the Lakes Chelonidæ and Nuba and the Garamantica Pharanx had taken possession of the bed of the Egyptian Nile, whose general course was in the longitude assigned by Ptolemy to the three above-named places,—by which not only was the known geography of the Nile utterly overturned, but the Garamantica Pharanx, which Ptolemy assigns as one of the sources of the Geir, was transported at least a degree beyond the Bahr el Abiad, the Ptolemæan source or western branch of the Nile; so that the Geir must have absolutely run across that branch of the Nile to have got to the Lakes Chelonidæ, in which Ptolemy gives us to understand that the Geir was lost.'—pp. 31, 32.

This tremendous confusion led Sir Rufane to a reconsideration of the subject, and to consult Ptolemy's own words again; the result of which was this—that whereas Ptolemy expressly says that his first meridian was drawn through the westernmost of the 'Fortunate Islands,' or 'Happy Islands,' and it has hitherto been the universal practice to consider these as the Canary Islands—this universal practice is quite wrong, and the Cape de Verde Islands 'are really Ptolemy's Happy Isles,' (p. 32.) Sir Rufane, indeed, is so convinced of this, that although he has himself visited both sets of islands, and avers that 'a viler place than the Cape Verde is nowhere to be found;' he nevertheless boldly asserts, that 'notwithstanding this, the Canaries are *not* Ptolemy's "Happy Isles," but the Cape Verde Isles *are*' (p. 33); and why? because 'he (Ptolemy) tells us that the "Happy Isles" lie between the 10th and 17th degrees of north latitude, which is precisely the situation of the Cape Verds'—[not very precisely, as the southernmost of them is not below 15° N.:]—and because that, by assuming the westernmost of the Cape de Verde Islands as the first meridian, the mouth of the Salathus, or that part of the coast where it is supposed to be, comes exactly out, what Ptolemy makes it—just 9° East from his first meridian. This certainly sounds well; but Ptolemy ought to have been ashamed of himself for being guilty of such a gross misnomer, and committing such an outrage on common sense, as to appropriate the term 'Happy' to the most miserable islands on the face of the earth; and to have done it, too, with Pliny's description of the real 'Happy Islands' before him, wherein is enumerated that of *Nivaria*, which cannot possibly be mistaken for any other island than Teneriffe, with its snowy peak.

Indeed,

Indeed, Ptolemy himself has *Kanaria* in his own list of this group.

However, by assuming the Cape de Verdes for the first meridian, all went on swimmingly in the construction of Sir Rufane's map; and the names mentioned by Ptolemy fell beautifully into their right places, excepting, indeed, a very few, which our author was compelled to give up in despair. Having thus established this harmonious accordance, Sir Rufane may fairly ask, what becomes of our opinion, which we have stated to fall in with that of the able geographer Gosselin, that Ptolemy knew nothing of the central parts of Africa? Our reply is this—there is not one single name of mountain, lake, river, or city, mentioned by Ptolemy, to the southward of the Zahara, that corresponds or can be identified with any modern name, or concerning which any geographer or traveller will be bold enough to pronounce—‘this I can prove to be what Ptolemy meant by so and so.’ We aver that those who pretend *here* to reconcile ancient names and positions with known facts, have nothing but hypothesis for their guide. Ptolemy and his contemporaries and predecessors did no doubt know the western coast of Africa to a certain extent; but their knowledge of the interior, we firmly and conscientiously believe, did not extend beyond the limits of Libya, or the Bled-el-Jerede, or land of dates, and Segilmessa.

In turning our attention to this western coast, we shall be under the necessity, however reluctantly, of demolishing completely the speculation of Sir Rufane Donkin as to the Cape de Verde Islands being the ‘Happy Islands;’ and shall moreover be able to prove to him the consistency, if not the accuracy, of Ptolemy, in making Ferro his first meridian. In doing this, we shall be spared the trouble of consulting ancient authorities; all those which bear on the question have been thoroughly investigated—not for the purpose of supporting or destroying particular theories, but for the benefit of geographical science, and the establishment of truth. It is on such names as those of D’Anville and Rennell, the first geographers of modern times, or indeed of any times, whatever Sir Rufane may think, that we rely for the justification of our own idleness and, perhaps, inability. From their examination of the statements made by Hanno, Scylax, and Herodotus, and those also of Strabo and Pliny, it appears that all those ancients supposed Africa to project much less to the west than it actually does—that they considered the coast to trend nearly south from the Pillars of Hercules to Cape Soloeis; and that Ptolemy, in particular, makes it incline even to the eastward of south from the Strait of Gibraltar. This is the more remarkable, as Major Rennell says that ‘there are few parts of Ptolemy’s geography in which the latitudes agree so well with the modern observations,



as in the part between the Strait of Gibraltar and Cape Bojador; that 'the position of the latter is even laid down within four or five miles of the truth; but that below this to Cape Verd the positions are all wrong, and the figure of the coast has lost all resemblance;' and yet 'the bearing of the coast, where correct, is out full four points of the compass—Ptolemy making it S. by E. instead of S.W. by S.\* The Cape Soloeis would therefore be the extreme west of the coast of Africa; and D'Anville and Rennell have no doubt that this Soloeis of Herodotus, the Promontory of Solis of Pliny, and the Mons Solis of Ptolemy, is the promontory now known by the name of Cape Cantin. Now, the longitude of this cape is  $9^{\circ}$  W., and that of Ferro  $18^{\circ}$  W., from the meridian of Greenwich, making a difference between them of  $9^{\circ}$ ; and as the mouth of the Salathius of Ptolemy, quoted by Sir Rufane, (the Sala, probably, of Pliny,) must be in the same, or a little within the same meridian, its longitude would also be  $9^{\circ}$  W.; or, as stated by Ptolemy,  $9^{\circ}$  to the eastward of his first meridian in the 'Happy Islands,' and not  $29^{\circ}$ , as Sir Rufane has, rather inconsiderately, we think, been led to conclude. Instead, therefore, of 'the commentator and map-maker having robbed Ptolemy of seven degrees of longitude, it is Ptolemy who has robbed the continent of Africa of seven degrees.'

This explanation, we are willing to believe, will be satisfactory to Sir Rufane Donkin as to Ptolemy's longitude; and now for his latitude of the Canaries, stated to lie between the 10th and 17th degrees, but which, as Sir Rufane observes, are parallels which agree with the latitude of the Cape de Verdes; whereas Ferro is in  $27^{\circ}$  nearly. The General admits, what every geographer knows, that 'Ptolemy is very wild in his latitudes occasionally, and that he commits great mistakes in laying down some of them,' (p. 36,)—why, then, may we not conclude that his position of the Canaries, as to latitude, may have been subject to one of these wild mistakes? and why may we not correct this mistake by applying to the 17th parallel, 'the error of no less than ten degrees in the latitude of his own astronomical observatory at Alexandria—not an error of the ancient transcriber or of the modern press, but one which he has worked up and incorporated in many of his astronomical calculations,' (p. 36,) and thus obtain the precise latitude of Ferro, namely,  $27^{\circ}$  N.?

3. Sir Rufane has taken a world of pains to reconcile many of the fanciful, supposititious, and contradictory statements, both by ancient and modern writers, concerning the course and termination of that river which we are pleased to call the Niger, but which,

\* Geographical System of Herodotus, p. 420.

in point of fact, has no relation whatever to the great river mentioned by Herodotus, nor to that named Niger by Pliay. Our grounds for such an assertion we shall briefly state.

In the first place, it is neither probable nor possible that Herodotus could mean the modern Niger; and secondly, there is no difficulty in discovering what he did mean. It is not probable that a miraculous story, told at fourth-hand, could, even at the time, be considered as entitled to much credit—it is not probable that a set of giddy or saucy youths (*παῖδες ὑβριστᾶς*) should launch upon a desert, till then impassable by human beings, for the sole purpose of discovering something new; though it is probable enough that these frolicsome young fellows may have hoaxed their credulous countrymen with fictitious tales and wonderful adventures. It is not possible that a desert, which Herodotus truly describes as ‘destitute of water, covered with sands, and utterly desolate,’ could be traversed as a matter of course by such a description of persons, without any knowledge of the few wells and wadeys that occur, and without the advantage of the camel, a beast then unknown in Africa, and without the assistance of which the Zahara has never been crossed. ‘The sands of Barca,’ says Gibbon, ‘might be impervious to a Roman legion, but the Arabs were attended by their faithful camels; and the natives of the desert beheld, without terror, the familiar aspect of the soil and climate.’ We deem it, indeed, to be not only morally improbable, but physically impossible, that by any preparations, and ‘all appliances and means to boot,’ these young fellows could accomplish one-third part of a journey across the great desert, without leaving their bones to bleach in the sun, like those seen scattered about by Oudney, Denham, and Clapperton. The Persian madman, Cambyzes, is said to have buried in the sands the greater part of fifty thousand men in his short expedition against the Oasis of Ammon.

And now, as to what Herodotus *does* say and mean, and not as he has been ‘misrepresented by his quoters.’ He says these young fellows went through the deserts of Libya; and that he may not be misunderstood as to what he means by Libya, which is sometimes put for Africa, he states distinctly, that ‘it extends from Egypt to the promontory of Soloeis, where it terminates’—that it is inhabited by various nations besides the Grecians and Phœnicians—that next to this, the country is abandoned to beasts of prey—and all beyond is desert—that these young fellows, having passed the desert of Libya, (not Zahara,) came to a region with trees, on which were perched men of little stature—that they were conducted by them over morasses to a city on a great river, running from the west towards the rising sun; that the people were black,  
and



and enchanters, &c. Now, it is perfectly clear to us, that the country alluded to by Herodotus was no other than Mauritania, and that the notion of their having crossed the Great Desert, and reached the Niger about Timbuctoo, is founded entirely on a 'misrepresentation of his quoters and editors,' some of whom make the course of these young men to have been *south-west*, contrary to what Herodotus says, and for no other reason that we can devise, but that such a course was required to bring them to a predetermined city and river, known to the moderns, but not to Herodotus. Herodotus, however, sanctions no such notion; he distinctly states, on the contrary, that they proceeded to the *west*, *προς Ζεφυρον ανεμουν*, words that are never applied to any portion of that quarter of the compass lying between west and south, the word Zephyrus, in Latin as well as Greek, being used exclusively for *west*, and *Αιφ* generally for *south-west*. Aristotle divided each of the quarters by two points, and those between *Ζεφυρος* and *Νοτος* were *Libo-notus* and *Libs*; every schoolboy knows, from old Lilly, that 'Libs, notus, auster,' form the *south-west* quarter. So much for the 'misrepresentations of Herodotus by his quoters.'

Sir Rufane Donkin, however, not satisfied with treading in the footsteps of those who have so unpardonably misquoted Herodotus, in making him write *south-west* for *west*, has discovered, 'that the part of the river to which the five young Nasamonians came, *must* have been somewhere a little to the westward of the Tchad, and not near Tombuctoo,' as that would have been such an 'immense distance' to travel; the meaning of which is, that they neither went *west*, as Herodotus says, nor *south-west*, as his 'translators' make him say, but due *south*; and they must, therefore, have fallen in with the Niger at a place where (or within five hundred miles of which) most certainly no Niger is to be found. Now if we will only let Herodotus tell his own story, we shall find, in those parts of the Emperor of Morocco's dominions, situated between the Great Atlas chain and the Zahara, plenty of rivers, two of them, the Tafilet and the Ad-judi, both running to the east, and both *great* rivers in the eyes of men who had never witnessed a running stream; we shall also find cities and towns, intervening deserts, morasses, sands, and black men of small stature, the modern Berbers, the ancient Melanogætuli, *omnes colore nigri*, to answer the description of Herodotus; who says, moreover, that *his* river which he calls the Nile, not only descends from Libya, but traverses *all* Libya, dividing that country in the midst.

Pliny's information is still more explicit, and tends to corroborate our suggestion. He tells us that Suetonius Paulinus, a Roman general, whom he knew, after crossing the Western Atlas, and

and a black dusty plain beyond it, [dry morass or peatmoss, of which we understand there is plenty,] fell in with a river running to the eastward, which he (Pliny) calls the Niger, probably from the black people or the black soil, and which is stated to lose itself in the sands; and which, according to Pliny, emerging again, flows on to the eastward, divides the Libyans from the Ethiopians, and finally falls into the Nile. Now, the Tafilet, which flows from the southern side of the Snowy Atlas, crossed by the Roman general, runs in an eastern course, and loses itself in the sands; and the Ad-judi, which rises from the same side or the central Atlas (in Mauritania Cæsariensis), and runs easterly into the Lake Melgig, might very well be considered by Pliny as the continuation of the Tafilet or his Niger; and it is sufficiently remarkable that this river, or some other of the numerous streams in the neighbourhood, should, according to Leo Africanus, be called the Ghir, which it seems is a native (Carthaginian?) name. Here, then, we have at once the foundation for the Geir and Nigeir of Ptolemy, supplied to him by Pliny.

It would be endless, and is not necessary for our purpose, to follow Sir Rufane Donkin through the 'mazy labyrinth' of the lakes and rivers and morasses mentioned by Ptolemy and Edrissi, with the rest of the Arab writers on Africa,—the Wangaras, the Ganas, the Domboos, and many other non-entities which modern discoveries have swept from the places they occupied in the charts, because they are not found in the country. As little do we know of the Nile of Bornou, 'that mighty stream covered with decked boats,' which makes so leading a feature in the General's argument for his mode of disposing of the Niger. Our knowledge extends not beyond the two rivers,—the only two in Bornou,—the Yeou and the Shary, both of which fall into the Tsad; and the former of which Sir Rufane most unaccountably, and in defiance of Clapperton's personal observation, asserts to be identical with the Niger. The Misselad, too, which no one has ever seen, and no one heard of, except Mr. Browne, is called in aid to swell the mighty Niger, which, rolling unseen in its subarenaceous course for more than a thousand miles, is conducted over (we beg pardon), *under* the desert of Bilmah, from whence it glides along in its concealed channel to the Mediterranean, through 'the quicksands of the Gulf of Sidra, the ancient Syrtis.' This point, we suspect, must have been taken up by Sir Rufane as a sort of *pis aller*, every other hypothesis being forestalled—one conveying the Niger into the Atlantic, another into central lakes or marshes, a third burying it in central sands, and a fourth uniting it to the Egyptian Nile. It was a novel and a bold attempt; and no wonder that, 'when weighed in the balance, it should



should be found wanting.' Indeed, we may safely say that no vestige of such a river, as Sir Rufane has conducted, under the name of Gheir, or 'Nile of Bornou,' to the Syrtis, exists either in the desert of Bilmah, where he has placed 'two rivers,' or elsewhere in that direction. In vain should we there look for the Chelonides, or lake of tortoises, or any other of those 'fluvial aneurisms,' which, we are told, 'like the physical aneurism, may sometimes be taken up again into the circulation, and so disappear;' which 'a violent flood may bear bodily onwards for two or three degrees; or, if left to themselves undisturbed, their natural and, indeed, practical mode of operation is to extend themselves *upwards*, against the stream, if there be anything like a fall *into* them; or to destroy themselves, if there be anything like a fall *out* of them' (p. 79). This doctrine of 'fluvial aneurisms' is, unquestionably, an easy and convenient mode of destruction and reproduction; and if it may be held to reconcile, as we are told it does, some of the discrepancies of Ptolemy's positions of lakes, when compared with what is now known, we are willing to take it—*quantum valeat*.

The assumed 'two rivers' of Bilmah, the General is of opinion, are caused 'by the damming up of the subarenaceous stream, by the ground rising in the vicinity of the Tibesti mountains.' To be sure, the damming up of a mighty stream, working its way, like a mole, under ground, and suffering, as we are told, neither absorption nor evaporation, not only might form both the 'two rivers' and the lake of tortoises,—neither of which 'fluvial aneurisms,' however, have any existence at the present day,—but would most assuredly lay under water the neighbouring plains of the Sahara; just as that least of the branches of the Rhine, which flows past Leyden, when choked up by the combined operations of the sea and the sand, inundated the rich and extensive meadows of Rhynland, till Louis the Benevolent opened the sluices, and enlarged the flood-gates of Katwyk, with the money of the 'Batavian people,' to whom he could not do less than dedicate this useful work.

Sir Rufane, however, vigorously and enthusiastically pursues this new idea, for it is exclusively his own, and 'has no doubt but that, in very remote ages, the united Nigeir and Geir, that is, the Nile of Bornou, did roll into the sea in all the magnificence of a mighty stream, forming a grand estuary or harbour, where now the quicksand is;' but that 'it has been choked up and obliterated by the invasion of the great Sahara, under the name of the deserts of Bilmah and Libya;' 'and thus,' he adds, 'has been rubbed out from the face of the earth a river which had once its cities, its sages, its warriors, its works of art, and its inundations like

like the classic Nile; but which so existed in days of which we have scarcely a record,' (p. 67;) and he concludes by prophesying, that 'in the same way shall perish the Nile of Egypt and its valley—its pyramids, its temples, and its cities! The Delta shall become a plashy quicksand—a second Syrtis! and the Nile shall cease to exist from the Lower Cataract downwards,' (p. 70.) This is rather a melancholy prospect, and, we are free to confess, far too sublime and mysterious for us matter-of-fact men to deal with. Indeed, we could have wished that our friend—for amicus Plato—had left the gift of prophecy to Francis Moore, or some such person as Milton's old bow-bent Sibyl.

'That far events full wisely could presage.'

But to proceed with our subject. We are to suppose, then, that this mighty mass of subarenaceous water continues to flow through the Desert of Bilmah,—a little up-hill to be sure,—but then it may 'push on,' as the General tells us, 'by the force of gravitation, till it finds its natural level without any loss by absorption, for silex does not absorb.' (p. 60.) The poor Tibboos, however, of Bilmah, with their saltwater splashes and flags of rock-salt, have not yet profited by this freshwater subterranean neighbour, which, in miner's language, has not yet come out to day. Like as the Nile of Egypt concealed its head,—*occultuit caput*,—so does this skulking 'Nile of Bornou' hide its monstrous tail of more than a thousand miles in length, giving no symptoms of life, till we find it, so Sir Rufane says, entering the sea at the bottom of the Syrtis, which 'drives back or stops the waters of the river, so that they can flow on no further,'—our wonder is that they have flowed so far. Here, however, it seems, they have formed 'a plashy moving quicksand, which extends towards the land as far as the level will admit.' As a voucher for these 'plashy quicksands,' an ancient gentleman, of the name of Solinus, is called in, who administers a '*vadosum ac reciprocum mare*,' and describes the earth as being there—'*perflabilem ibi terram, ventis penetrantibus subitam vini spiritus citissimi aut revomere maria, aut resorbere*.' 'This,' says the General, 'is just the effect I should suppose would be produced by a river emerging from sands meeting with the sea on a level with itself; indeed the description is complete, and the words "*perflabilem*," and "*revomere maria aut resorbere*," are highly graphic.' (p. 62.) Graphic they may be, but we hope to succeed in satisfying Sir Rufane Donkin that they are not true.

We have said, and truly said, that Sir Rufane is a scholar; and hence arises his predilection for the ancient classic authorities, and disregard of modern ones; but the 'best may err,' especially if they



they undertake to build a system, and run it up in too great haste. Had he just glanced at the account of a journey round the shores of the Syrtis, by the two Beecheys, instead of consulting Solinus, he would have found that those 'plashy quicksands,' and the terrible objects which this and other ancient writers have described, are absolutely non-entities, as far as the *shores* are concerned; the dangers were in the Gulph. The elder Beechey traversed every foot of the shore, and assures us that 'the idea which appears to have been entertained by the ancients of the soil of the Greater Syrtis is not confirmed by an inspection of the country.\* At the bottom of this gulf the two brothers found no sandy plains—no river—no 'plashy quicksands'—no 'perflabilem terram'—no creek—nor inlet towards the desert, but a straight line of coast, for a whole day's journey, of hard ground, with a good firm footing; the only sand, that which was blown up from the beech into ridges; and beyond these, on the skirts of the desert, a range of 'hills of solid stone from four to six hundred feet in height.' Thus, then, perishes that mighty subarenaceous stream, by the help of which all our 'geographical difficulties,' with regard to the 'termination of the Niger, were to be settled.

In assigning to this fourth-rate river, not only a circuitous, but circular course, we are somewhat surprised that the ridicule our author bestows on poor Park for his 'fancy that the Niger runs to the south, and becomes the Congo or Zaire,' did not occur to him, as being applicable also to other persons besides Park, —particularly when he was writing the following paragraph.

'This notion is repugnant to all that is known of the courses of all the great rivers in the world, as well as against all that can be inferred by analogy; by which we may and do infer that, as we have seen nothing of the kind before, so we are not likely to see in the Niger the phenomenon of a great river first of all taking one decided course for a great many hundred miles in one direction, and then turning back towards the very point of the compass from which it had started,—so as to enter the ocean by a sort of *Βουτρεοθηδον* process, by a course parallel to and the very reverse of its original one: but this is what the Niger must do, if it enters the Atlantic by the Congo or Zaire.'—p. 110.—

and, we may add, what it must do, 'if it enters the Syrtis,' which, however, we think we have clearly shown it *does not*. We feel how ungracious a task it is to hamper the flight of a fervid imagination by cold realities. Of the former kind we consider the concluding passage of Sir Rufane's 'Dissertation' to be a specimen:—

'I do indeed feel that the attempt I have made to unveil the myste-

\* Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa, &c. p. 222.

ries which have hung over the Niger in its passage through western Æthiopia, and the sands of the Libyan desert, is a bold attempt, but I hope it will not be called a presumptuous one; nor could I deny to myself an indulgence in the dream, if dream it be,—which presented to me the great Nile of Central Africa rolling forwards majestically to the shores of the Mediterranean, through countries then swarming with people, and animated by intelligence; and through vallies either bespangled by cities, or enamelled by the varied productions of a luxuriant soil, fertilized by the waters of a noble stream whose very existence has been for centuries forgotten; in a climate too, where nature was ever bursting with spontaneousness, and yielding forth a perpetual round of productions, combining throughout the year, the infant delicacy of vernal freshness with the luscious fulness of autumnal maturity.”—pp. 134, 135.

Alas! alas! how directly the reverse of this fascinating picture is the dry fact! The African Zahara was, and ever will be, what it now is—a wide interminable waste of rocky hills, rearing their naked heads out of moving sands; of arid, stony plains, unrefreshed by a shower of rain, on which, for a hundred miles together, no drop of water is met with to quench the traveller's thirst, and where no human beings venture to reside, except a few miserable wretches digging up flakes of natron, or collecting salt from the marshy pools; or the still more miserable robber, who derives a scanty and precarious subsistence from the plunder of the way-worn traveller. Such is the real and appalling picture of that solitary sadness and dreary desolation that pervade the great African desert!

One word more, and we have done. The river of Timbuctoo, which the moderns have been pleased to call the Niger, (but which was utterly unknown to the ancients by that or any other name,) we now know does ‘run to the south’ as far as the ninth degree of latitude, and does not, as Sir Rufane says, ‘flow into the Tchad, under the name of the Yeou,’ (p. 87.) as he will find by consulting the published account of Clapperton's second journey: this southerly course he has wholly omitted, and covered the ground it occupies with a ridge of mountains, placed many degrees to the northward of their real situation. Having reached the ninth parallel, however, without obstruction, the Quorra, for that is its native name, either turns to the eastward and becomes the Shary, or continues to the southward and falls into the Bight of Benin. There is no other alternative; and while testimonies are in favour of the former, appearances would incline us to adopt the latter.



ART. IX.—1. *The Abolition of Slavery in England.* By C. Scrope, Esq. London. 1829.

2. *Third Letter on the Means of improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes.* By Samuel Banfill. Exeter. 1829.

3. *Address to the Society for the Encouragement of Industry.* By John Denson, of Waterbeach, Cambridgeshire.

**T**HERE are changes which take place gradually, and all but imperceptibly, in the bosom of society—in the interior arrangements of communities—affecting far more powerfully and permanently the happiness of mankind, than those political revolutions which, for the most part, engross the attention of historians. The feuds of venal, profligate, and selfish factions, the *tracasseries* of courts, and the contests of turbulent and ambitious nations, are the materials of which the annalist delights to form his web. He notes down, with painful and scrupulous exactness, what cabal prevailed in the senate; what hollow-hearted intriguer supplanted his rival in the cabinet; what haughty chief overcame his antagonist in the field. And here he generally stops: having detailed the follies, the frailties, the treachery, or the ferocity of mankind—having described the froth and foam which float on the surface of society, he rarely condescends to examine the understratum, and contemplate the slow and silent revolutions which are brought about in the industry, the domestic habits, and the social arrangements of the great body of the people. But this fashion, we suspect, is near its end: and, perhaps, the silence of grave historians as to such subjects may, hereafter, be looked back upon with about as much admiration as we now bestow on the candour of that ancient *Fablier*, who commences his *lai* with the following concise confession of his economical faith:—‘Priests are set apart for prayer; but it is fit that noble chevaliers should enjoy all ease, and taste all pleasures—while the labourer toils, in order that they may be nourished in abundance—they, and their horses, and their dogs.’\*

Among the revolutions which have taken place in the circumstances, feelings, and views of the various classes of which society is composed in this country, there is none which merits more careful examination than the momentous change which has been brought about in the condition of our rural peasantry. That an all but universal change for the worse has taken place in the condition and habits of this most important class, is a lamentable and admitted fact;—that honesty, sobriety, industry, and contentment have disappeared almost entirely among a body of men once remarkable for these virtues, is a truth which no person conversant with

\* Legrand, vol. i., p. 219., (third edition.)

the present state of our country parishes will venture to controvert. The wealth of the country, the productive capacity of the soil, has been constantly and steadily increasing; while the condition of those who till our fields—of those who may, in one sense, be said to create this wealth—seems to be daily retrograding. Most of the writers who undertake to account for this deterioration, ascribe it to the introduction of our present system of poor-laws. In this we think them mistaken; and as the subject is in the highest degree important, both on the score of humanity and of policy, we shall make no apology for going a little into detail, in order to justify our dissent from the opinions of those modern economists who adopt, in regard to it, the old sophism, *post hoc ergo propter hoc*.

During the prevalence of the feudal system, from the period of the Conquest to the accession of Henry VII., the population of this country was purely agricultural. The barons and chief landed proprietors possessed a certain number of slaves, who were employed generally in domestic offices, and in the manual fabrication of the wearing apparel and household furniture which they required; and who, like the negroes of the West India islands, were, during infancy and old age, maintained at the expense of their owners. There is no ground, however, for thinking that this class was at any period very considerable in this country. The great body of the peasantry was composed—first, of persons who rented *small farms*, seldom exceeding twenty or thirty acres, and who paid their rent either in kind or in agricultural labour and services performed on the demesne of the landlord; secondly, of *cottagers*, each of whom had a small croft or parcel of land attached to his dwelling, and the privilege of turning out a cow, or pigs, or a few sheep, into the woods, commons, and wastes of the manor. During the whole of this period, the entire population of England derived its subsistence immediately from the land;—the landowner from the produce of his demesne, cultivated partly by his domestic slaves, but principally by the labour of the tenants and cottiers attached to the manor; the tenants from the produce of their little farms; and the cottiers from that of their cows and crofts, except while working upon the demesne, when they were generally fed by the landlord. The mechanics of each village, not having time to cultivate a sufficient quantity of land to yield them a maintenance, received annually a fixed allowance of agricultural produce from each tenant. When the population increased, and a new couple required accommodation, a cottage or a farm-house, according to the circumstances of the parties, was built, and a proportionate allotment abstracted from the common. The condition of the



peasantry of this country resembled, in many respects, that of the Highland peasantry at a much more recent period. Every married peasant occupied some portion of land, and enjoyed a right of common; no class of persons existed, either engaged solely in manufactures, or subsisting solely upon the wages of daily labour. These peasantry, it is true, worked hard, and fared scantily enough; but still they were never in absolute want of food—never dependant upon charity. The whole body was poor, but it contained no paupers.

In the course of the fourteenth century, the demand for wool, to supply not only the markets of the Netherlands, but also the infant manufactures of our own country, rapidly increased. This circumstance brought about an important change in the distribution of the population; the owners of land, finding sheep-feeding more profitable than husbandry, commenced the same system which we have all witnessed in full operation in the Highlands of Scotland. The peasantry previously employed in tillage were turned adrift upon the world; the allotments of arable land, which had afforded them and their families the means of subsistence, were inclosed, consolidated, and converted into sheep-walks; and the policy of Henry VII. greatly accelerated a social revolution which had commenced before his accession. The misery and suffering which this change of system inflicted upon the ejected peasantry, have been depicted in beautiful and glowing language by Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*,—

‘Your sheep,’ says he, ‘that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters, now become so great devourers and so wild, that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities; for look in what part of the realm doth grow the finest, and therefore dearest wool, there noblemen and gentlemen, yea, and *certain abbots, holy men, God wot*, not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessors of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure—nothing profiting, yea, much annoying the weal publick—leave no ground for tillage; they enclose all into pastures, they throw down houses; they pluck down towns, and leave nothing standing but only the church to be made a sheep-house. And, as though you lost no small quantity of ground by forests, chases, lands, and parks, those good holy men turn all dwelling places, and all glebe lands, into desolation and wilderness.

‘Therefore, that one covetous and unsatiable cormorant and very plague of his native country may compass about and enclose many thousand acres of ground together, within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else either by coven and fraud, or by violent oppression, they be put beside it, or by wrongs and injuries

ries they be so wearied that they be compelled to sell all; by one means, therefore, or other, either by hook or by crook, they must needs depart away, poor, silly, wretched souls, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woful mothers with their young babes, and their whole household, small in substance and much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands. For one shepherd or herdsman is enough to eat up that ground with cattle, to the occupying whereof about husbandry many hands were requisite. After that so much ground was enclosed for pasture an infinite multitude of sheep died of the rot, such vengeance God took of their inordinate unsatiable covetousness, sending among the sheep that pestiferous murrain which much more justly should have fallen on the chief masters' own heads.

'Cast out these pernicious abominations, make a law that they which have plucked down farms and towns of husbandry shall re-edify them, or else yield and surrender the possession thereof to such as will go to the cost of building them anew.'

We might quote several passages on the same subject, and in an equally eloquent and indignant strain, from the sermons of Bishop Latimer.

The suppression of monasteries by Henry VIII. is frequently represented as the cause of much of the misery which prevailed among the labouring classes at that period; but the effect of this measure upon the condition of the poor is grossly exaggerated. It ought to be recollected, that the monasteries fed only those who were poor and idle already; whereas the engrossing system made thousands idle who had formerly been industrious. We see, moreover, from Sir T. More himself, that many of the monastic establishments had themselves adopted the new system; 'Holy abbots' also, he distinctly says, had cleared away and discarded their little tenantry to make room for sheep.

The customs and arrangements of most manors presented, however, at that period, certain obstacles to the full expansion of the grazing system. The only parts of the manor which then lay at the absolute disposal of the lord were the land which he occupied for his own demesne, and the small farms which he let in severalty to tenants at will: and there remained, in every parish, a considerable extent of common field and waste land, occupied by a numerous body of small freeholders or copyholders, whom he could neither eject nor deprive of their common rights. At this point, therefore, the depopulating process was constrained to pause; and during the crisis which ensued, many of the ejected tenantry and cottiers found an asylum on the lands of the small freeholders and copyholders of the district. Moved sometimes by feelings of humanity,—more generally, perhaps, by the high rents wherewith they were tempted—the lesser proprietors permitted the



tenants and cottiers expelled from the larger estates turned into sheepwalks, to erect their huts upon some vacant corner, and occupy a fragment of their little farms. Here, therefore, the discarded peasantry experienced some alleviation of the calamity which had befallen them—some refuge from the social storm which had driven them from the homes of their forefathers. Another portion of these unfortunate outcasts found a new source of employment in the various branches of manufactures which were then rising into importance. A very considerable proportion of the discarded occupiers were thus absorbed; but the remainder, amounting, as it appears from all the records of the period, to no inconsiderable number, either unable to find a small spot of land to rent and occupy, or unwilling to submit to the confinement of towns and manufactories, became wandering beggars, infesting the roads and villages of the country. Hence the *English poor-laws*. During this memorable period in the history of our peasantry, various laws were enacted for the suppression of vagrancy; and these were finally amended and consolidated in the celebrated act of 43 Elizabeth. There is reason to believe that they were very effectual in accomplishing the purposes for which they were enacted; and that, through their operation, the effects of the thinnings and clearings of estates, and of the substitution of pasturage for tillage under the Tudor dynasty, had, by the close of the seventeenth century, in a great degree disappeared. Until the commencement of the last century, the parochial funds of this country were expended solely upon orphan and destitute children, or upon aged and infirm persons, totally unable to work; but never upon able-bodied labourers in want of employment.

This, upon the whole, may perhaps be looked upon as one of the happiest periods in the annals of our rural population. They had gradually outlived the effects of the changes which had taken place in the course of the two preceding centuries; and the social arrangements of the country had been remodelled upon a system highly favourable to their interest. Released altogether from the slavery and vassalage of more barbarous times, they were in the enjoyment of constant work and good wages, and fully able to provide both for themselves and their families without eleemosynary assistance. Hence they were industrious, moral, and contented; happy and affectionate in their domestic relations; obedient to the laws, and attached to their employers—not from constraint, but from good will.

But another revolution was now approaching—and one which has affected their welfare more extensively, as well as more intensely,

tensely, than even the momentous change wrought under the dominion of the Tudors. The numerous small farms, which had escaped consolidation, and consequently supplied an asylum for the peasantry discarded from the larger estates, were now doomed to undergo a similar revolution. Through the operation of too obvious causes, several of the smaller farms in each parish had come to be the property of one landlord. It was then discovered, that the division and inclosure of the common fields and wastes of the parish would render this property more profitable, by facilitating the introduction of an improved system of tillage. In 1709, an application was made to parliament for an act to divide and inclose the common fields and wastes belonging to the parish of Ropley. This served as an encouragement and example; and applications of the same kind became annually more frequent. It appears that, since that period, very nearly four thousand bills of inclosure have been passed; and it is also well known that, in numerous instances, the same end has been reached without legislative interference, by private agreement among the parties interested. In a word, we have scarcely a doubt that about five thousand parishes (a moiety of the whole territory of England) have been subjected to the operation of these measures in the space of about one hundred and twenty years; and as little, (however beneficial the division and consequent improvement of this vast territory may have proved to the owners, and to some other classes,) that the change has been a woful one for our peasantry. We believe that the final extinction of the class of small occupiers and crofters has, in almost every instance, followed the division of common field parishes. Several small farms have been consolidated into one; and the little farmer has been either metamorphosed into a cotton-spinner, or, continuing perhaps to occupy his old farm-house without any land attached to it, lingers, as a day labourer, on the soil which he once rented. Similar in character has been the effect of this change upon the condition of the cottager: before the division and inclosure of the district every cottager possessed a common right of some extent,—a right, for instance, to turn out a cow, a pig, a few sheep and geese, upon the wastes of the parish: most of them were in possession of small crofts which supplied the cow with winter fodder; where this did not happen to be the case, the cottager either purchased hay for her keep, or paid for her run in the straw-yard of some neighbouring farmer. Hence it is clear that, under the above system, not only the little farmer, but also the humblest cottager, drew a very considerable portion of his subsistence directly from the land. His cow furnished him with what is invaluable to a labourer,—a store of milk in the summer months ;  
his



his pig, fattened upon the common and with the refuse vegetables of his garden, supplied him with bacon for his winter consumption—and there were poultry besides. It has been very much the fashion to decry the advantages which accrued from the enjoyment of common rights; but to him who has, and who fortunately wants but little, a trifle is of importance. This *trifle* amounted probably to half the subsistence of the man's family;

‘ And buirdly chields and clever hizzies  
Were bred in sic a way as this is.’\*

Here, no doubt, it will be observed, that in every instance an allotment of land was, on the division of the waste, assigned to the owners of common rights: and that an allotment in severalty, if properly attended to and cultivated, must have proved much more valuable to the cottager than what he had lost. If such had been the case, we readily admit that the division could not have proved detrimental to him; but unfortunately this very rarely happened. These allotments were assigned under inclosure acts, not to the occupier, but *the owner* of the cottage; few cottages were in the occupation of their owners; they generally, indeed we may say universally, belonged to the proprietors of the neighbouring farms, and the allotments granted in lieu of the extinguished common rights were generally added to the large farms, and seldom attached to the cottages. The cottages which were occupied by their owners had of course allotments attached to them; but these have by degrees passed by sale into the hands of some large proprietor in the neighbourhood. *De facto*, in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred, the allotment has been detached from the cottage, and thrown into the occupation of some adjoining farmer.

That such a change should have been attended with most important consequences, can excite no surprise in any reflecting mind; so far as it goes, a complete severance has been effected between the English peasantry and the English soil; the little farmers and cottiers of the country have been converted into day labourers, depending entirely upon daily earnings which may, and frequently in point of fact do, fail them. They have now no land upon the produce of which they can fall as a reserve whenever the demand for labour happens to be slack. This revolution is unquestionably the true cause of the heavy and increasing burdens now pressing upon parishes in the form of poor-rates. Independently of all reasoning founded upon general principles, this is a truth capable of being substantiated by a mass of evidence, so clear, and so well authenticated, as to leave no room for doubt.

\* Burns's Two Dogs.

In almost every instance, the increase of poor-rates has kept pace visibly with the progress of inclosures.

Let us come, then, to the facts. In the year 1762, the commons and wastes belonging to the parish of Snettisham, in Norfolk, were divided and inclosed: at that period, forty-one cottagers were found entitled to common rights; and in lieu of each right three acres of land were assigned in severalty. These allotments were gradually taken away from the cottages and thrown into the adjoining farms. In 1804, only ten cottagers remained in the parish occupying land; each of these had from two to ten acres; on this they grew turnips, barley, wheat, and kept cows: and, from the period of the inclosure in 1762 down to 1804, no instance occurred in which any of those who thus occupied small allotments of land had been relieved by the parish, while those who had lost their allotments had become regular pensioners. The parish of Abington Pigots, in Cambridgeshire, was inclosed in 1770. Before the inclosure every poor man had a cow; some by right, others by sufferance; the whole parish was then the property of one individual: on the inclosure, the owners of common rights had allotments assigned to them; but they were soon severed from the cottages and thrown into the adjoining farms. Before the inclosure no poor-rates had been levied—the inhabitants having had much pains to find out an old woman, who would consent to take sixpence a week, in order that they might escape the operation of that clause of the 43d of Elizabeth, which renders a parish, having no poor of its own, liable to be assessed in aid of some adjoining one. The present inhabitants of Abington Pigots are perfectly free from the dilemma which embarrassed their predecessors; they find it no longer necessary to hunt for objects of relief. Ever since the allotments were taken away from the cottagers, the poor-rates have been gradually increasing, and they now bear a very large proportion to the rental.

About the commencement of the last century, the parish of Shottesbrook, in the county of Berks, contained one very large farm—originally the demesne of the lord of the manor,—and several other farms of moderate dimensions; the remainder of the parish was parcelled out among the cottagers, each of whom had a little orchard and a field or two, on the same terms as the neighbouring land was let to the farmers; and was thus enabled to keep a cow, a sow, and poultry of various kinds. At that period not a single farthing was raised in this parish for the maintenance of the poor. Waltham St. Lawrence, a very poor parish, with many rich inhabitants and large land-occupiers, borders upon Shottesbrook. This parish called upon the inhabitants of Shottesbrook to help  
them



them to keep their poor. The farmers of Shottesbrook called a vestry; summoned all the parishioners to attend, and solicited one cottager to accept from the parish a relief of 3s. per week, because he had *nine children* to support. His reply was—'On no account; thank God, I keep my family very well, and would not, on any consideration, be beholden to the parish.' Another was then importuned to accept relief, on the ground that his wife was lame and sickly; he also begged to be excused; and a similar refusal was experienced from all the other cottagers in succession. When driven to the verge of despair by the want of a pauper, they had at last the good luck to overcome the scruples of a venerable dame, nearly one hundred years old, and usually employed in weeding the garden of the lord of the manor; and by this clever contrivance they managed to escape. The condition of Shottesbrook soon experienced a disastrous change: the old owner died, and in 1717, his property, constituting the whole of the parish, passed into the hands of a purchaser, who, either ignorant or regardless of the interests of the poor, took away all their orchards, and converted them into a garden for his own accommodation. Several of the smaller farm-houses and many of the cottages he also demolished, and the land originally attached to the others was taken away and added to the adjoining farms. In the time of the old proprietor, there were thirty houses in the parish; by the new purchaser the number was reduced to twelve. The effect was instantly seen: those who were allowed to remain in their cottages, having now neither orchard nor land, soon became paupers dependant upon the parish for relief; and before one generation had passed away, the rates had advanced to three shillings in the pound.\*

In the year 1798, the poor-rates of North Creek, near Burnham, in Norfolk, did not exceed one shilling and nine-pence in the pound: down to that time a great number of cows were kept by the cottagers upon broad commonable roads in the summer, and furnished with food in the winter by the farmers in their straw-yards; and none of those who kept cows had ever been known to apply to the parish for relief. About this period the farmers began to plough up these commonable roads; and as this species of tillage constantly gained ground, the number of cows was necessarily reduced. It appears by the parish-books that the rates increased in the same proportion that the cows diminished. In the course of seven years they had advanced to three shillings in the pound—at that period a few cows only being still kept by the poor people: a few years afterwards it was found necessary to sell these, and the rates forthwith increased to six

\* Gentleman's Magazine for 1795.

shillings in the pound. In 1818, two labourers still managed to keep one cow each; for this purpose they hired about two acres of land at 30s. per acre; it was cultivated and weeded by the women and children, assisted now and then by the men at extra hours; and this accommodation, in addition to their weekly wages, enabled them to bring up—one man five children, and the other six children, without ever receiving one farthing from the parish. Other labourers, having no cows, received regularly a weekly allowance of two shillings for each child.\*

In the county of Bedford the consolidation of farms has not taken place to the extent in which it has been practised in several districts; but notwithstanding the number of persons occupying land has been diminished within the last seventy years to a very considerable amount. By an assessment made for the relief of the poor in Lidlington, in the year 1758, it appears that the parish contained fifty-eight occupiers of land. Of this number the occupations of twenty-two were inconsiderable in extent, as they were assessed on the average at something less than three pounds per annum each; they were, in fact, the occupiers of cottages having small crofts and common rights appendant to them; but still, although their tenements were thus limited, they were so far from being burdensome to the parish, that they were actual contributors to the rates. The number of occupiers, who might with some propriety be called farmers, did not therefore exceed thirty-six. Such was the state of things in 1758. By the beginning of the year 1801, twelve cottagers had lost their crofts and common rights, and become wholly dependent upon the wages of daily labour; and eleven of the lesser farmers had been, by consolidation, deprived of their farms and reduced to the same condition. Twenty-three cottagers, forming, together with their wives and children, a body of at least one hundred and thirty persons, had thus been added to that portion of the population which was already liable to fall upon the poor-rates; and mark the result. The rise in the assessment kept pace with the increase in the chances of pauperism. In 1758,† the cost of supporting the poor did not exceed sixpence in the pound—in 1801, the rates had risen to four shillings in the pound—since which period they have been annually increasing.

\* In the parish where I reside, says Mr. Hobman, 'the money collected for poor-rates, about 1780, was 50*l.*, and for the year ending Lady-day 1820, the rates amounted to upwards of 600*l.* It will

\* Labourer's Friend, vol. i., p. 4.

† The assessment did not exceed one shilling in the pound; and a moiety of the sum thus raised was expended on various parochial purposes not connected with the poor.

naturally



naturally be inquired what is the reason of this difference. The first and chief reason I apprehend is, that at the former period labourers in general had land attached to their cottages at reasonable rent. Some had sufficient to keep a cow all the year round; and when this was the case, a man lived in no danger of poverty, for where a cow was kept, there was milk for the children, and a good pig was yearly brought up and killed for the use of the family; and nothing looks better in a poor man's house than a pig hung up in the chimney corner. But some had not so much land, having only from a rood to an acre; and even this small parcel was sufficient to keep a man from craving relief from parish officers, for he contrived to manage his ground in such a manner as to live at least rent free. It was no uncommon thing to see a man cultivate his garden after the work of the day was done for his master; his wife and children all happy in lending a helping hand. So far is land attached to cottages from making labourers idle and careless, that I know of no greater stimulus to exertion and industry than it is. I am as certain the poor-rates would be lowered by letting to every labourer an acre of land with his house, as I am of my own existence.\*

The extent to which not only the occupation, but also the proprietorship, of land was carried in ancient times cannot be conceived by those who confine their attention to the present arrangements of society. In the parish of Clapham in Sussex there is a farm called Holt: it contains one hundred and sixty acres, and is now in the occupation of one tenant. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it seems to have been a hamlet in which there were at least twenty-one proprietors of land: we have now lying before us twenty-one distinct conveyances of land in fee, described to be parcels of this hamlet. These documents are in a state of perfect preservation, and bear various dates between the years 1200 and 1400. In 1400 the number of proprietors began to decrease; by the year 1520 it had been reduced to six; in the reign of James I. the six were reduced to two; and soon after the restoration of Charles II. the whole became the property of one owner, who let it as one farm to one occupier. The population resident on this farm, and subsisting upon its produce, between 1200 and 1400, could not have been much less than one hundred persons: the number of persons immediately connected with the tillage of this farm, at the present time, does not probably amount to forty; and—supposing ten of them to belong to the farmer's family,—there are thirty persons deriving no part of their subsistence from the land—except as wages of daily labour. Taking the history of property in this parish as an illustration of the changes which took place contemporaneously in other

\* Labourer's Friend, —Letter, dated 'Banks of the Humber, 1820.'

districts, we are led to the conclusion that the system of consolidating landed property began to come into operation about the close of the fourteenth century; and that it has proceeded gradually and steadily on its course until it has at length reached a point which is not to be considered without the most serious reflections. It is also matter of history that complaints against vagrancy and idleness, and the difficulty of providing for the poor, began for the first time to be heard in this country about the commencement of the fifteenth century; and that these burdens and complaints have, from that period down to the present time, regularly kept pace with the progress of the system of consolidating farms, and abstracting his crofts, curtilages, and common rights from the English cottager.

If we turn to Scotland, we shall perceive that the same causes have there also been followed by similar results. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the system of consolidating small farms was very extensively carried into effect in the counties which border on the Firth of Forth: the ejected peasantry formed a body of wandering mendicants, so numerous and formidable as to threaten the peace of the district; and the celebrated Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, formally proposed their reduction to a state of personal slavery as a remedy for the alarming and pressing evil which the change had occasioned.—In the northern counties, which have been recently reorganised—where the peasantry have been dispossessed, and their farms consolidated and converted into sheep-walks, the landlords are almost annually called upon to make large advances, in some form or other, for the maintenance of the poor; and there is no room for doubt that the burden will become gradually heavier as the population continues to increase, until regular assessments upon the land shall at length be found indispensable. The landlords will no doubt struggle to put off the evil day as long as they can; but, in defiance of all opposition, it will come at last. They can no more prevent this inevitable result of the new system which they have adopted—of dissevering the peasantry from the land—than they can prevent the waters of the Tay from making their way to the ocean.—In the southern counties of Scotland, where the system of consolidating farms has been longer in operation, this consequence has, in a great degree, taken place already: in many parishes, regular assessments for the support of the poor have been found unavoidable, and the practice is daily gaining ground.—To place the peasant in a situation which will make him depend for a certain portion of his subsistence on the produce of the land which he cultivates, is the only guard against the introduction as well as increase of poor-rates.



We have, we are certain, proved to the satisfaction of every reasonable mind, that these rates originated in this country when the people were driven from the cultivation of land on their own account, and left without any share in the produce of the soil, except as labourers hired by others; and it is at this hour universally found in Scotland, that people occupying land, however limited the extent or scanty the produce, never apply for charity—except in extreme cases. In those parts of Scotland where the ancient system of occupying land still continues in full vigour, no regular provision for the poor is requisite.

‘Wherever the inhabitants still hold their lands,’ says General Stewart in his admirable *Sketches of the Highlands*, ‘the funds for the relief of the poor have been stationary. In the Highlands of Perthshire, even in 1816 and 1817, years of unprecedented pressure on the poor—when great sums were subscribed for their support in the south—there was no increased demand beyond what private benevolence supplied.’—(vol. i. App. p. 57.) ‘The districts of Athole and Breadalbane,’ says the same authority, ‘are divided into eleven parishes, and contain a population of 26,480 persons; of which number not more than 364 (taking the average of five years previous to 1819) require relief from the public funds. The extent of this relief cannot be great, as the funds for the support of the poor are supplied by voluntary donations and the interest of a few trifling legacies.’ Accordingly, the annual sum allotted for the above number, on the same average of five years, amounted to 522*l.*, or about twenty-eight shillings to each individual. \* \* \* The continuance of small farms allows to a very great proportion of the people a share in the produce of the earth: hence they feel no abject poverty, although subjected, of course, like other parts of the kingdom, to the difficulties arising from bad crops, depreciated produce, and other causes. So great a proportion of the people having a permanent support, they are able to assist the destitute without the smallest call upon landlords.’—vol. i. p. 188. (3d edition.)

We beg not to be misunderstood:—we are far from imputing the evil consequences which we have detailed to the measure itself, but to the manner in which it has been carried into effect. If, on every inclosure, an allotment of land in severalty had been laid to every cottage, and *strictly preserved from subsequent alienation*, we feel convinced that the change would have proved no less beneficial to the labourer, than to the public. The idle and negligent habits which a residence near extensive commons sometimes encouraged among the peasantry, would have been repressed; the roving disposition of the possessor of common rights would have been exchanged for the regular industry of the crofter; and the wastes and commons of the country would have been brought into tillage without detriment to any class of society.

society. There is nothing, however, which the peasantry do abhor so heartily as the inclosure of a common, or the cultivation of a waste; and, as these matters are generally managed, they are right in this feeling: as a class, they are sure in the end to be injured by the measure, because the allotments given them, in lieu of their common rights, are destined sooner or later to disappear. An improvident disposition; a hard season; or a fit of illness, forces the cottager to part with his allotment, even where he happens to be the owner of the cottage which he occupies: it passes into the hands of some large proprietor in the vicinity, and is annexed to some adjoining farm, and the man becomes henceforward a pauper. His allotment in severalty is a vendible property, of which his more opulent neighbours are ever on the watch to obtain possession; but his common rights, while they remained, were secure, not only against the encroachments of others, but also against his own improvidence. Had these allotments been made a species of endowment, permanently and inalienably attached to the cottages, the agricultural peasantry would, in the end, have derived more benefit from the inclosure and improvement of wastes than any other class.

'There yet remains in our village,' observes John Denson (a cottager occupying a small allotment of land at Waterbeach, in Cambridgeshire), 'a number of small proprietors and occupiers—fifty perhaps—each of whom is able to pay his rent, employ his family, keep his individuals well fed and clothed, pay his tradesmen, purchase his weekly-wanted shop-things; in short, can make himself and family comparatively comfortable, and add to the comfort of others. Now, let us suppose that one of the fifty, by some means, gets to be the proprietor or occupier of the whole, the consequences would be—he would no longer have any sympathy for the forty-nine: he probably would build himself a stately mansion—keep his gig—purchase more of the luxuries of life; but the forty-nine—aye the fallen forty-nine—what would become of them? Why they would, in part, be dependent upon the parish. This is the system that has been going on, until the land belonging to whole villages has got into the hands of two or three individuals; a portion of which land, either great or small, was in the possession of almost every inhabitant.'

This is the language of a man of strong talents, who belongs to the class of our agricultural peasantry. When such people begin to write, and write so well, on such subjects—it may be time for theorists to look about them.

'The man (he continues) that, under such circumstances, pretends to be surprised at the increase of the poor-rates, of crime, or of disaffection, must be either a fool, a knave, or an hypocrite.'

In agricultural districts, the increase of crime has regularly kept



kept pace with the enlargement of farms and the reduction of the number of cottages having allotments of land attached to them. As the crofts and cows of the agricultural labourer have disappeared, gaols, houses of correction, and penitentiaries, have been multiplied, enlarged, and filled to overflowing; and the once peaceable, contented, and happy inhabitant of an agricultural cottage, has been converted into the demoralized and ferocious inmate of a prison, or a workhouse. Studiously severed as the agricultural peasantry have been from the soil which they cultivate, systematically deprived of every resource which could have rendered them independent of the parish, their interests have long ceased to be what they once were, identical with those of their employers: whom they regard *not* as benefactors, and whose property they are much more ready to injure than to protect. 'In the Highlands of Scotland,' says General Stewart, 'where the farms are small, and where, until a comparatively recent period, every person occupied a little land, the convicted criminals in seventy years, including periods the most turbulent and lawless, and taken from a population of three hundred and ninety-four thousand souls, did not exceed ninety-one, while the number of criminals convicted in one year, 1817, at the Spring Assizes at Lancaster, was eighty-six; and yet the agricultural parts of the neighbouring county of Westmoreland, and some counties in Wales, where every person holds some portion of land, equal any part of the empire in morality and exemption from crime.\*' This is also true of those parts of Lincolnshire where very nearly all cottagers occupy a certain extent of land, and keep cows. 'We hear,' said an aged countryman to a gentleman who spoke to him on the subject, at the Horsham assizes, in 1818, 'people talk about the times getting better; for my part, I think they get much worse: fifty years ago, I had occasion to attend the spring assizes, then held at East Grinstead, when and where there were only three men and one woman to take their trials; and here, I understand, there are fifty, notwithstanding the extensively increased means of education that have been in use, more or less, the last twenty years.'

'On the system now too generally pursued,' observes, once more, John Denson, of Waterbeach, 'it is evident that it is impossible for a labourer's earnings to be adequate to his demands: they are allowed to be no more than shall keep him merely in existence; and when deductions are made for house-rent, firing, &c., his income is not equal to what is allowed to a felon! So that men are better paid for plunder than for habits of industry! Then, I say again, it

\* Sketches of the Highlands, vol. i. p. 241.

is not to me a matter of surprise that our gaols are crowded.\* Labourers are a decried people; there is no sympathy existing between the employer and employed; the link is broken that bound them together; the labourer has no longer his employer's interest at heart; he becomes an eye-servant: his conduct is regulated by the opinions of those of his own class, alike oppressed; and *nothing but the poor-rates prevent an open rupture between them and the farmers.* The honest, upright character, whose spirit and independence remain unbroken, whose greatest desire is and whose greatest glory it would be, if they would allow him, to support himself and his family by the sweat of his brow and the toil of his limbs, is rapidly becoming more rare; and, till the moral causes—the political causes—of such decrease are removed, the clergy may preach, statesmen may declaim, the puritans may inundate every village with religious tracts—it will be but useless kicking against the pricks. Notwithstanding all this exertion, shall our county gaolers have much employ, and our hulks be well manned. Imbued with the first and leading principles of morality (which every man has in his breast), attentive to their duties and their callings, in native purity and quiet, the peasantry of times not far remote passed their days blessing the spot “where humble happiness endeared each scene;” and if they asked who reigned or ruled, it was but to feel gratified to such ruler for the joy they shared. This state of things no longer exists. They have become more vicious—are in a state of wretchedness—and, in consequence, are *striving politically to learn the cause of their altered state.*

\* Give me leave further to observe to you the effects this system of regulating the price of labour by what the magistrates allow, has upon the labourers. I will pass over the single man and single woman, and confine myself to a man, his wife, and infant family of four children. This family are entitled to receive, from their labour or from the parish, the price of twelve quarterns, or 9s. 6d. per week—(the price of the quartern loaf when this was written was 9½d.) It is now hay-time, and last week the price of labour was raised to 9s. per week; consequently he is dependent upon the parish for 6d. per week, and for all loss of time on account of wet days. Grant that the wife goes into the field and earns 2s. or 3s. per week—they thus become independent of the parish: and, further, grant that their united exertions during hay-time and harvest enable them to procure a few indispensable domestic matters—the most that it will do—there still remain house-rent, firing, and shoemaker's bill, which together cannot amount to less than 10l. a-year, to be deducted out of an annual income of 26l., so that there remain but 16l. or very little more than 1s. a head per week for them to live upon—but little more than a halfpenny a meal!

\* In the districts where the cottager has been deprived of every fragment of land, and the allowance system has been brought into complete action, it is a common practice among the peasantry to commit some act of poaching, or other misdemeanour, in order to ensure being sent to gaol during the winter months: they greatly prefer this either to the workhouse or the parish allowance.



'We have heard of the hardships endured by the West Indian slaves, can they surpass the hardships endured by the British labourers? Yet these are the men to whom, under Divine Providence, we owe the bread we eat. These are the people who fight our battles, and who constitute the prosperity and stability of our country: *they suffer in silence*; they have not the means of making their voices heard—but, believe me, they are not insensible of their situation; their groans, if not "loud, are deep;" and but small as are their incomes when necessitated to apply, the parish funds have prevented them from proceeding to acts of open violence. *Think you, if they had no poor-laws to protect them when out of employ, that they would—that they could, suffer their wives and little ones to perish with hunger?* Let every one whose eyes this may meet supply his own answer. I mention these things, because there are to be found those who are so destitute of sympathy for the labouring portion of the community as to be hostile to the poor-laws, and to wish to annul them altogether.'—

Enough has been said to shew the vastness of the change which has silently and almost imperceptibly taken place in the condition of our agricultural peasantry: a change more important in its character, and incalculably more pregnant with consequences, than any political or social revolution that has ever been brought about either in this or any other country. In every community, however rich and prosperous, the class subsisting by the labour of the hands and sweat of the brow, must at all times, and in all places, be the most numerous; it forms the base upon which all the institutions of the country rest for support; if this base become deteriorated—cankered to its very core, the whole political and social fabric must inevitably be exposed to dangerous, perhaps even fatal, convulsions. In a country, where every subject almost is daily canvassed, discussed, or lectured upon, it is really surprising that our rural administration should have hitherto attracted so little attention: public prosperity or adversity is the aggregate result of combinations which must be sought for in the recesses of a countless number of local districts.

The change which took place in the rural economy of Italy subsequently to the age of the republic was one powerful cause of the decline and final fall of the Roman empire. The soil had ceased to be parcelled out in fragments among a numerous host of frugal cultivators, knit to the prosperity of their country by the strong ties of interest and affection. The contracted farms of the early Romans had been gradually consolidated; the ownership of the soil had fallen into a few hands, and the cultivation of it devolved upon slaves. The original basis on which the magnificent fabric of her power was reared, being thus destroyed, no wonder that Rome herself,

'With heaviest sound, a giant-statue, fell.'

It

It became necessary to entrust the defence of the empire to an army not composed, as in ancient times, of a body of voluntary recruits, drawn from the class of cultivators, and bound to the territory by love as well as interest; but to a host of foreign mercenaries, ready to sell their services to the best-bidder. Italy no longer contained a reserve of hardy husbandmen-citizens willing, if necessary, to hazard their lives in defending the produce of the fields which they had tilled. As soon, therefore, as the hiring legions were routed, her fair fields lay open and defenceless before the invaders, who had only to march to the spoil and take possession.

Wherever the same causes are brought into operation, neither experience nor philosophy will warrant us in anticipating a different result. The changes which have taken place and are still in progress in this country, if not checked and counteracted in time, may lead to a similar crisis. Already, in some districts of Great Britain the farms do not, in extent, fall very short of the '*latifundia*,' in which Pliny foresaw the ruin of Rome; and the condition of the class of labourers in these particular districts is not such as to render it very probable that they are much more attached, either to their native soil or their employers, than were in ancient times the slave-cultivators of Italy. The fabric of British power may be safe against any foreign attack: it may not, perhaps, fall under the assaults of a host of savage barbarians emerging from their steppes and forests; but is it equally secure against internal commotions? In such an emergency, we are really afraid that in many districts of this country it would be unsafe to expect much assistance from the loyal feelings of the agricultural peasantry: there seems to be but too much reason to fear that they might be as ready to abet as to resist any outbreak of violence. There remains, we shall be told, a great and gallant standing army. It should not be forgotten, however, that every standing army must be raised and recruited among the labouring classes; and that, in the long run, feelings and opinions generally and permanently adopted among these can hardly fail to spread among bands necessarily composed of their sons and brothers.

Many writers on our internal economy contend that the condition of the labouring classes is not deteriorated, *because* (say they) their money-wages, taken on an average of years, and measured by the command which they give of commodities, are now equal to their earnings during earlier periods of our history. We are satisfied that even this matter is considerably overstated; in order, however, to avoid discussing it in this place, let us admit it to be true. And what then? Is it to go for nothing, that the agricultural labourer of former times enjoyed incidental advantages, alto-



gether independent of his money-wages, and of which his successors are deprived? We have already dwelt upon the common rights; we must now advert to another advantage which this class formerly possessed, and have now lost. At a period not very remote, the manufactures of this country were entirely domestic; there were no large establishments in which mechanical contrivances had supplanted human labour. In the farm-houses and cottages of the country were fabricated almost every article of clothing which their occupiers required. At that time, a family, instead of being a burden, was an actual relief to the labourer. With the exception of the few first years of infancy, his children did not depend entirely upon his daily wages for support. At a very early age, they began to contribute something towards their own maintenance: the sons soon went out as domestic servants among the farmers; and the daughters, who could not be disposed of in a similar manner, were profitably employed at home in manufacturing industry: the cottage sheltered no full-grown females, either eating into the father's hard and scanty earnings, or deriving, as it too often happens in modern times, a degrading subsistence from some polluted source. But the introduction of machinery has not merely diminished, it has utterly annihilated, this domestic manufacture.

'The wheel is silent in the vale.'

From the industry of his family, however willing to work, the agricultural labourer can now expect no assistance: all the inmates of his cottage depend upon him for support: they can make no contribution towards the common consumption; and the consequence—the inevitable consequence is, parish relief, misery, crime.

'It is,' observes an intelligent writer thoroughly conversant with the condition of the agricultural population,—'it is a melancholy fact, that, without any particular habits of dissoluteness on the part of the poor, the labourers of many parts of the country may be truly said to be at this time in a wretched situation. The scarcity of fuel, and *above all, the failure of spinning work for the women and children*, have put it almost out of the power of the village poor to live by their industry; and have unfortunately broken that independent spirit which formerly kept a labourer from the parish.'

In comparing the state of our peasantry at different periods, we must clearly include all the circumstances affecting their condition. And taking into view not the wages of labour alone, but also the advantages accruing from common rights and the occupation of a little land, and the earnings of the members of the cottager's

\* Papers of the Bath and West of England Society. Vol. vii. p. 212.

family employed in manufacturing industry—we certainly entertain no doubt that the condition of the class of persons engaged in agricultural labour is infinitely less independent and comfortable now than it was at any previous period of our history.

The effect of this change is universally felt and seen: nowhere, perhaps, more heavily or lamentably than in its ruthless pressure upon the female offspring of the peasantry. During the summer months, they obtain some work in the fields of a stranger—too often

‘Associate with the rude and ribald clown,  
Even in the shrinking prudency of youth’—

but, in the winter, however industriously disposed, they are utterly destitute of any employment whatever: their only resources are, therefore, parish relief, pilfering, or prostitution.

‘Parental love is smitten to the dust—  
Over a little smoke the aged sire  
Holds his pale hands, and the deserted hearth  
Is cheerless as his heart.——’

We are told that, ‘in the parish of Bremhill, containing a population of about fourteen hundred persons, and six thousand acres of land, thirty or forty (some naturally well disposed) young women make a compromise with the overseers, and struggle through the long winter (having no employment whatever) on eighteenpence a week.’†

The gross and unaccountable delusions which have been propagated with so much industry, with regard to the condition of the peasantry, render us anxious to avail ourselves of every fair opportunity to place the subject in what we consider a proper light before the public. If we could consent to follow in the current of public opinion, we should join in the declamations which have been poured forth against the poor-laws, and ascribe to their operation the injurious change which is acknowledged to have taken place in the circumstances, habits, and dispositions of the labouring classes. But, without returning on ground over which we have often travelled already; without defending all the enactments or provisions which this code contains; without denying that, in many cases, they may have been ignorantly, carelessly, aye, and even corruptly administered—we must still contend that the change which has taken place, within a period not exceeding a century, in the character and habits of the

\* Bowles's *Days Departed*, (3d Edit.)—a strange performance, deficient in plan, and unequal in execution, but containing many golden passages, both descriptive and didactic.

† History of Bremhill, p. 24. While we admire the author's genius, and revere his motives, and borrow his facts, we must disclaim all participation in many of the reasonings and views embodied in this very interesting volume.



British peasantry, did *not* arise from *any* operation of these laws, but from the influence of events which rendered the introduction of some system, to intervene between the peasant, denuded of his ancient resources, and starvation, not only a measure of humanity, but one of absolute necessity. If we should even admit that it was upon the whole beneficial, not only to the proprietors of land but also to the public at large, that the cottagers of this country should have been deprived of the crofts and common-rights which they occupied under the ancient system—we must still insist that, on equitable as well as moral grounds, the peasantry became entitled to a compensation for the advantages which they were called upon to relinquish:—*entitled*, we say,—to draw from the general produce of the parish an equivalent for that portion of their subsistence which, under the older and, as we conceive, the incalculably better system, would have been derived from the cultivation of their own gardens and crofts. This change has placed the peasantry in a new relation with respect to the rest of the community. They have been called upon to sacrifice a certain independence, on the plea that it would benefit, not themselves, but the rest of the community—the *public*, we believe, is, in these cases, when particular classes are sacrificed, the proper phrase:—the rest of the community—the *public*—having exacted the sacrifice, must now pay the penalty. But without entangling ourselves and our readers in moral refinements, let us take the fact as it stands before us. The wives and children of a very large proportion of the agricultural peasantry of this country are now dependent, not upon the produce of gardens and crofts cultivated and cropped by their own industry—not upon the fruits of their own labour, for no field is open to them on which this labour may be bestowed—not upon the wages of the head of the family, for these are barely sufficient to satisfy his own urgent wants—but upon an allowance granted them by the parish. This custom, whether legal or illegal, is become the established practice of numerous and extensive districts; and *of those districts only*, in which the farms have been consolidated, and the ancient crofts detached from the cottages.

We now request the attention of our readers to the present condition of the agricultural labourers in those districts where, either from humanity or sound and enlightened views of policy, the proprietors have continued to indulge them with the occupation of a small quantity of land. In many parts of Lincolnshire, and Rutlandshire more especially, most of the cottagers occupy some portion of land—not to an extent which makes them little farmers, and renders it necessary for them to keep horses, but enough to enable them to keep a cow or two, a pig, sheep, and poultry.

poultry. We have, in a previous Number, adverted to the condition and management of the cottage labourer on the late Lord Winchilsea's property in Rutlandshire. He did not claim the merit of having introduced any new system upon this property: it was of ancient standing, and in full operation when he succeeded to the estate, and he merely continued to uphold a social arrangement which he found to be productive of the happiest effects. The same arrangement continues to be cherished and supported by the present owner of the estate. One of the excellencies of this mode of increasing the comforts of the poor, or rather of enabling them to provide for their own comforts, is the circumstance that it requires no sacrifice on the part of the landowner. The cottagers in Lincolnshire and Rutlandshire generally hold their little tenements not of the farmer, but directly from the owner. This rescues them from all slavish and injurious dependence upon the farmer; but beyond that, they derive no advantage from this circumstance. They pay an adequate rent for their cottages, and hire the land on the same terms as land of similar qualities would be let to the neighbouring farmers. The management of this little demesne never, we believe, for one hour interieres with the necessary occupation of the labourer: it is managed principally by his wife and younger children. The labourer himself no doubt bestows upon his little tenement some extra labour after his daily task is over, or occasionally the labour of a few whole days, whenever he can be spared, with the least inconvenience, from the work of his regular employer. The effect is all that the most benevolent heart could desire. A more comfortable, contented, and moral peasantry does not, we believe, exist on the face of the globe. The farmers are enabled to command the constant services of an industrious, regular, and faithful body of labourers; and, in the more busy seasons of spring and harvest, the families of the cottagers furnish an occasional supply of extra assistants always at hand. Long experience has convinced the inhabitants of Burley-on-the-Hill, Hambleton, Egleton, and Greetham, that the only means of keeping a labourer with a large family off the parish-books, is to let him land enough to keep a cow or two. This expedient has been repeatedly tried, and uniformly found successful. In 1798, a labouring man, having a wife and several young children, appeared likely to become burdensome to one of these parishes. It was universally agreed, that the only probable means of warding off the burden about to fall on the parish, was to furnish the cottager with a cow. The landlord supplied him with land at a fair rent, and added a few outbuildings to his cottage. A sufficient



sufficient sum of money to purchase a cow, he obtained, either by way of loan or donation, among the neighbouring farmers; and he was thus enabled to pay his rent, and support himself and his family, without receiving a farthing from the parish. Some time afterwards a similar instance occurred in the same district. A labourer, having a large family, and on the point of becoming chargeable to the parish, was supplied with a cow and land in lieu of relief: he brought up a large family without parochial assistance, and acquired the means of purchasing a second cow solely from his own savings. Indeed, the greater number of the cottagers in the above parishes have more than one cow.

'The fact is,' says the late excellent Sir Thomas Bernard, 'that in every instance as soon as the cottager has got one cow, all the efforts of the family are directed to the attainment of the means to purchase another and another; so that some who begin with one cow ultimately succeed in acquiring four or five. It might be apprehended, and indeed the objection has been raised by theorists, that such an increase of property would induce them to trust to the produce of their cows and gardens for the sole support of themselves and families, and cease to depend upon their daily labour for subsistence—being transformed into little starving farmers, from opulent and thriving labourers. But the fact is directly the reverse. Such are the beneficial effects of early and steady habits of industry, that these proprietors of cows are invariably found the most industrious and trusty labourers. The education of their children to husbandry, to the management of cattle, and of a dairy, and to every occupation that can fit them for the service of a farmer, is a very important advantage of this system; and if there were no other benefit from it but that of adapting and habitually preparing the rising generation for the most useful and necessary employment in the island, this alone would produce an abundant compensation for every effort and attention that has been or may be directed to the subject. They are not only stout, healthy, clean, well clothed, and educated in regular and principled habits; but they are used to almost every part of their business from the earliest period of life; every inhabitant of the cottage being from infancy so interested in their cow, their pig, their sheep, and their garden, as to imbibe at a very early age all the material information and habits on those subjects.'<sup>26</sup>

The demeanour of these peasantry is in every respect most exemplary; depredations and trespasses upon the property of the farmers are unknown; and from this district few, if any, are ever sent to swell the list of criminals committed to the county gaol.

'The labourer,' observes the same author, 'who has property, however small,—a cow, or even the crop of his garden—has an interest in the welfare and tranquillity of the country, and in

\* Report of Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, vol. ii.

the good order of society. He who has no property is always ready for novelty and experiment; the gibbet and halter may for a time deter him from criminal and atrocious acts, yet no motive exists to fix him in virtuous habits, or to attach him to that national prosperity in which he has no part, and to that constituted order of property which excludes him from all possession.'

The influence of the system on the rates of these parishes will appear in a very clear light from the following account.

| Rutlandshire.              | Money expended in the support of the Poor in |       |        |        | Amount of Rental assessed to Property Tax in 1815. | Amount of Poor-Rate per £. Rent in 1815. |
|----------------------------|--|-------|--------|--------|--|--|
|                            | 1776   | 1783  | 1803   | 1815   |  |  |
| Hambleton . . . .          | £. 51  | £. 44 | £. 143 | £. 132 | £. 4760  | 6d.                                      |
| Egleton . . . . .          | 24   | 29    | 70     | 104    | 1893   | 13d.                                     |
| Greetham . . . . .         | 61   | 54    | 160    | 219    | 2993   | 21d.                                     |
| Burley-on-the-Hill .       | 11   | 13    | 67     | 51     | 4622   | 3d.                                      |
| Total of the four parishes | 147  | 140   | 440    | 506    | 14,468   | 9d.                                      |

In Burley, the allotment system has been acted on for centuries, and continues to the present hour in all its purity; and the result is, that in a parish containing very nearly four thousand acres of land, fifty-one pounds per annum, or about threepence per acre, is found an adequate provision for all its destitute poor. The highest rate (Greetham) does not amount to more than one shilling and ninepence; nor does the average on the whole four parishes exceed ninepence in the pound-rent!

By way of a contrast, we shall place before our readers the state of four parishes, where the labourers are permitted to occupy no land; where the wife and children of the working peasant have no employment; and where the allowance system appears to advance with rapid strides towards its consummation.

| Sussex.              | Money expended in the support of the Poor in |        |         |         | Amount of Rental assessed to Property Tax in 1815. | Amount of Poor-Rate per £. Rent in 1815. |
|----------------------|--|--------|---------|---------|--|--|
|                      | 1776   | 1783   | 1803    | 1815    |  |  |
| Burwash . . . . .    | £. 470                                       | £. 596 | £. 1520 | £. 3391 | £. 5513  | 12s.                                     |
| Mayfield . . . . .   | 518  | 937    | 2387    | 3689    | 8939   | 8s.                                      |
| Shipley . . . . .    | 443  | 544    | 2267    | 2200    | 4020   | 11s.                                     |
| West Grinstead . . . | 417  | 564    | 1639    | 2112    | 4228   | 10s.                                     |
|                      | 1848   | 2641   | 7813    | 11392   | 22700  | 10s. 3d.                                 |



In these parishes, selected at random from a great number of others similarly circumstanced in Sussex, it appears that the poor-rate averaged more than half the rent in 1815: since that period the ratio has become still more unfavourable to the landowner; the rates have been gradually advancing; whilst the amount of rent has, in the same proportion, been falling off. It is, we apprehend, impossible to place in a clearer light the immense superiority of the croft and cow system of Rutland and Lincolnshire, over the allowance and workhouse system of the southern and eastern counties.

It is not (says Sir T. Bernard) the pulling down of an unnecessary hovel, the premature repetition of a crop of corn, or the ploughing up a slip of pasture ground (the usual objects of the impeachment of waste), that is the subject of consideration; but it is the relaxation of the nerve of the country—the destruction of the power of cultivating the land—the conversion of the strength and energy of a people into weakness and debility, and the exchange of its means of wealth and prosperity for sources of enormous and increasing expense. When the habit is acquired of applying to the parish, and the daily earnings of the labourer, without additional resources, are inadequate to the support of his family, no inducement is left for him to exert his best abilities and industry. If the amount is to be the same in all cases, how can it be expected that they will toil merely to lessen the parish rates? The lamentable fact is, that an indolent habit has been thus superinduced, and labourers do not exert themselves as they did formerly. Their spirit is so broken down by circumstances that they grow reconciled to the idea of being paupers, and relying on parish relief, in preference to the more valuable and more honourable exertions of their own industry. The alarming consequence of this is, that the poor-rates through the country have increased, and are increasing, to a degree that may well excite the fears of all who are interested in the fate of landed property.

The evil of the extinction of that character of independence which the English labourer did once so pre-eminently possess, and by which the community has been so greatly benefited, is not to be easily estimated. There is too much reason to fear that, without great exertions from the *landowners* to restore the labourer to his former honourable state, either by assisting him with a cow and ground to keep her, or by some other effectual incitement to exertion and industry, *they will not remain stationary at their present point of deterioration.* Unless they improve they will become worse; their inclination to indolence, and to those vices which are connected with it, will increase; their demands upon their respective parishes will become more urgent; and the poor-rates will so increase, that tenants will no longer be able to bear the expenses attendant upon the occupation of their farms. The proprietors may then discover not only the difficulty and disadvantage of occupying their lands themselves, but that, in a parish encumbered

with

with paupers, the land may prove insufficient to the maintenance of the parochial poor.\*

As the law now stands—(and it is reasonable and indeed unavoidable that it should stand so—at least in principle)—the whole labouring population, wherever they have been excluded from the land, must be maintained out of the aggregate produce of the different parishes to which they belong. The only practical question which, therefore, presents itself to our consideration, is the mode in which this fund of labour may be turned to the best account. The prevailing system is to support this class on the least possible quantity of produce which can be made to maintain them, consenting to receive from them the least return of labour which they are capable of supplying. Even when actually employed, the labourer scarcely performs half what he is capable of executing: he studies not how to render his services as productive as possible to his employer, but how to get through a given number of hours with the smallest amount of labour. Under this thriftless and pernicious management it is not too much to assert that half the power of labour in this country is absolutely wasted: the whole time of the females and juvenile members of the labourer's family,—the extra hours at his own command, after his regular day's work is finished,—the many whole days, and parts of days, when his regular occupation is interrupted by bad weather,—are now entirely lost.

'There is no better way,' says Mr. Sabatier, 'to encourage the poor, than by inducing them to collect all their waste time in cultivating a small piece of land, and to make use of all their dirt and rubbish to manure it; to do which effectually, it must be contiguous to the cottage. The object should be to employ the wife and children at times when they would otherwise be idle. A cottager, who works for daily wages, has now and then an hour or two to spare in the long days; and by weather, partly wet and partly fine, at all seasons. These, if he had an allotment of land, he might be induced to employ: it is, in short, that kind of work which Dr. Franklin advises all persons to keep by them, because it may be taken up and laid down at any time; when this is not the case, these scraps of time are spent in lounging about, or else at the alehouse.'†

There are few questions in rural economy which have been more frequently discussed than the proper division and size of farms; one party, dwelling exclusively upon moral and political considerations, pronounces decisively in favour of small farms—while the other party, looking principally, if not exclusively, to the profits of the cultivator, is equally vehement in recom-

\* Reports of Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor.

† A Treatise on Poverty: its Consequences and Remedy.



mending larger occupations. An unprejudiced person would perhaps be disposed to place himself midway between these contending partisans. It would seem that the arrangement of an estate or district can then only be said to have reached perfection, when each farm is of sufficient size to furnish constant employment to the teams required for its tillage, and not so extensive as to withdraw any part of the work executed upon it from the immediate superintendence of the occupier himself. Upon each farm of these moderate dimensions should be settled a number of cottagers, sufficient to render all the assistance which the occupier might want even in the busiest seasons; and to each cottage should be attached as much land as would furnish its inmates with abundant manual employment whenever their services were not called for by the farmer. Under such an arrangement nothing would be lost; there would be no extra horses, idle half the year; no idle cottagers subsisting upon produce which they had not contributed to raise; every muscle capable of exertion would be constantly in a state of productive activity; there would be no farmers depending, during the busy and critical season of harvest, upon the exertions of casual vagrants from other districts—or other countries; and no able-bodied labourer would ever be forced to seek parish relief.

With very little address and perseverance we have no manner of doubt that such an arrangement might be gradually established in every English parish, and greatly to the mutual advantage of the landowners and the labourers in husbandry. If some change be not effected, and that very speedily, in the internal management of those parishes into which the allowance-system has found its way, no man can for a moment doubt, that at no very distant period the whole rental of the land will be absorbed by the rates. In many parishes of this description the rates already amount to two-thirds of the rent. In some instances they even exceed the whole rental of the land. The rates are steadily increasing; it is, therefore, perfectly clear that if no means can be devised to check the progressive advance, the surplus of the landlord will ultimately disappear. Such is the certain and inevitable punishment which awaits the mistaken policy of those who have diserved the peasantry from the land, and deprived them of their ancient crofts and allotments. As long as the labouring classes are thus excluded from the soil—no improvement in the administration,—no alteration, even in the principle of the poor laws,—no human power or ingenuity can avert the consequence. That the population of parishes alleged already to have a superabundant body of labourers will continue to increase, admits of no doubt; and if the number of hands absorbed by tillage do not increase in an equal ratio, the

the proportion of idle hands will become greater, and the pressure upon the rates heavier, until, at length, the whole surplus produce of each parish will be but barely sufficient to maintain the unemployed paupers. An agrarian law will thus become virtually established, and the labouring classes will take possession of the land from which they are now excluded.

But what is the remedy? 'Mortgage the poor-rates, and raise funds to remove this excess to Canada.' This might, perhaps, answer for a very few years; but 'the vacuum,' we fear, would soon be filled up; the number removed would be replaced; and, at no distant period, a second removal, and, consequently, a second mortgage, would become necessary. This succession of removals and mortgages would require, we fear, to be repeated, until at last no surplus revenue would remain to mortgage: the rent of the land would thus be annihilated. 'Check the increase of population'—as well might an attempt be made to stop up the current of the Thames; the puny efforts of men can do but little to counteract the effects of one of the strongest and most powerful of nature's laws.

The manufactures of this country no longer offer a resource for the superabundant hands not absorbed by agriculture. The only alternative, therefore, seems to be the application of this increasing force to the cultivation of their native soil. If we can neither remove nor diminish the population of a district, let us attempt what is still better than either—to augment the produce. In this way one thing is certain—that *no harm can be done*; and we observe with satisfaction the growing strength of an impression that some great effort must be made to render the land of this country an available source of productive employment to the labouring population. Convinced by what he saw elsewhere, as well as by partial experiments on his own property, of the beneficial tendency of the system of attaching small allotments of land to cottages, the late Lord Brownlow determined to adopt it generally on every part of his extensive estates; he eventually allotted between five and six acres of land to each of his cottagers—in number about five hundred. The occupiers pay for these allotments the same rent as the neighbouring farmers pay for land of the same quality; and this has made them so comfortable and independent, that the whole body does not contain an individual who would not resent the mention of parish assistance as a disgrace and an insult. The present Bishop of Bath and Wells divided a considerable portion of the glebe land, belonging to a benefice which he formerly held in Cambridgeshire, among a certain number of the more industrious labourers of the parish. So well satisfied was the reverend prelate with the result of this parochial arrangement, that  
when





reverses; and the produce of their allotment, being mostly green crops, is less exposed to casualties from the seasons than the corn crops of the farmer. The manifest advantages derived from this system have gradually paved the way for its more general adoption; profiting by the lessons of experience, many parishes in different parts of the country have recently introduced it in the hope that it would prove the means of lessening the pressure of the poor-rates. Some years back the farmers of Dauntsey, in Wiltshire, let to the labourers of the parish who had large families three acres of land each, at 2*l.* per acre; and soon afterwards, the late Lord Peterborough built a barn which he lent them to thresh their corn in. The consequence was, that each of these cottagers immediately ceased to be burdensome to the parish; they brought up their families honestly and industriously without any eleemosynary assistance; and they even contributed to the rates which were raised for the relief of the aged and infirm poor. At Box, on a piece of land which a benevolent lady had bequeathed for the use of the poor;—at Great Somerford, and at Barford (three other parishes in Wiltshire), the same practice has been adopted; and, as we are given to understand, with, in every instance, the same happy result. We could mention various other districts in which the plan has been successfully tried. We apprehend, however, that enough has been said to call the attention of our readers to this mode—the only certain mode—of improving the condition of the labouring poor, and preventing the whole surplus produce of our soil from being absorbed by the rates. Upon the owners of land really falls the pressure of the poor-rates; and, after the most mature consideration which we have been enabled to give the subject, we can come to no other conclusion than that the means of remedying the evil rest in their own hands. The application of this remedy is their interest as well as duty. It is their duty towards the labouring classes to let them, for a fair rent, a sufficient quantity of land to employ their unoccupied and leisure time; this is a natural and unavoidable condition attached to the appropriation of land. It is also their interest, for if they neglect the discharge of this duty—the fulfilment of this condition—a punishment will fall upon them from which there can be no escape; they will be compelled to support in idleness, out of the portion of the produce of the soil which falls to their share as owners, those able-bodied labourers who, if permitted to do so, would by industry raise for themselves a frugal subsistence. The advantages which accrue to an industrious labourer from the occupation of a small allotment of land, exceed even the belief



lief of those who have only read of such matters in cities, or form their opinion respecting the productiveness of the earth from the crops which they see in the fields of the monopolizing farmer; and that we may not be accused of theorizing upon a subject which ought to rest upon experiment and proof, we shall adduce—*medio ex acervo*—one or two examples. In a very interesting communication sent to Lord Carrington, while president of the Board of Agriculture, the late Sir Henry Vavasour wrote thus:

“I have had the honour of mentioning to your Lordship the advantages that appeared to me in cultivating land in the Flemish manner, or what is now called, about Fulham and that neighbourhood, the field-gardening husbandry. I have for some years encouraged my cottagers in Yorkshire in this mode of managing their small garths, or gardens, which are in general from one to three acres; and I have now an opportunity of stating the husbandry of a poor industrious cottager's garth. The man's name is Thomas Rook; as he can neither read nor write, these particulars have been transmitted to me from his own mouth; and as I saw his land almost every day during the last harvest, I can vouch that this account is not far from the truth.

| Quantity of land.   |    |    |  | Value. |      |      |
|---|----|----|--|--------|------|------|
| A.  | R. | P. | Produce.   | £.     | s.   | d.   |
| 0   | 2  | 0  | 240 bushels of potatoes                                    | -      | 24   | 0 0  |
| 0   | 1  | 0  | 60 ditto of carrots  | -      | 6    | 0 0  |
| 0   | 3  | 20 | 5 quarters of oats, at 44s. per quarter                    | 11     | 0    | 0    |
| 1   | 0  | 0  | 4 loads of clover, part in hay, part cut green             | 12     | 0    | 0    |
| 0   | 0  | 20 | Turnips  | -      | 1    | 0 0  |
| 0   | 0  | 30 | Garden-stuff for family; viz., beans, pease, cabbages, &c. | -      | -    | -    |
| <hr/>   |    |    |  | <hr/>  |      |      |
| 3   | 0  | 0  | Gross Produce  | £54    | 0    | 0    |
| <hr/>   |    |    |  | <hr/>  |      |      |
| Deduct:   |    |    |  |        |      |      |
| { Rent of cottage and land  |    |    |  | -      | 9    | 0 0  |
| { Seeds   |    |    |  | -      | 3    | 0 0  |
| { Labour  |    |    |  | -      | 10   | 10 0 |
| <hr/>   |    |    |  | <hr/>  |      |      |
| Expenses of Tillage   |    |    |  | -      | £22  | 10 0 |
| <hr/>   |    |    |  | <hr/>  |      |      |
| Profit from the cultivation of three acres, exclusive of butter and the garden-stuff consumed in the family |    |    |  | -      | *£31 | 10 0 |

\* His stock was two cows and two pigs; one of his cows had a summer's gait for twenty weeks with his landlord. The land was

\* The prices here set down are those of 1806: provisions are now somewhat lower. This of course will, in some degree, reduce the money value of the crop, but will not, in any degree, affect the quantity of produce.

partly

partly ploughed and partly dug with a spade, cultivated (the ploughing excepted) by the man, his wife, and a *girl* about twelve years of age, in their *spare* hours from their daily *hired* work, seldom a whole day off, except in harvest: made the rent in butter, besides a little used in the family. The man relates that he thinks he clears, one year with another, from the three acres, about 30*l*. The daily wages his family earn about keep them. It is very evident that this man clears from his three acres more than a farmer can possibly lay by from more than eighty acres of land in the common husbandry of the country, paying for horses, servants, &c.; and it must be obvious to every one how great the advantages must be to society by cultivating land in this manner. It would have taken more than half the quantity of his three acres in pasture for one cow at grass during half the year; whereas (excepting the summer's gait for one of his cows, as mentioned before) his stock of two cows and two pigs is kept and carried on the whole year: the family lives well, and a handsome sum has been yearly saved to place out two sons and supply them with clothes and other necessities.\*

The striking success of this experiment naturally excited others to imitate Sir Henry Vavasour's example. About the year 1802, another gentleman in that vicinity, Charles Howard, Esq., of Melborne Farm, attached a small garth to the cottage of a labourer named Richard Thomson. Including the site of the cottage and fences, the whole allotment did not exceed one acre and a quarter; and the land, being the most barren part of a purchase which Mr. Howard had made about four years before, at the rate of 10*l*. per acre, was not worth five shillings per acre rent. On taking possession of his allotment, Thomson commenced the same system of husbandry which had been so successfully pursued by his neighbour Rook. By such a mode of management, the ground is never idle, and a constant succession of green and bulbous-rooted crops is secured. A sufficiency being reserved for the use of his family, the remainder was carried off the land in a wheelbarrow, and consumed by his two pigs and a small Scotch cow. Mr. Howard states that in 1809 he measured and valued the produce, and found that it amounted to ten pounds seventeen shillings, upon a scale somewhat below the common market-prices of that year. The cultivation, though principally performed by the spade, occupied little more than the man's leisure hours; it afforded a constant and agreeable source of interest to the cottager and his family, the younger branches of which were thus trained to early habits of industry. Before he entered upon the occupation of this allotment, this cottager had the greatest difficulty in maintaining his wife and three children: he had no land, and was, therefore,

\* Communications to the Board of Agriculture, vol. iv., p. 367.



compelled to purchase every article of consumption: in 1809, his family had increased to seven, yet, though from frequent ill-health he had not been able to earn the high wages obtained by many of his fellow-labourers, he supported his family without any parochial relief, by the aid of his cow and pigs and the produce of his garden.\*

Long as we have already trespassed upon the patience of our readers, we cannot resist the temptation of recording one additional instance. A labourer at Hasketon, in the county of Suffolk, occupied four inclosures, containing fourteen acres of pasture-land, at a rent of 13*l.* per annum, upon which he kept two cows. He died in 1779, and these two cows, with a very little furniture and clothing, were all the property that devolved, upon his death, to his widow and *fourteen children*, the eldest being a girl under fourteen years of age. The parish is within the district of one of the incorporated houses of industry. Upon being made acquainted with the situation of the family, the directors immediately agreed to relieve the widow, by taking her seven youngest children into the house. This was proposed to her; but with great agitation of mind she refused to part with any of her children. She said she would rather die in working to maintain them, or go herself with all of them into the house, and work for them there, than either part with them all or suffer any partiality to be shewn to any of them. She then declared that if her landlord would continue her in the farm, as she called it, she would undertake to maintain and bring up all her fourteen children, without parochial assistance. She persisted in her resolution; and being a strong woman, about forty-five years old, her landlord told her she should continue his tenant, and hold it the first year rent-free. This she accepted with much thankfulness, and assured him that she would manage for her family without any other assistance. At the same time, though without her knowledge, Mr. Way, the landlord, directed his steward not to call upon her at all for his rent, conceiving it would be a great thing if she could support so large a family even with that advantage. The result, however, was, that with the benefit of her two cows and of the land, she exerted herself so as to bring up all her children, twelve of whom she placed out in service; continuing to *pay her rent regularly of her own accord* every year after the first. She carried part of the milk of her two cows, together with the cream and butter, every day to sell at Woodbridge, a market-town two miles off; and brought back bread and other necessaries, with which, and with her skim-milk, butter-milk, &c., she supported her family. The eldest girl took care of the

\* See Strickland's Survey of the East Riding of Yorkshire, pp. 44, 45.

rest while the mother was gone to Woodbridge ; and by degrees, as they grew up, the children went into the service of the neighbouring farmers. She came at length and informed her landlord that all her children except the two youngest were able to get their own living, and that she had taken to the employment of a nurse, which was a less laborious situation, and at the same time would enable her to provide for the two remaining children, who, indeed, could now almost maintain themselves. She therefore gave up the land, expressing great gratitude for the enjoyment of it, which had afforded her the means of supporting her family under a calamity which must otherwise have driven both her and her children into a workhouse.\*

We have gone the more minutely into these details of humble industry, because they not only point out the almost incalculable advantages which accrue to the industrious labourer, from the occupation of a small quantity of land, but also strike at the root of the principal objection which has been urged against the more general adoption of the system. Many who acknowledge the expediency of this plan, in particular situations where a sufficient supply of rich meadow land can be set aside for the purpose, still contend that it is out of the question in the upland and arable districts of the country ; and that on this account, however beneficial the practice may be in itself, it can be adopted only to a limited extent. It appears to us that the success of Thomson and Rook completely turns away the edge of this objection. In the case of Rook, it will be seen that three acres, not of rich grass land of great value, but of arable land of average quality, enabled him to realize a profit from his own labour while not otherwise employed, and the labour of his wife and children, which, without this resource, would have been entirely lost both to himself and the public, amounting to thirty pounds per annum, an advantage probably equal to the whole of his yearly earnings. The occupation of three acres of arable land in effect doubled his wages, while it was attended with the further advantage of giving constant employment to the other members of his family, and training them up in habits of honesty, docility, and industry. The instance of Thomson is still more striking : it proves in a manner which leaves no room for doubt, that, under circumstances peculiarly unfavourable—in a cold and inhospitable climate, one acre of land, in its natural state so poor and barren as not to be worth five shillings per annum, can be made, by the care and industry of the cottager and his family, during their spare time only, to yield an abundant supply of vegetables for domestic use, and a surplus to be consumed by a cow or pigs, very nearly equal in value to half

\* Reports on the Comforts of the Poor, vol. ii. p. 45.



the annual earnings of the labourer. Whatever other objections may be urged against this system of improving the condition of the labourer, let us at least hear no more of the groundless assertion that, except under circumstances peculiarly favourable, it is impracticable.

Indeed, we are inclined to think that, on candid consideration, an allotment of arable soil may seem almost preferable, in some respects, to one of meadow land. A quantity of meadow, sufficient to keep a cow or two, will no doubt contribute very materially to improve the condition of the cottager and his family; but the management of it will not, perhaps, so completely as an arable allotment, answer another object: it will not furnish them with a constant and profitable supply of work during their leisure time. The care of a cow or two, with a few pigs, fed upon the spontaneous produce of meadow land, will furnish the cottager himself with but little employment, and take up but a small portion of the unoccupied time of his wife and children. Very different is the effect of a well managed allotment of tillage land: three acres, cultivated on the Flemish system of green crops, will feed as many cattle as three times that extent of the best meadow land managed under the ordinary system; and the labour required, in raising these green crops, will furnish ample employment for the family of the labourer, as well as for his own leisure hours. The produce of meadow land seldom amounts to more than double the rent: the produce of land tilled on the Flemish system would, in the hands of the cottager, amount to ten times the rent: upon land worth not more than one pound per acre, it is clear that, by pursuing such a system of tillage, the labourer can raise a crop worth at least ten pounds; and, to counterbalance this enormous profit, he has no outgoings, no heavy rent to pay for his land, no weekly payments to strangers for their labour, but the produce accrues entirely from the industry of his own family, assisted by himself, whenever he can command a spare hour—one of those many hours which, under other circumstances, are disposed of in the pot-house, or in poaching.

We are well aware that these views will encounter a host of objections and cavils. We shall be told that they are theoretical and visionary: to this we think it enough, at present, to oppose practical and indisputable experiments. We shall also, no doubt, be told that the energy of the peasantry has been so completely relaxed, and their habits so demoralized by the operation of the poor-laws in the southern and eastern counties of England, that every attempt to improve their condition, to regenerate, among that class, the spirit of independence which they once possessed, would be unavailing. Now, we admit—and with a bitterness

bitterness of spirit which we cannot command language to express—that in the southern counties, where the labourers have been excluded from all immediate connection with the land—where they are frequently destitute of even the space necessary to rear a cabbage or a chicken,—their industry is relaxed, their spirits broken, and their habits, in too many instances, dreadfully demoralised; but we cannot admit the conclusion ‘that every effort to regenerate them must be unavailing.’ This is a species of prophecy in which indolent and thoughtless men are much given to indulge; and, like every other wicked prophecy, it is peculiarly calculated to bring about its own fulfilment. ‘No attempt can succeed;’—therefore no attempt is made. They who alone possess the means of conducting it successfully, fall back in their easy-chairs, and say it is hopeless! We entreat the owners of land to reconsider the subject; and if they do this, we shall not despair of seeing them acting upon sounder views and principles. As far as the altered circumstances of each district will permit, let the steps be retraced which have degraded the peasantry to their present condition. We do not hope, nor, perhaps, do we desire, that the old system of small farms should be re-established; but we do desire, and that vehemently, to see the day when every cottager shall be allowed to occupy, at a fair rent, an allotment of land of sufficient extent—not to convert him into a petty farmer—not to withdraw him from his regular labour, but to employ him and more especially his family during their leisure time.

To realize this plan will, no doubt, require some exertion on the part of landowners. The great farmers and land-agents of the country will be generally found more willing to counteract than promote such a scheme. The great farmers seem to entertain a peculiar and inveterate antipathy to these cottage allotments. They have imbibed the notion (and more erroneous notion was never entertained upon any subject) that these cottage allotments render the poor man independent of his daily task, and therefore tend to deprive them of the assistance which they require for the management of their farms. So far is this from being true, that wherever the system has been tried, the labourers who occupy land are uniformly found to be more regular, more active, and more energetic in the performance of their daily tasks, than their neighbours who are destitute of this advantage. The cultivation of their own allotments seems to give them habits of activity and dispatch, which they carry along with them into the service of the farmer. But the farmer is not the party upon whose shoulders the burden of the poor-rates, increased by withholding from the labourer an allotment of land, ultimately falls. The occupier knows that it is of little consequence



to him how high the amount of the poor-rates may be: he is well aware that this must finally be deducted from the rent, and that the whole burden must really fall upon the landlord. Land-agents and rent-receivers are also hostile to these allotments: their emoluments arise from a per centage upon the amount which they receive. It is much less troublesome to collect one hundred pounds from one farmer, than ten pounds a-piece from ten cottagers; and in various other ways, additional trouble must accrue to them from attending to these little holders. Hence it is that land-agents, rent-receivers, and solicitors seldom lose an opportunity of prejudicing the minds of their employers against these contracted occupations.

That the introduction of this system would at once effect an entire change in the morals and habits of the indolent and unemployed peasantry of the southern counties, or convert the ferocious and systematic poacher of the eastern districts into a regular, peaceable, and industrious labourer, is more than we dream of: it has taken the best part of a century to grind them down to their present condition, and it can excite no surprise that the renovation of their ancient spirit of independence should be the work of more than one day. But it is neither humanity, nor policy, nor philosophy, to neglect what is within our reach—because we despair of obtaining all the good that might be desired. It is very possible that, upon a large proportion of this long neglected class, an allotment of land would be thrown away. Their listlessness, their habits of parochial dependence, or their ignorance of the mode in which a bit of land might be turned to account, would probably induce many of them to refuse or neglect the advantages offered them. The class, however, contains a large number of individuals imbued with much better views and feelings, who would eagerly embrace such an opportunity of emerging from their present state of parochial dependence, and emancipating themselves from the chains by which they are now galled. Let the beginning be made with this better class: select, in the first instance, the most orderly and industrious among the labourers on each farm, and the effect of example and encouragement will gradually be felt by the remainder; it is an experiment which has already succeeded in many districts—it deserves to succeed, and, we are confident, would succeed elsewhere.

I do not mean to assert, says Sir Thomas Bernard, 'that the English cottager, narrowed as he now is in the means and habits of life, may be immediately capable of taking that active and useful station in society that is filled by the cottagers of Rutlandshire. To produce so great an improvement in character and circumstances of life will require time and attention. The cottager, however, of this part of the county

county of Rutland is *not of a different species from other English cottagers*; and IF HE HAD NOT BEEN PROTECTED AND ENCOURAGED BY HIS LANDLORD, he would have been the same helpless and comfortless creature that we see in some other parts of England. The farmer (with the assistance of the steward) would have taken his land; the creditors his cow and pig, and the workhouse his family.\*

The efforts which are made in various ways to counteract or neutralise the effects naturally flowing from the disseverance of the peasantry from their native soil meet us at every point of the compass: prisons, houses of correction, penitentiaries, and workhouses gradually rise up or expand before us in every district; associations for the prosecution of felons and poachers, or for the more effectual transfer of the peasantry from their cottages to gaols, and societies for the improvement of discipline among them when they become the inmates of these establishments, have been instituted without number; incredible exertions have been made to spread more extensively among the English peasantry the advantages of education, in the hope that the knowledge of what is right would wean them from the practice of what is wrong! But while we sow the wind, we must content ourselves with reaping the whirlwind: we endeavour to sweeten the stream, and make no attempt to cleanse the source. An amended criminal code, a well-organized police, and an improved prison-discipline, may render the detection of guilt more certain, and the infliction of punishment more speedy; but all these improvements will go, we fear, but a very little way towards thinning the despairing and, consequently, desperate host, whom want and woe impel with an irresistible force towards the doors of our workhouses, penitentiaries, and gaols.

It is, indeed, high time that we should return to our senses, and begin at least to treat this matter rationally; that we should direct our efforts to the seat, instead of the symptoms, of the disease; and endeavour to eradicate the canker which corrodes the root, instead of exhausting the whole of our energies upon the parasites which fasten upon the branches, of the social tree, and which, if removed, would be replaced by others. If we would diminish crime among the peasantry we must remove its cause—poverty: and to do this, we have only to furnish them with employment; want of employment for themselves and their families, during the frequent and sometimes long interruptions of their daily labour, is the grievance under which the peasantry of this country now groan: this is the real source of their poverty, which in its turn becomes the cause of the irregularities, the insubordination, and even of the reckless crimes of which they are guilty. For this evil there is

\* Reports on the Comforts of the Poor, vol. ii. p. 184.



but one remedy—and that remedy must be applied: the nuisance is become, in many districts, so enormous and dangerous to the vital interests of society, that it must at all hazards be put down. We must no longer look calmly on while we hear of able-bodied labourers being sent upon what is technically called ‘the round’\* of the parish to which they belong;† being weekly put up to auction at the vestry, or being compelled to perambulate the parish in search of work, and return to the overseer at night to receive their regulated dole.‡ The peasantry must be rescued from this degradation.

We are firmly convinced that the allotment of an adequate quantity of land to the cottage of the labourer would amply indemnify the British peasant for any losses which he may have sustained by the changes which have taken place in this country within the last hundred years, and enable him to reap his full share of the increased wealth of the country. While a very considerable proportion of the territory of this country either lay in a state of waste or was divided into a multitude of small farms, the peasantry, either as the occupiers of these farms, or of cottages with appendant common rights, were no doubt independent of parish assistance. It must not, however, be concealed, that in some other respects their condition was not equally favourable. Like the peasantry of many parts of Ireland and of the Highlands of Scotland, at the present period, they were entirely dependent upon the produce of their little farms and allotments; but it was frequently out of their power to make much addition to their means of subsistence by the earnings of their daily labour. At a period when the art of tillage was but imperfectly understood, their own allotments were too limited in extent to furnish them with constant occupation; and all their neighbours being in the same predicament, there was no demand for their surplus labour elsewhere. Hence it arose that half their time was either lost in perfect idleness, or wasted in operations which, under a better system, might have been executed with half the labour. Half the industrious force of the peasantry was thus thrown away; and with half employment no class of men can get rich in any part of the world. The little farmers and cottage crofters of the old system were in-

\* This is a common practice in Bedfordshire and some other counties.

† A practice in some instances successfully resisted by the magistrates; but which still prevails in many parishes.

‡ During the greater part of last winter there were upwards of fifty able-bodied men destitute of any species of employment in Finchingfield in Essex: they wandered in the day time about the lanes and roads of the parish, and returning at night to the overseer, each received his allowance for the following day. The consequence was, that the stacks of one of the farmers were set on fire; some of the desperate incendiaries were discovered, convicted, and executed.

dependent,

dependent, because they had a certain, although a scanty, supply in the produce of land; but they were also poor, because half their time remained unoccupied. But the present distribution of land in this country seems to furnish the means of placing the agricultural labourer in a peculiarly favourable position. The modern arrangement of farms, and the energy with which agriculture is now generally conducted, furnish the cottager himself with a pretty constant demand for his daily labour; and to render his situation as comfortable as it is capable of being made, nothing seems to be wanting, except to furnish him and his family while not otherwise occupied, with a source of profitable employment always at hand. By a very little attention on the part of their employers, and without any sacrifice, the agricultural labourers of this country might be rendered the most comfortable, the happiest, peasantry in the world.

Nor would these advantages be confined to the classes more immediately connected with the land: they would, on the contrary, diffuse themselves among all other classes of the community: in the form of pork, poultry, and butter, an enormous addition would be made to the produce of the country. Under such a system would be raised a profusion of minute articles which are entirely neglected on large farms, and which never can be made to prosper except by the daily care of an economical and industrious family. A new fund would be in a manner created for the employment of our manufacturers. Out of seven millions sterling raised by rates in this country, it is not, we apprehend, too much to assume that about four millions are expended upon able-bodied labourers, who are poor because they are idle, and idle because they are utterly prevented from working. The whole of this parochial expenditure is now consumed as food by unemployed labourers, or their unemployed families; it entirely disappears; no part of it finds its way into the hands of manufacturers or artisans. Supposing, however, that the agricultural peasantry had allotments of land given them to cultivate, the expenditure of these four millions upon them would become unnecessary: the amount would be added to the present revenues of the landowners, who would expend it in various ways on manufacturers, artisans, and mechanics. But the agricultural labourers would do *more* than supply themselves with food without parish assistance. They would raise a surplus of produce to be expended in the purchase of manufactures. The surplus, at the disposal of each, would not, perhaps, be considerable; but as the number of this class is very great, the aggregate would form no unimportant item in the estimate of our national wealth. If we compute the agricultural labourers and their families



families at six millions of persons; and that the full employment of their time would so far improve their circumstances as to enable each of them to add ten shillings only to his previous expenditure upon manufactures; this would amount to three millions sterling, which, added to the four millions saved on rates, would form a new fund, amounting to seven millions per annum—and arising exclusively from our own soil—for the encouragement of our own manufactures. The value of the fruit, eggs, poultry, and cheese imported into this country from abroad amounts to several millions per annum: the whole of this immense supply might, and under proper arrangement unquestionably would, be derived from the care and industry of the families of our own peasantry.

There is no member of the community, be his rank or station what it may, who is not deeply interested in the character of the class engaged in the toils of agriculture: it is chiefly from this class that the servants and menials of the higher orders are obtained; and everybody knows how essentially the comfort of the employer depends upon the honesty and obliging disposition of his domestics. During a large portion of the season of infancy, children necessarily fall much into the hands and society of servants. When immorality takes possession of the cottage, what can hinder the pollution from spreading upwards? It is, indeed, become a common complaint that servants are generally less obliging, more indolent, and more depraved than they used to be. This, we apprehend, should excite no surprise: it naturally follows from the manner in which they are brought up: the cottage in which they are all trained was once the seat of simplicity, honesty, and fidelity: it has been converted into a nursery of discontent, insubordination, and profligacy.

A village then  
Was not as villages are now. The hind  
Who dived, or, "jocund drove his team afield,"  
Had then an independency of look,  
And heart; and, plodding in his lowly path,  
Disdained a parish dole—content, though poor,  
He was the village monitor; he taught  
His children to be good, and read their book;  
And in the gallery took his Sunday place—  
To-morrow, with the bee, to work.

So passed

His days of cheerful, independent toil.\*  
No alteration which the legislature can make in the poor-laws—no improvement which can be introduced into their administration—nothing short of giving the labourer a field for the appli-

cation of his industry, can prove available. Except, perhaps, by an enactment enabling the landowner to detach small cottage allotments from farms now under lease, we are not aware that the interference of the legislature could much assist in carrying this mode of ameliorating the condition of the peasantry into effect. If the landowners do not utterly forget the obligations and duties which their situation imposes upon them—nay, if they take a correct view of their own true interests, they will not hesitate. They are not called upon to *give* anything; it is not suggested that they should parcel out their land among a host of small occupiers: all that is required of them is, that the labourers actually wanted for the cultivation of their property, should be allowed the privilege of hiring, at a fair rent, a small allotment of land, to be cultivated at their leisure hours; and of establishing, by that means, at their own doors, a *savings-bank*, in which every hour that can be spared, either by themselves or their families, from more profitable employment, may be saved and laid out in a productive manner. The labourer who is regularly and profitably employed, either in his own allotment or on the land of some neighbouring farmer, and whose wife and children possess the opportunity of rendering him all the assistance which their circumstances and age will permit, might, and no doubt would, save something out of his earnings to be vested in a money savings-bank; but, to expect that a peasant who has *nothing* should *save something*—to talk of a savings-bank for his spare money—of a friendly society, as an insurance against the casualties of sickness or the infirmities of age, to a parish pensioner—to a labourer who is forced, however industriously disposed, to lose half his time for want of employment—is an absurdity grossly insulting to common sense. In order that the peasant may save, common-place minds will consider it an indispensable preliminary that he should be placed in a situation to earn. *See p. 277*

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth an act was passed, rendering it imperative upon the landowner to attach at least four acres of land to each cottage built upon his property. This act was repealed in the course of the last century, in order that free scope might be given to the prevailing practice of detaching these ancient allotments from the cottages of the peasantry. Whether this law, subject to certain modifications, might not be revived, appears to us a question which deserves consideration.

A very beneficial law has been recently enacted, enabling parish officers to purchase or hire any quantity of land not exceeding twenty acres, with the view of letting it out in allotments to the labouring parishioners. The judicious application of the authority thus vested in overseers cannot fail to produce the best effects.



A number of cottage endowments may be thus created, and placed beyond the reach either of the cupidity or the caprice of individual proprietors. In one point, however, it seems to us that this excellent act is susceptible of improvement. The quantity which it places at the disposal of parochial officers is much too limited to meet the necessities of large parishes. The overseers should, we think, be authorized, under proper restrictions, to purchase or hire a quantity of land, for the purpose of establishing these small cottage farms, bearing some defined proportion to the extent of cultivated land contained in each parish.

We have dwelt at considerable length upon a subject which, according to our view of it, involves questions important in the highest degree, not only as affecting the condition and comforts of the peasantry, but also the prosperity, and, eventually, the tranquillity of the community at large. To place a host of human beings, already amounting to many millions, and daily increasing in number, and possessing the thews and sinews of manhood, in a situation which fixes a wide and impassable chasm betwixt them and the rest of the community—which necessarily demoralises their feelings, brutalises their habits, and reduces them to despair—appears to us a social experiment pregnant with incalculable danger. As yet the evil, though alarming in the highest degree, has not become universal: many districts remain, in a great measure, free from its withering and blasting influence—where the labourer who tills the ground and renders it productive is allowed to partake moderately in the abundance which he creates—where ‘the ox that treadeth out the corn is not muzzled;’—and this it is which has hitherto ensured the salvation of the state. But the social plague of poverty and degradation among the peasantry is not stayed: on the contrary, it annually creeps into some new district; if a stop be not put, and that speedily, to its progress, it will afflict the whole land; and, whenever this happens, it will inevitably draw after it a strong and dreadful explosion.

An able writer upon this subject very correctly observes, that \*in the moral system, it is a part of the wise arrangements of Providence that no member shall suffer alone: that, if the lower classes are involved in wretchedness and beggary, the more elevated shall not enjoy their prosperity unimpaired. That constitution is radically unsound of which the inferior order is vicious and miserable: a wretched and degraded populace is a rent in the foundation; or, if we may be allowed to change the figure, a taint of rottenness at the root of society, which will infallibly wither and decay its remotest branches. The most appalling feature of the time in which we live, is the discontent of the lower orders—discontent arising not so much from the infusion of specu-

speculative principles, as from the pressure of actual distress. Alleviate their distress—convince them, at least, of your solicitude to do it, and you extirpate the seeds of dissatisfaction far more effectually than by all the arts of intimidation. But if an insensibility to their sufferings, in the higher ranks, goads them to despair, nourishes an appetite for change, and prepares them to lend themselves to the sophistry of artful demagogues and unprincipled empirics, what would be the consequence but a divided and distracted empire, when, instead of uniting to consolidate the resources of general prosperity, the necessity of employing one part of the nation in the coercion or punishment of another, dissipates its efforts, and cripples its energy? We have the highest authority for asserting that “a house divided against itself cannot stand”; and surely no schism in the body politic can be more fatal than that which alienates the hand from the head—the physical strength of society from its presiding intellect.\*

We are not aware that even the pure economists would quarrel with the extent to which we wish to see the croft and cow system pushed. We recommend it not as the means of wholly maintaining cottagers, for whose labour the district may present no demand, but of filling up the vacant time of such labourers as can only be partially employed by the farmer. Mr. Malthus himself says; ‘that we should not be deterred from making five hundred thousand families more comfortable, because we cannot extend the same relief to all the rest.’ He goes further: he ‘recommends a general improvement of cottages, and even the cow system on a limited scale’; admits, ‘that, perhaps, with proper precautions, a certain portion of land might be given to a considerable body of the labouring classes;’\* and acknowledges that such a plan would be attended with ultimate success, if the labourers were prevented from making it their principal dependence.

‘Many and various would be the advantages,’ says Sir Thomas Bernard in his invaluable suggestions for bettering the condition of the labouring classes, ‘of giving to the poor a pleasing and beneficial employment for their leisure hours, and affording them the means of productive husbandry at home and within their own cottage and ground. Where a measure of this kind can be brought to produce any effect at all on millions, the benefit must be of very great magnitude. We may calculate the number of little hands hitherto idle, and now, by a proper system of employment, to be brought into action;—we may reckon up, by long arithmetical deduction, the number of acres which might be advantageously cultivated, and the myriads of hours which would be added to the amount of national labour, if every cottager were permitted to occupy and encouraged to improve a small allotment of land. But it is not within the compass of political arith-

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\* *Essay on Population.* Edition 1826. Vol. ii. p. 464.



metic to calculate the increase of prosperity and security which we might derive from the general introduction of such a system.\*

We shall conclude with another passage from the pen of the same truly pious, benevolent, and righthearted English gentleman.

‘If there should be among my readers any one whose views are directed to himself only, I could easily satisfy him that his means of self-indulgence would be increased,—his repose would be more tranquil,—his waking hours less languid; his estate improved,—its advantages augmented, and the enjoyment permanently secured, by his activity in the melioration of the condition, the morals, the religion, and the attachment of a numerous and very useful part of his fellow-subjects. To the patriot, who wishes to deserve well of his country, I could prove, that from the increase of the resources and virtues of the poor, the kingdom would derive prosperity,—the different classes of society union,—and the constitution stability. To the rich, who have leisure, and have unsuccessfully attempted to fill up their time with other objects, I could offer a permanent source of amusement: that of encouraging the virtues and industry of the poor, with whom by property, residence, or occupation they are connected; that of adorning the skirts of their parks and paddocks, of their farms and commons, with picturesque and habitable cottages and fruitful gardens, so as to increase every Englishman’s affection for an island replete with beauty and happiness; so as to attach the labouring classes, by an indissoluble tie, and by a common interest, to their country, not only as the sanctuary of liberty, but as an asylum where happiness and domestic comforts are diffused with a liberal and equal hand through every class of society.†

We have confined our attention, in this paper, to the condition of those labourers who are regularly employed in the operations of husbandry: the disposal and employment of that surplus population, both agricultural and manufacturing, for whose labour there is no effective demand, forms a wholly distinct question.

\* Report of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, vol. ii. p. 8.

† *Ibid.* p. 28.

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LUCRETIA Maria Davidson was born September 27, 1808, at Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain. She was the second daughter of Dr. Oliver Davidson, and Margaret his wife. Her parents were in straitened circumstances, and it was necessary, from an early age, that much of her time should be devoted to domestic employments: for these she had no inclination, but she performed them with that alacrity which always accompanies good will; and, when her work was done, retired to enjoy those intellectual and imaginative pursuits in which her whole heart was engaged. This predilection for studious retirement she is said to have manifested at the early age of four years. Reports, and even recollections of this kind, are to be received, the one with some distrust, the other with some allowance; but when that allowance is made, the genius of this child still appears to have been as precocious as it was extraordinary. Instead of playing with her schoolmates, she generally got to some secluded place, with her little books, and with pen, ink, and paper; and the consumption which she made of paper was such as to excite the curiosity of her parents, from whom she kept secret the use to which she applied it. If any one came upon her retirement, she would conceal or hastily destroy what she was employed upon; and, instead of satisfying the enquiries of her father and mother, replied to them only by tears. The mother, at length, when searching for something in a dark and unfrequented closet, found a considerable number of little books, made of this writing-paper, and filled with rude drawings, and with strange and apparently illegible characters, which, however, were at once seen to be the child's work. Upon closer inspection, the characters were found to consist of the printed alphabet; some of the letters being formed backwards, some sideways, and there being no spaces between the words. These writings were decyphered, not without much difficulty; and it then appeared that they consisted of regular



verses, generally in explanation of a rude drawing, sketched on the opposite page. When she found that her treasures had been discovered, she was greatly distressed, and could not be pacified till they were restored; and as soon as they were in her possession, she took the first opportunity of secretly burning them. For it had not been in fear of discouragement or prohibition from her parents that she had concealed her childish compositions; but because there is a sensitiveness in true genius which shrinks at first, as if instinctively, from exposure. Where there is no indication of this intellectual modesty, there is but too much reason for apprehending that the moral sense to which it is akin, is wanting also.

These books having thus been destroyed, the earliest remaining specimen of her verse is an epitaph, composed in her ninth year, upon an unfledged robin, killed in the attempt at rearing it. The editor has not thought proper to insert it: such things are invaluable, as relics, to those who knew and loved the departed; but, from public curiosity it is always better that they should be withheld. When she was eleven years of age, her father took her to see the decorations of a room in which Washington's birthday was to be celebrated. Neither the novelty nor the gaiety of what she saw attracted her attention; she thought of Washington alone, whose life she had read, and for whom she entertained the proper feelings of an American; and as soon as she returned home, she took paper, sketched a funeral urn, and wrote under it a few stanzas, which were shown to her friends. Common as the talent of versifying is, any early manifestation of it will always be regarded as extraordinary by those who possess it not themselves; and these verses, though no otherwise remarkable, were deemed so surprising for a child of her age, that an aunt of hers could not believe they were original, and hinted that they might have been copied. The child wept at this suspicion, as if her heart would break; but as soon as she recovered from that fit of indignant grief, she indited a remonstrance to her aunt, in verse, which put an end to such incredulity.

Proud as her parents were of so hopeful a child, they never attempted to impede her in her endeavours to improve herself; and all the time that could be spared from her indispensable domestic avocations was given to reading. We are told that, before she was twelve years of age, she had read most of the standard English poets—a vague term, excluding, no doubt, much that is of real worth, and including more that is worth little or nothing, and yet implying a wholesome course of reading for such a mind. Much history she had also read, both sacred and profane; ‘the whole of Shakspeare’s, Kotzebue’s, and Goldsmith’s

smith's dramatic works ;' (oddly consorted names !) ' and many of the popular novels and romances of the day : ' of the latter, she threw aside at once those which at first sight appeared worthless. As for what is called ' directing the taste ' of youthful genius, this is so much more likely (we had almost said so sure) to be injurious rather than useful, that in a case like this it is fortunate when an ardent mind is left to itself, and allowed, like the bee, to suck honey from weeds and flowers indiscriminately. The vigorous mind, like the healthy stomach, can digest and assimilate coarse food. This girl is said to have observed every thing : ' frequently she has been known to watch the storm, and the retiring clouds, and the rainbow, and the setting sun, for hours.'

An English reader is not prepared to hear of distress arising from straitened circumstances in America—the land of promise, where there is room enough for all, and employment for every body. Yet even in that new country, man, it appears, is born not only to those ills which flesh is heir to, but to those which are entailed upon him by the institutions of society. Lucretia's mother was confined by illness to her room and bed for many months ; and this child, then about twelve years old, instead of profiting under her mother's care, had in a certain degree to supply her place in the business of the family, and to attend, which she did dutifully and devotedly, to her sick bed. At this time, a gentleman who had heard much of her verses, and expressed a wish to see some of them, was so much gratified on perusing them, that he sent her a complimentary note, enclosing a bank-bill for twenty dollars. The girl's first joyful thought was that she had now the means, which she had so often longed for, of increasing her little stock of books ; but, looking towards the sick bed, tears came in her eyes, and she instantly put the bill into her father's hands, saying, ' Take it, father ; it will buy many comforts for mother ; I can do without the books.'

To relate this anecdote as an extraordinary instance of duty or sensibility, would be as unfitting as to leave it untold. If there had been no such outward manifestation, the inward grace must have been wanting ; but it may well be conceived how these parents must have doated upon such a child, whose person, moreover, was as beautiful as her disposition and her mind. Yet there were friends, as they are called, who remonstrated with them on the course they were pursuing in her education, and advised that she should be deprived of books, pen, ink, and paper, and rigorously confined to domestic concerns. Her parents loved her both too wisely and too well to be guided by such counsellors, and they anxiously kept the advice secret from Lucretia, lest it should wound her feelings—perhaps, also, lest it should



should give her, as it properly might, a rooted dislike to these misjudging and unfeeling persons. But she discovered it by accident, and its effect upon her was such as could little have been foreseen : instead of exciting resentment, it produced acquiescence in the prudential reasons which had been urged, and a persevering effort of self-denial, the greatest which could be made. Without declaring any such intention, she gave up her pen and her books, and applied herself exclusively to household business, for several months, till her body as well as her spirits failed. She became emaciated, her countenance bore marks of deep dejection, and often, while actively employed in domestic duties, she could neither restrain nor conceal her tears. The mother seems to have been slower in perceiving this than she would have been had it not been for her own state of confinement ; she noticed it at length, and said, ‘ Lucretia, it is a long time since you have written any thing.’ The girl then burst into tears, and replied, ‘ O mother, I have given that up long ago.’ ‘ But why ?’ said her mother. After much emotion, she answered, ‘ I am convinced from what my friends have said, and from what I see, that I have done wrong in pursuing the course I have. I well know the circumstances of the family are such, that it requires the united efforts of every member to sustain it ; and since my eldest sister is now gone, it becomes my duty to do every thing in my power to lighten the cares of my parents.’ On this occasion, Mrs. Davidson acted with equal discretion and tenderness ; she advised her to take a middle course, neither to forsake her favourite pursuits, nor devote herself to them, but use them in that wholesome alternation with the everyday business of the world, which is alike salutary for the body and the mind. ‘ She therefore occasionally resumed her pen, and seemed comparatively happy.’

Let no parent wish for a child of precocious genius, nor rejoice over such a one without fear and trembling ! Great endowments, whether of nature or of fortune, bring with them their full proportion of temptations and dangers ; and perhaps in the endowments of nature the danger is greatest because there is most at stake. In most cases it seems as if the seeds of moral and intellectual excellence were not designed to bring forth fruits on earth, but that they are brought into existence and developed here only for transplantation to a world where there shall be nothing to corrupt or hurt them, nothing to impede their growth in goodness, and their progress toward perfection. This is a consideration which may prepare the parent’s heart, or console it. Such a plant was Lucretia Davidson. Under the most favourable circumstances, and with the most judicious culture, it seems hardly possible that she could have been reared ; an intellectual fever seems

to

to have gathered strength with her growth, and all things tended unhappily to feed rather than to allay it; privations and difficulties on the one hand, indulgence and excitement on the other; an indulgence not to be censured, and yet if to be blamed, excusable, because it was the only indulgence that could be shown here; and an excitement less the effect of misjudging kindness, than of causes over which prudence could have no control. If there had been some who would have debarred her from all intellectual pursuits, and have brought down her spirit, her hopes and aspirations, to the low level of her condition in life, there were (and could not but be) others who wondered at her as a prodigy, and took pleasure in encouraging her to the exertion and display of her gift of verse. How this operated may be seen in some lines, not otherwise worthy of preservation than for the purpose of showing how the promises of reward affect a mind like hers. They were written in her thirteenth year.

'When'er the muse pleases to grace my dull page,  
At the sight of *reward*, she flies off in a rage;  
Prayers, threats, and intreaties I frequently try,  
But she leaves me to scribble, to fret, and to sigh.  
She torments me each moment, and bids me go write,  
And when I obey her she laughs at the sight;  
The rhyme will not jingle, the verse has no sense,  
And against all her insults I have no defence.  
I advise all my friends who wish me to write,  
To keep their rewards and their gifts from my sight,  
So that jealous Miss Muse won't be wounded in pride,  
Nor Pegasus rear till I've taken my ride.'

Let not the hasty reader conclude from these rhymes that Lucretia was only what any child of early cleverness might be made by forcing and injudicious admiration. In our own language, except in the cases of Chatterton and Kirke White, we can call to mind no instance of so early, so ardent, and so fatal a pursuit of intellectual advancement.

'She composed with great rapidity; as fast as most persons usually copy. There are several instances of four or five pieces on different subjects, and containing three or four stanzas each, written on the same day. Her thoughts flowed so rapidly, that she often expressed the wish that she had two pair of hands, that she might employ them to transcribe. When "in the vein," she would write standing, and be wholly abstracted from the company present and their conversation. But if composing a piece of some length, she wished to be entirely alone; she shut herself into her room, darkened the windows, and in summer placed her Æolian harp in the window.' (thus, by artificial excitement, feeding the fire that consumed her.)

'In



\* In those pieces on which she bestowed more than ordinary pains, she was very secret; and if they were, by any accident, discovered in their unfinished state, she seldom completed them, and often destroyed them. She cared little for any of her works after they were completed: some, indeed, she preserved with care for future correction, but a great proportion she destroyed: very many that are preserved, were rescued from the flames by her mother. Of a complete poem, in five cantos, called "*Rodri*," and composed when she was thirteen years of age, a single canto, and part of another, are all that are saved from a destruction which she supposed had obliterated every vestige of it.

\* She was often in danger, when walking, from carriages, &c., in consequence of her absence of mind. When engaged in a poem of some length, she has often forgotten her meals. A single incident, illustrating this trait in her character, is worth relating. She went out early one morning to visit a neighbour, promising to be at home to dinner. The neighbour being absent, she requested to be shown into the library. There she became so absorbed in her book, standing, with her bonnet unremoved, that the darkness of the coming night first reminded her that she had forgotten her meals, and expended the entire day in reading.—pp. 18, 20.

She was peculiarly sensitive to music. \* There was one song (it was Moore's Farewell to his Harp) to which she 'took a special fancy;' she wished to hear it only at twilight—thus, with that same perilous love of excitement which made her place the wind-harp in the window when she was composing, seeking to increase the effect which the song produced upon a nervous system, already diseasedly susceptible; for it is said, that whenever she heard this song she became cold, pale, and almost fainting; yet it was her favourite of all songs, and gave occasion to these verses, addressed, in her fifteenth year, to her sister.

\* When evening spreads her shades around,  
And darkness fills the arch of heaven;  
When not a murmur, not a sound  
To Fancy's sportive ear is given;  
When the broad orb of heaven is bright,  
And looks around with golden eye;  
When Nature, softened by her light,  
Seems calmly, solemnly to lie:  
Then, when our thoughts are raised above  
This world, and all this world can give,  
Oh, Sister! sing the song I love,  
And tears of gratitude receive.  
The song which thrills my bosom's core,  
And, hovering, trembles half afraid,  
Oh, Sister! sing the song once more  
Which ne'er for mortal ear was made.

\*Twere

'Twere almost sacrilege to sing  
Those notes amid the glare of day;  
Notes borne by angels' purest wing,  
And wafted by their breath away.

When, sleeping in my grass-grown bed,  
Shouldst thou still linger here above,  
Wilt thou not kneel beside my head,  
And, Sister! sing the song I love?

To young readers it might be useful to observe, that these verses in one place approach the verge of meaning, but are on the wrong side of the line: to none can it be necessary to say, that they breathe the deep feeling of a mind essentially poetical. The most gratifying reward that an author can receive, is to know that his writings have strengthened the weak, stablished the wavering, given comfort to the afflicted, and obtained the approbation of the wise and the good; but simply to have been the means of imparting innocent pleasure to a simple and innocent heart, is itself neither a light nor an unworthy gratification; and we think well enough of Mr. Moore's better nature, to hope and expect that, when he knows how this melody of his affected this young earthly angel, he will not let her remain 'without the meed of some melodious tear.'

The extreme sensitiveness of her frame might have occasioned sufficient apprehension for the probable consequence, even if it had not been dangerously excited both by her own habits, and the attention of which she was the conscious as well as constant object. She complains thus, in her fifteenth year, of frequent and violent head-aches.

'Head-ache! thou bane to Pleasure's fairy spell!  
Thou fiend! thou foe to joy! I know thee well;  
Beneath thy lash I've writhed for many an hour;  
I hate thee, for I've known, and dread thy power.

Even the heathen gods were made to feel  
The aching torments which thy hand can deal;  
And Jove, the ideal king of heaven and earth,  
Owned thy dread power, which called stern Wisdom forth.

Wouldst thou thus ever bless each aching head,  
And bid Minerva make the brain her bed,  
Blessings might then be taught to rise from woe,  
And wisdom spring from every throbbing brow.

But always the reverse to me, unkind,  
Folly for ever dogs thee close behind:  
And, from this burning brow, her cap and bell  
Forever jingle Wisdom's funeral knell.'

More



excitement. Hot-beds and glasses are used for plants which can only acquire strength in the shade; and they are drenched with instruction, which ought to 'drop as the rain and distil as the dew—as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the shower upon the grass.'

It is to be wished that Mr. Morse had inserted part of her letters in these *Remains*, and to be hoped that he will do so in a future edition. During the vacation, in which she returned home, she had a serious illness, which left her feeble and more sensitive than ever. On her recovery she was placed at the school of Miss Gilbert, in Albany; and there, in a short time, a more alarming illness brought her to the very borders of the grave. Before she entered upon her intemperate course of application at Troy, her verses show that she felt a want of joyous and healthy feeling—a sense of decay. Thus she wrote to a friend, who had not seen her since her childhood:—

'And thou hast mark'd in childhood's hour  
The fearless boundings of my breast,  
When fresh as summer's opening flower,  
I freely frolick'd and was blest.

Oh say, was not this eye more bright?  
Were not these lips more wont to smile?  
Methinks that then my heart was light,  
And I a fearless, joyous child.

And thou didst mark me gay and wild,  
My careless, reckless laugh of mirth;  
The simple pleasures of a child,  
The holiday of man on earth.

Then thou hast seen me in that hour,  
When every nerve of life was new,  
When pleasures fann'd youth's infant flower,  
And Hope her witcheries round it threw.

That hour is fading; it has fled;  
And I am left in darkness now,  
A wanderer tow'rd's a lowly bed,  
The grave, that home of all below.'

Young poets often affect a melancholy strain, and none more frequently put on a sad and sentimental mood in verse than those who are as happy as an utter want of feeling for any body but themselves can make them. But in these verses the feeling was sincere and ominous. Miss Davidson recovered from her illness at Albany so far only as to be able to perform the journey back to Plattsburgh, under her poor mother's care. 'The hectic flush of her cheek told but too plainly that a fatal disease had fastened upon her constitution, and must ere long inevitably triumph.' She  
however

however dreaded something worse than death, and while confined to her bed, wrote these unfinished lines, the last that were ever traced by her indefatigable hand, expressing her fear of madness.

‘ There is a something which I dread,  
It is a dark, a fearful thing;  
It steals along with withering tread,  
Or sweeps on wild destruction’s wing.  
That thought comes o’er me in the hour  
Of grief, of sickness, or of sadness;  
’Tis not the dread of death,—tis more,  
It is the dread of madness.  
Oh! may these throbbing pulses pause  
Forgetful of their feverish course;  
May this hot brain, which burning, glows  
With all a fiery whirlpool’s force,  
Be cold, and motionless, and still  
A tenant of its lowly bed;  
But let not dark delirium steal——’

The stanzas with which Kirke White’s fragment of the ‘*Christiad*’ concludes, are not so painful as these lines. Had this however been more than a transient feeling, it would have produced the calamity which it dreaded: it is likely, indeed, that her early death was a dispensation of mercy, and saved her from the severest of all earthly inflictions; and that same merciful Providence which removed her to a better state of existence, made these apprehensions give way to a hope and expectation of recovery, which, vain as it was, cheered some of her last hours. When she was forbidden to read it was a pleasure to her to handle the books which composed her little library, and which she loved so dearly. ‘She frequently took them up and kissed them; and at length requested them to be placed at the foot of her bed, where she might constantly see them,’ and anticipating a revival which was not to be, of the delight she should feel in re-perusing them, she said often to her mother, ‘what a feast I shall have by-and-bye.’ How these words must have gone to that poor mother’s heart they only can understand who have heard such like anticipations of recovery from a dear child, and not been able, even whilst hoping against hope, to partake them.

When sensible at length of her approaching dissolution, she looked forward to it without alarm; not alone in that peaceful state of mind which is the proper reward of innocence, but in reliance on the divine promises, and in hope of salvation through the merits of our blessed Lord and Saviour. The last name which she pronounced was that of the gentleman whose bounty she had experienced,



experienced, and towards whom she always felt the utmost gratitude. Gradually sinking under her malady, she passed away on the 27th of August 1825, before she had completed her seventeenth year. Her person was singularly beautiful; she had 'a high, open forehead, a soft black eye, perfect symmetry of features, a fair complexion, and luxuriant dark hair. The prevailing expression of her face was melancholy. Although, because of her beauty as well as of her mental endowments, she was the object of much admiration and attention, yet she shunned observation, and often sought relief from the pain it seemed to inflict upon her, by retiring from the company.'

'That she should have written so voluminously as has been ascertained,' says the editor of these remains, 'is almost incredible. Her poetical writings which have been collected, amount in all to two hundred and seventy-eight pieces of various length; when it is considered that among these are at least five regular poems of several cantos each, some estimate may be formed of her poetical labours. Besides there were twenty-four school exercises, three unfinished romances, a complete tragedy, written at thirteen years of age, and about forty letters, in a few months, to her mother alone. To this statement should also be appended the fact, that a great portion of her writings she destroyed. Her mother observes, "I think I am justified in saying that she destroyed at least one-third of all she wrote."

'Of the literary character of her writings,' says the editor, 'it does not, perhaps, become me largely to speak; yet I must hazard the remark, that her defects will be perceived to be those of youth and inexperience, while in invention, and in that mysterious power of exciting deep interest, of enchainning the attention and keeping it alive to the end of the story; in that adaptation of the measure to the sentiment, and in the sudden change of measure to suit a sudden change of sentiment; a wild and romantic description; and in the congruity of the accompaniment to her characters, all conceived with great purity and delicacy,—she will be allowed to have discovered uncommon maturity of mind, and her friends to have been warranted in forming very high expectations of her future distinction.'

This may seem high praise: yet in these 'immature buds, and blossoms shaken from the tree, and green fruit,' there was as fair a promise of future excellence as ever genius put forth. But it is not from the intrinsic value of these poor remains that the interest arises with which this little volume cannot but be perused. We have entered into no account of the longer poems which it contains, nor selected from the smaller pieces any except a few of those which are transcripts of the authoress's individual feelings; for youthful poetry must always be imitative, and that which is least faulty is far from being the most hopeful. Indeed, wherever imitative talent exists in the highest degree creative genius has rarely,

rarely, if ever, been found to co-exist. In these poems there is enough of originality, enough of aspiration, enough of conscious energy, enough of growing power, to warrant any expectations, however sanguine, which the patron, and the friends, and parents of the deceased could have formed; nor can any person rise from the perusal of such a volume without feeling the vanity of human hopes. But those hopes are not vain which look beyond this world for their fulfilment. Knowing, as we know, that not a particle of matter can be destroyed, how surely, then, may we conclude that this which is demonstrated in material existencies is true of spiritual things; that love, and generous feelings, and noble thoughts, and holy desires, are not put off when we put off mortality; but that, inhering in our immortal nature, they partake its immortality, and constitute in their fruition a part of that happiness which our Almighty and Allmerciful Father has appointed for all his creatures who do not wilfully renounce their birthright! This is a consolation which reason suggests, which philosophy approves, which scripture warrants, and on which the understanding and the heart may rest.

To those parents who may have the fearful charge of a child like Lucretia Davidson, these memoirs will have a deep and painful interest. They clearly indicate the danger, but afford no clue to the means of averting it. It is as perilous to repress the ardour of such a mind as to encourage it. The Quaker discipline, which, for the majority of women, is the best of which experience has ever been made, produces deplorable effects upon those whose constitution of mind is too sensitive. The difficulty is to indulge such a mind without pampering it; to regulate it, without forcing it from its natural and proper bent. The first step toward this is, that we should ourselves estimate mental endowments not too highly, but at their just worth; and then teach others, in whom the dawn of genius appears, that the gift is not so rare as it has been deemed to be: that it is becoming less so in every generation, because wherever it exists it is now called forth by the wide extension of education (such as it is), and by the general diffusion of books; and that as it becomes common the conventional value which it has hitherto borne will, like that of precious stones, be necessarily abated. This may be a humiliating lesson, but it is a wholesome one; and many there are for whom it will be well if they receive it, and lay it to heart in time.



ART. II.—*On Systems and Methods in Natural History.* By J. E. Bicheno, Esq. 1829. (*Linn. Trans.*, xv., part 2.)

AT no time could the philosophy of Natural History, in reference to classification, occupy the attention of the cultivators of the science with so much advantage as the present. Many individuals, distinguished not less for their high attainments than for their zeal, are occupied in extending our acquaintance with inorganic and organized beings; while, among the educated classes of the community, an anxiety to become acquainted with the history of nature is very generally exhibited. These circumstances seem calculated to encourage us to entertain the highest expectations concerning the future progress of the science in this country, and to hope that the period will soon be forgotten, when, in ordinary conversation, the terms 'naturalist' and 'natural' were employed as synonymous.

When we direct our attention to the manner in which natural history has been studied in this country, and to the character of those works which have been offered to the public for their edification, we may readily discover the causes which have brought the science into discredit, and thus become prepared for securing a greater permanency to our present successes. When the arrival of the valuable cabinet of Linnæus enabled the naturalists of this country to ascertain the species which the illustrious Swede had described in his '*Systema Naturæ*,' that important work became their guide in identifying objects previously known, and the model for delineating the characters of those which industry was daily adding to the stock. In following the example of Linnæus, so far, our naturalists acted wisely; but, unfortunately, they stopped short at that very point where the most valuable part of their labours should have commenced; and where, had they been intelligent followers of their master, they would have put forth all their strength.

In order to comprehend the true value of the '*Systema Naturæ*' of Linnæus, we must view it as a well-arranged *table of contents of the book of Nature*, where the student will find that every *entry* refers to a *species*, and gives a brief exposition of the contents of the *page* where its history is intended to be recorded. Every species in this work has a trivial name bestowed on it, followed by a description of its appearance, limited to twelve words, a reference to authors who have elucidated its history, and a few brief notices respecting its place of residence and the form and structure of some of its remarkable parts. This was considered by Linnæus as the entry in the table of contents; but where, it may be asked, was the volume, with its  
page?

page? This naturalist, too much occupied with precedence to find time for the extensive study of private character, did not attempt the execution of such a volume; but he contributed several valuable pages, and anxiously sought to increase their number, as may be seen in his works on Sweden and Lapland, and more especially in his delightful *Amœnitates Academicæ*. His followers have too servilely imitated his brief exposition of the character of species, and have fancied that here their labours should close. The *entry* has been published, but not the *page*, leading the genuine naturalist to lament the deficiency, and the general reader to perceive, in our boasted systems, little else than a catalogue of names, and to turn with disgust from a study apparently so irksome and fruitless.

The change in public opinion, in reference to natural history, which has recently taken place, and to which we have already alluded, has been produced, in a great measure, by continental influence. The naturalists of this country, since the peace of Europe permitted a free intercourse, have discovered in the labours of foreign observers a scientific purpose, extended views, together with interesting and useful results, which the efforts of the contracted minds of the disciples of the Linnæan school did not exhibit. Philosophy gained a triumph, and the intelligence of the public speedily testified a sense of its value. We must not, however, be understood as expressing an opinion, that the continental observers *discovered* the true value of natural history, and were the first to exhibit it in its most attractive and becoming garb. Had this been the case, our gratitude would have been unmingled with shame. The naturalists who flourished in Britain at the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries studied nature with a philosophical eye, and recorded, as their observations, all that could gratify a refined and intellectual taste. In their *tables of contents*, it is true, the student did not meet with that assistance which the improvements of Linnæus subsequently furnished; for they wanted those brief, specific descriptions which characterize the productions of the present day. But if the *entries* here were brief, the *pages* were richly stored, since the more obvious characters of the species were described with great truth, and the intimate structure delineated with such accuracy, as to furnish sufficient proof of the sagacity which had regulated the investigation. We name Ray, Willoughby, and Lister, as the individuals to whom we refer—the fathers, not only of British, but of European natural history. The continentals imitated the example of these illustrious sages, and now enjoy the fruits of their discernment. The naturalists of Britain, on the other hand, forsook the guidance of the priests who



who could unfold for them the recesses of the temple of Nature, and yielded to the influence of those who led them only to its portals. They have suffered for their folly, in preferring the naturalist of Sweden to countrymen of their own who were vastly his superiors in philosophical attainment, enlarged views, and, we must add, good taste. Linnaeus was not, it is true, without much merit, in rendering trivial names popular, and riveting the attention more closely to the specific character. But he has been greatly overrated; and his name, in England, occupies a place whereon a symbol of respect for John Ray should have been erected long before he drew breath, and remained undisturbed to this hour.

In borrowing from the continental naturalists a method of study which, a century ago, might have been considered as peculiarly our own, we have acquired, moreover, a relish for the productions of a school, the distinguishing marks of which differ widely from the principles either of Ray or Linnaeus. We refer to the writings of Buffon and his followers. His descriptions have enough of truth to give them some degree of historical importance, while the imagination supplies the minor details. As works of fancy, the productions of this school may be found well calculated to amuse; but when viewed as the offspring of science, they seem but too well fitted to vitiate the taste, by pampering a love of excitement; and to mislead the judgment, by mingling truth with error.

If mistakes, to such an amount, have been committed in the method of studying natural history, it is time that we should be made acquainted with the sources in which these have originated, and that some fixed principles should be established, to secure co-operation among the votaries of the science. It appears to have been the object of the learned Secretary of the Linnæan Society, in his observations 'on Systems and Methods in Natural History,' to unfold the sources of error to which we are now referring, and remove the mistakes and prejudices which prevail. For this purpose he has endeavoured to draw a line of distinction between the artificial and the natural systems, by stating that 'we use the artificial for becoming acquainted with individuals, and the natural as the means of combining them.' He condemns all attempts to combine the natural with the artificial systems, or to aim at analysis and synthesis at the same time. His remarks are in general excellent, but we consider them too limited to secure the object which is aimed at. Those peculiar properties of created beings, on the knowledge of which our systems must ultimately rest, and the principles of classification which have their origin in them, are in a great measure overlooked.

We

We regret that Mr. Bicheno has confined his remarks within such narrow limits, when his sagacity and acquirements qualified him for more extensive generalizations. The task, however, ought to be accomplished, and the remarks which follow are intended as contributions to the undertaking.

In contemplating the numerous individuals of the organized kingdom of nature, we shall witness some which differ widely in their character from those with which they are compared, while others exhibit the closest resemblance. When the similarity between objects is complete, the individuals, however numerous, are regarded by the naturalist as constituting a *Species*, and here his peculiar inquiries may be said to commence. He is now led to investigate the various changes which these individuals experience, from the commencement of their being to its dissolution, and the many instincts by which they are connected. He is called upon to examine the relations of one species with another, the modifications of resemblance or disagreement which they exhibit, and their mutual dependence in the economy of nature. If we attempt, for example, to trace the history of any of the more perfect animals, we shall find that one individual of the species will be drawn by an *immaterial tie*—an instinctive tendency, to unite with another individual in the propagation of its kind. If this selection has taken place in a state of freedom, we may with certainty infer that the two individuals are male and female. An opportunity now occurs for determining the degree of resemblance between the *Sexes*. In many cases this is so extensive, that, even in the absence of other proof, we should unhesitatingly have referred both individuals to the same species. In other cases, however, the resemblance is so faint, that it requires the evidence of observation to be convinced of the affinity, and, in the absence of this guide, the differences exhibited are in some cases so great, as to induce the naturalist to rank the males and females as belonging to different species. This has happened with the hen-harrier and the ring-tail, among birds; and the male and female stag-beetles, and glow-worms among insects. When mistakes of this kind have been rectified by the progress of discovery, we gain possession of many useful analogies, fitted to guide us in the investigation of kindred species.

When the sexes of a species have been ascertained, a favourable opportunity presents itself of tracing the progress of the *Young*, from birth to age, and of witnessing those remarkable changes which many species are destined to undergo, before they attain maturity. Some of these changes consist merely of slight differences in shape, size, or colour, as among quadrupeds and birds, which yet have been sufficient to perplex, in no small de-



gree, the closet naturalist, and have induced him to erect a host of spurious species. Among the Gulls, for example, the young birds are all covered with dusky spots, even in those places which, in maturity, are destined to exhibit a snowy whiteness; while, among the Ducks, the young males have their future brilliancy of colouring concealed in the plainer plumage of the female garb. But these changes are insignificant, when compared with those which the individuals of other tribes exhibit, in passing from the infant to the adult state. Thus the Tadpole breathes in the water, by means of gills, and locomotion is executed by a long fin-like tail; while, in maturity, or in the state of a frog, respiration is performed by means of lungs, and the tail has disappeared. Still greater is the difference between the crawling Caterpillar, with its worm-like form, powerful jaws, numerous feet, and singular suckers, and the gaudy butterfly, sporting on the wing, fluttering from flower to flower, and living on nectar. Less obvious, but equally remarkable, is the difference between the young and mature individuals of the humble Sponge. At birth, the fry have the power of locomotion, which they exercise for a while, and then become fixed to a rock or shell during the remainder of their existence.

While tracing the progress of young animals from their birth to maturity, and attending to those successive developments of form or colouring which are exhibited, valuable opportunities occur for determining the suitable kinds of *Food*, and the arrangements for securing it, which prevail. Here a fruitful field presents itself for the exercise of our powers of observation, in the endless variety of means for finding out and seizing hold of the food, or in giving it the necessary preparation for the stomach. How well fitted are the instincts of our own species to attach the infant to its mother, while its organs of nutrition are as yet adapted only for milk! As strength is acquired, the organs of mastication develop themselves, along with the power of moving and grasping; and, in old age, when 'the grinders cease,' the sign of dissolution for every other animal, man enjoys the prerogative of supporting existence by returning to 'eat pap and spoonmeat.' But not only is it of importance to ascertain the various kinds of food which are selected by the individuals of a species, but the determination of the influence which particular articles of diet exercise on young animals, in modifying the development of their parts, or on mature animals, in regulating the number or the quality of their offspring, ought in no case to be overlooked. It is by an investigation of this kind that we obtain a knowledge of those principles on which the *Domestication* of animals depends, and become qualified for contemplating, with a philosophic eye, the

the changes which man himself has experienced, the triumphs which he has already achieved, or the conquests he may yet secure, over the creatures of the globe. Contemplate for a moment the modifications of form, size, and instincts, which man may be said to have created, in the species of the horse, the dog, and the ox—or in those plants now used for culinary purposes—and the subject will appear in its true light and suitable importance! But amidst these *varieties*, which have sprung up under our eye, there are not a few which deviate so much from the type of the species, that we seem incapable of assigning a limit to man's power of producing variation; nor, when thinking how many similar circumstances accidentally occur in nature, is it easy to avoid suspecting that many reputed species may, in reality, have descended from a common stock.

In tracing the individuals of a species, through those various changes which they experience with age, there will be presented to our notice a series of phenomena, displaying in a remarkable manner the influence which the *Seasons* exercise on organized beings. A few species of quadrupeds or birds, for example, are able to withstand all the rigours of winter, protected by a slight addition to the quantity of their clothing, or a change in its radiating power. It is owing to these circumstances that the fur-bearing animals are most eagerly sought after in the winter season—and that the plumage of the ptarmigan, during the same period, nearly resembles the snow. Not a few of the birds of this country forsake their summer residence, the haunts of their youth, to winter in more southern regions; while some of our quadrupeds, equally impatient of cold, outlive its rigours in a state of torpidity. Some species can find a stock of food at all seasons; others must shift their quarters to secure a supply; while a few, instinctively provident, feast during the season of scarcity on the stores they had previously collected.

But, independently of these interesting aspects under which the individuals of a species may be contemplated, we have still to consider them in reference to their *Distribution*. In general, we shall find all the individuals of a species restricted to a particular region, in the middle of which life is maintained with comfort, but towards the margin all the vital powers seem enfeebled. In the region of the horse, the rein-deer would pine away under the influence of heat; and in the region of the musk-ox, the buffalo would perish with cold. The extent of the geographical distribution of the individuals of a species depends chiefly on circumstances connected with temperature, food, and shelter. Man can control all these in the greatest degree; and therefore possesses the most extensive geographical distribution. While exposed to



the inconveniences of a tropical climate he secures the comfort of the cooling shade, and is equally successful in spending a polar winter in his subglacial dwelling.

Before closing these remarks on the various features which constitute the character of a species, it is necessary to state, that, however intimate the relationship between any two species may appear to be, it will seldom, if ever, be found that the resemblance is equally great in all their characters. A very close agreement may prevail in their food, as between the jackdaw and the rook, yet their haunts be dissimilar. How analogous the characters of the bittern and the stork! yet the former dwells in the fens and nestles in a tuft of rushes—'as for the stork, the fir-trees are her house.' These facts, and many others of a similar kind which may be produced, intimate our risks of error when, employing analogical reasoning as our guide, without great caution, we infer the habits and distribution of one species, which have not been investigated, from the known characters of a species to which it bears a resemblance. Indeed, the more closely we examine the subject, we shall perceive the value of the conclusion, that every species is influenced in its habits and distribution by peculiar laws.

The history of many *species* of organized beings has, in this manner, been patiently and successfully investigated, and materials have been obtained for constructing many pages in our book of Nature. But in what way are these pages to be distributed, or upon what principle are we to proceed in the classification of our species, so as to place objects in their suitable stations, to communicate with perspicuity the knowledge which we have acquired, and to enable others to trace, with ease, the accordance or disagreement of their labours with our own? On this subject naturalists appear to have entertained very different views, and to have confounded two objects which ought to be regarded as perfectly distinct—the classification of organized beings, so as to *distinguish* them; and their classification, with the view of exhibiting their *affinities*.

The naturalist, in conducting his researches with the view of distinguishing the objects with which he is occupied, is compelled to employ *comparison*, in order to determine the characters which certain species possess in common, from those with which they bear little or no resemblance. Amidst a hundred species to which our attention may be directed, we may begin our labours by selecting one species as a *type*, and proceed to collect around it all those species which resemble it in their most obvious properties. Having exhausted our stock of analogous species, we may select another type, and proceed in a similar manner, until we have succeeded in distributing the whole into masses or groups, which

which may be denominated kingdoms, or classes, or by any other name we please. We may next proceed with these different groups, and subdivide their component parts in a similar manner, and thus frame our orders or genera. The general character of the species selected as the types will become the distinguishing marks of the divisions to which they belong, or the explanatory titles of the various primary and subordinate groups. It is obvious, however, that the characters peculiar to the various groups, being derived from different organs, the names bestowed on those may seem, in the inferior divisions, to be co-ordinate, though in reality there be no equality of rank. Such, in fact, is a tolerably correct representation of the prevailing systems of natural history. The primary groups have one name bestowed on them, those immediately succeeding have another, and all these names or titles are retained and employed, according to a fixed plan, as if natural history could not be studied or unfolded without them.

In the Linnæan system, five titles, viz.—Kingdom, Class, Order, Genus, and Species, were exclusively employed, occupying a determinate subordinate relation. In the animal kingdom, there were six classes; in the first of which, including the mammalia, there were seven orders. In the vegetable kingdom, there were twenty-four classes; in the first of which, termed monandria, there were two orders. But a moment's reflection may convince us that, though the formation of these groups may be convenient in the arrangement of a collection, and even to some extent may facilitate the researches of the student, yet to a novice, anxious to ascertain the place, in the system, of a species which he has investigated, formidable difficulties will still remain. If the subject of his inquiries be an animal, he will have to compare it with the character of all the six classes, before he can make an approach to place it with congeners; if a plant, he has the extended range of twenty-four classes to traverse. Linnæus was aware of this defect in the plan which he had adopted, and endeavoured to provide a remedy. In the animal kingdom, the titles and characters of his six classes were preceded by a 'Divisio naturalis Animalium ab interna structura indicatur:—

|                              |                    |             |
|------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Cor biloculare, biauratum;   | Viviparis          | Mammalibus. |
| Sanguine calido, rubro.      | Oviparis           | Avibus.     |
| Cor uniloculare, uniauratum; | Pulmone arbitrario | Amphibis.   |
| Sanguine frigido, rubro.     | Branchiis externis | Piscibus.   |
| Cor uniloculare, inauratum;  | Antennatis         | Insectis.   |
| Sanie frigida, albida.       | Tentaculatis       | Vermibus.   |

In the vegetable kingdom, a similar preparation was made for facilitating inquiry, in the CLAVIS SYSTEMATIS SEXUALIS. In attending



attending to these tabular views, it seems surprising that, while Linnæus employed a greater number of subordinate groups in his kingdoms than *four*, he should have restricted himself to the employment of four titles—*Classes, Orders, Genera, and Species*—leaving the other groups to be distinguished only by their characters. Thus, while mammalia and aves formed *classes*—the former being viviparous, the latter oviparous—the higher chain which bound them—*cor biloculare, biauratum—sanguine calido, rubro*—was left without a title. In the vegetable kingdom, while thirteen of his groups were honoured with the title of *classes*, the tabular view, above referred to, exhibits *four divisions* in an ascending series—higher than these classes, yet depending on their character—without a distinctive epithet. Even in the arrangement of his orders and genera he found it necessary to distribute them into groups, omitting, however, to designate such by any particular title. It is scarcely possible to devise an apology for this strange conceit of the illustrious Swede, and still more difficult to account for that attachment to such empiricism, which his followers generally exhibit, or his aversion and theirs to the divisions, sections, and other titles employed by the older naturalists. But, whatever opinion we may form on this subject, there can be no doubt that the progress of the student is greatly facilitated by the distribution of species into groups, distinguished by particular characters; and this assistance might be greatly increased by a suitable distribution of these groups, according to their subordinate importance. In contemplating the divisions in the animal kingdom, antecedent to the classes, we perceive that Linnæus overlooks this subordination, and exhibits three groups, apparently of equal rank, when there are only two, the third being subordinate to the second. This will be better understood by the following distribution, when contrasted with the original, previously exhibited:—

1. *Cor biloculare, biauratum; sanguine calido, rubro:*

2. *Cor uniloculare* { *uniauratum; sanguine frigido, rubro:*  
                               *inauratum; sanie frigida, albida.*

\* A similar instance of this want of subordination is displayed in his distribution of the genera in the class Diandria, and order Monogynia, in the vegetable kingdom, in which there are four groups thus distinguished:—

\* Flores inferi, monopetali, regulares.

\*\* Flores inferi, monopetali, irregulares. Fructus capsularis.

\*\*\* Flores inferi, monopetali, irregulares. Fructus gymnospermi.

\*\*\*\* Flores superi.

Now, had these groups been exhibited in their proper subordination they would obviously have been thus arranged:—

1. Flores

## 1. Flores inferi, monopetali.

## a Regulares.

## aa Irregulares.

## b Fructus capsularis.

## bb Fructus gymnospermi.

## 2. Flores superi.

The error which Linnæus committed, in neglecting to arrange his groups so as to preserve their subordinate relations, has been followed by many distinguished naturalists, both in this country and on the continent, nor is it likely that the evil will soon be removed, until distinct conceptions shall prevail respecting *positive* and *negative* characters. How ought we to proceed if specimens of a hundred species of animals were presented to us for arrangement, and our distribution to be unconnected with former systems? If, in our preliminary inquiries, we directed our attention to those organs which all the species possessed, we should detect the character *common to the whole group*, or class as it may for the present be termed, and thus establish a fixed point from which to proceed. In attempting now to subdivide, we may discover certain characters possessed by a number of species, of which the others are necessarily destitute; for had all possessed them, they would previously have been engrossed among the common properties of the class, and as these characters may be viewed as the index of peculiar functions, they claim attentive consideration. We shall thus obtain two orders, or inferior divisions, the first distinguished by a *positive* character, in the presence of certain organs,—and the second by a *negative*, in the absence of these peculiarities. If we now examine each of our orders, with the view of determining those characters which all the species they include possess, and not previously taken notice of in the marks of the class, we shall become prepared for still further subdivision by positive and negative characters, until our extreme groups or genera shall contain species, all of which have the same organs, exercise consequently the same functions, and present differences not in kind but degree. This method of division in natural history has been termed ‘Dichotomous,’ because every group, as it is arranged or analysed, is cut in two. The class, in this system, may be compared to the trunk of a tree, the subordinate orders and sections to the branches, and the species to the buds or leaves on the sprays. In this mode of proceeding all *useless repetition of character* is avoided throughout all the groups even to the species; so that the student, when he proceeds to compare an object in his possession with those which have been classified, will advance with a steady confidence of gaining his object by the shortest road. How different is this mode of aiding the student from those cum-

brous



brous methods in common use! But there are obvious reasons why it is so generally neglected. The labour of an author who pursues the dichotomous method is greatly increased; as his powers of observation and judgment must be in full activity, defects can be less easily concealed, and spurious genera more readily detected. When the dichotomous method is employed synthetically its excellence is equally apparent, as by bringing together all the characters by which the higher groups are distinguished, we can form at once the *character naturalis* of any genus, and perceive at a glance the relative importance of its members.

As the dichotomous method is the exhibition of a process of thought universally practised by the human mind, we may well be surprised that any other mode of arrangement for establishing a distinction among species ever usurped its place. We disclaim all idea of regarding it as a modern invention, or that Peter Ramus has the merit of its establishment. In the earliest writings in the world, those of the Jewish legislator, positive and negative characters are used in classifying organised beings, exhibiting, not indistinctly, the rudiments of the dichotomous method. We find beasts distributed into such as divide the hoof, such as are cloven footed, such as chew the cud, with their negatives; and fishes contemplated as having fins and scales, or wanting such organs. In the writings of Aristotle, equally obvious traces of this method may be perceived, not only in the construction of his different classes, but in the numerous accurate subdivisions which he announced. More recently, in the writings of Lister, Willoughby, and Ray, it occupied the situation which it merited. But admitting the value of this method, as an instrument for discriminating objects, is it sufficient to exhibit to us their *affinities*? Certainly not. It accomplishes as much in this respect as *one* system can effect, but it is unable to fulfil all our wishes. Some of the species in the negative groups may possess a few of the characters of the species in the positive ones, from which they are cut off, though they be destitute of those peculiarly discriminative; and they may thus be removed far from those with which they should preserve a relationship. The value of these remarks, however, will be better understood by contemplating those principles which ought to guide us in classifying animals according to their affinities, or, as it has been termed, the 'natural method.'

The task of distributing organised beings according to their affinities would be easy indeed, if all the organs in the same species invariably exhibited a co-ordinate degree of complexedness or simplicity. If upon finding one organ, in its most perfect form, admitting into its structure the greatest variety of combinations,  
and

and exercising the greatest number of functions, we could predicate that all the other organs of that species would be found equally perfect, then might the whole series be exhibited according to *one method*. We might, in such circumstances, select the most perfect species to occupy the first place in the system, and arrange the remainder in a descending series, as the species became more and more simple in their structure; and we might hope to effect that which Baron Cuvier has announced himself as having accomplished, 'Le Règne Animal distribué d'après son Organisation.' Such an object, however, is unattainable. There is harmony of character among the organs of a species, fitting it for existence; but this harmony may appear under a variety of modifications, so that we may find one or more series of organs largely developed in connexion with others in an imperfect state. It is equally true, that within certain limits we may find several species exhibiting a wonderful degree of resemblance in structure, function, and distribution, leading us to entertain the most presumptuous notions regarding the value of analogical reasoning, by imagining ourselves acquainted with 'the necessary conditions of existence.' Under the influence of this delusion, the deservedly celebrated Cuvier is found asserting, that 'any one who observes only the print of a cloven hoof may conclude that the animal which left this impression ruminates; and this conclusion is quite as certain as any other in physics or moral philosophy.' (Oss. Foss. i. 51.) Yet, unfortunately for this sweeping announcement, M. Cuvier himself had previously admitted, 'I doubt whether it would have been discovered, independently of *actual observation*, that the *ruminating* animals should *all* have cloven hoofs, and that they should be the *only* animals having them;' and at the same time he might have recollected an observation of the oldest historian, when prohibiting the use of swine, 'and the swine, though he divide the hoof, and be cloven footed, yet he cheweth *not* the cud; he is unclean to you.'

Linnaeus, Jussieu, and Cuvier, overlooking those innumerable various combinations of organs exhibited by different species, yet displaying, at the same time, the most perfect harmony, have imagined that animals and vegetables might be exhibited according to their affinities, by a *single natural method*; and their followers have exerted themselves to bring to maturity a system, the impracticability of which admits of demonstration. If we assume any organ, and the functions it is destined to perform, as the basis of our natural method, we shall be able to trace its modifications in a variety of species, until these become so obscure, that the very existence of the organ cannot be detected. If we take, as an example, the four extremities, as these are developed

in



in the horse or cow, we shall readily perceive their adaptation to support the body and execute the purposes of locomotion. We may, however, trace the anterior extremities losing their function of locomotion, and passing into prehensile organs, to aid the hinder extremities in climbing, as in the monkey, or for more general purposes, as in man; or we may trace the anterior extremities reduced to paddles in the whale, and the hinder ones united with the tail to form a horizontal fin. Under another form we may view these extremities passing into wings, among the bats and certain squirrels. Again, among the lizards, we may witness equally remarkable gradations of form in the organs of locomotion, from the four developed extremities of the crocodile, to the bipes, destitute of fore feet, and the chirotæ, destitute of hind feet. If we make choice of the digestive organs, we may pursue a similar plan, and find that the prehensile organs admit of distribution into several well-marked groups; and that the different kinds of teeth and stomachs equally admit of classification. But our *natural families*, constituted from the characters of the digestive organs, will not be identical with those established from the characters of the locomotive organs. If we contemplate the means of defence against the vicissitudes of the weather, or against foes, the parental duties, or the conditions of the young, we shall likewise constitute a number of families, founded on important physiological considerations, yet still differing from those established in reference to the structure and functions of other organs. If we classify animals in this manner, we shall obtain a number of 'Natural Families,' or physiological groups, unfolding the true affinities of species in all their various relations.

It has been objected to this method of classifying organised beings, according to their affinities, that there will be as *many natural methods*, or physiological groups, as there are organs, and that each species may occupy a place in different groups. All this must be admitted, and there is no remedy; for since species thus present so many modifications of character in their organs, which are not co-existent, this wished-for unity of method cannot be reached:—if attempted, it may bring together, in a family, genera which exhibit certain affinities; but it will, in many cases, separate at the same time such groups from other genera with which they are intimately connected. In proof of this, let us attend, for a little, to the accordance and disagreement in the affinities among the species of a few acknowledged *natural genera*, and we shall find how wantonly the truths of physiology are sacrificed to this eagerly sought after *unity* of method. Take the genus *Lepus* as an example, including hares and rabbits. These animals agree very closely

closely in the structure and functions of their organs of protection, sensation, locomotion, and nutrition, and in these respects suitably belong to the same natural family or physiological group. When, however, we proceed to compare them in reference to their reproductive functions, we witness a very marked disagreement. In the hare, uterine gestation continues until the young at birth are protected by a covering of fur, have eyes to see and ears to hear, and limbs fitted to execute the purposes of locomotion. The duties of the mother, at the birth of her offspring, are few in number and easily executed. Their cradle is of the simplest kind: their fur requires only to be licked dry; and if they be supplied with milk, they are able, in a day or two, to frisk about their birthplace. In the rabbit, circumstances are widely different. Uterine gestation is so imperfect, that at birth the young are naked, deaf, and blind, with limbs too feeble to support the body. The duties, therefore, of the mother, in this instance, become more complicated. She has to provide a warm nest, to the exclusion of foes, preserve the young in a state of cleanliness, and supply them with nourishment until they are able to issue forth from their cradle; having experienced, as it were, a second birth. The hare, in relation to her offspring, exhibits an affinity with the horse or the sheep; while the rabbit, in the same relations, claims kindred (as does also the cat) with the opossum and kangaroo; for though she has no pouch, like these animals, in which to place her imperfect young, she is led by her instincts to provide a substitute, in a nest lined with her own fur.

The vegetable kingdom affords instances equally striking, in which, by the employment of *one* natural method, some affinities are preserved, while others are as obviously disregarded. If we take the common and dwarf elder, we shall find that, in the character of their flowers and fruit, the general appearance of the leaves, and even the peculiar scent of the plant, they very closely agree, and are included in the genus *Sambucus*, belonging to the class Pentandria and order Trigynia of the sexual system of Linnaeus, and to the Dicotyledonous Caprifoliacea of the natural method of Jussieu. Yet, in reference to the character of the stem and roots, these two plants differ as remarkably in their duration, as the hare and the rabbit in their reproduction. The common elder has a permanent root and stem, and maintains the character of a tree; while the individuals of the dwarf elder perish annually, root and stem, after having prepared a new root for the production of a stem in the following season, as in other herbaceous plants. In any arrangement, therefore, which contemplated plants according as their stems were capable of producing flowers and



extremity to uranium at the other. But it is not only in their simple relations as elements that these bodies exhibit the inapplicability of Leibnitz's law to their case. When they enter into combination, they unite only in certain proportions, the greatest being a multiple of the least quantities, and intermediate or transition combinations do not exist. It is, indeed, obvious, that if this law of continuity operated on the elements in their *mutual relations*, there could not exist such a class of bodies as those denominated *chemical compounds*, or *species*, in the mineral kingdom, and the Daltonian theory of definite proportions had never shed a lustre on the name of the discoverer, and given to the science of chemistry a degree of precision which has added equally to its dignity and usefulness.

We have thus seen that the created beings of the inorganic kingdom, in the heavens above and the earth beneath, in *their mutual relations*, appear in decided opposition to this law of continuity, leading us to expect that it will be found equally inapplicable to the created beings of the organised kingdom. To give, however, to this supposed law a fair trial, we shall now proceed to examine those methods in natural history which assume its existence, and attempt to exhibit, in their arrangement of species, the influence which it has exercised; confining our attention, however, to an analysis of two systems, the first of which may be termed the *System of Progressive Development*, the second the *System of Circular Affinities*.

In the exhibition of the system of progressive development, M. Lamarck has greatly excelled all his predecessors, in the number of his examples, and the freedom of his announcements. While intimating the general results of his investigations, he has pointed out, in his introduction to his '*Histoire Naturelle des Animaux sans Vertébres*,' (1815, i. 348,) an important distinction which, he regrets, has been too much neglected, viz., those relations of resemblance between different objects compared with one another, and those of particular parts of different objects. The acute author of the '*Horæ Entomologicae*,' several years after, perceived the value of these distinctions, without being aware of their origin, and gave to Lamarck's '*Rapports entre des organisations comparées, prises dans l'ensemble de leurs parties*,' the title of *Relations of Affinity*, or when 'the general conformation of the animals in each series passes so gradually from one species to another, as to render any interruption of this transition almost imperceptible;' and to the same author's '*Rapports entre des parties semblables ou analogues, prises isolément dans l'organisation des différens animaux, et comparées entr'elles*,' the title of *Relations of Analogy*, consisting 'in a correspondence between certain

tain parts of the organization of two animals which differ in their general structure.' Yet these distinctions are only respected when they suit the views of their authors, as we shall afterwards see.

M. Lamarck conceives that the DEITY communicated to Nature the capability of forming the subjects of the organised kingdom from dead matter, aided by heat, electricity, and other agents. This Nature, he thinks, had neither object nor choice, and could not have acted otherwise than she has done, being only 'a certain order of things.' She commenced her operations by forming in the water, or in moist places, certain small gelatinous bodies, which received into their interior the expansive and repulsive fluids of the surrounding medium. The interstices increasing, utricular cavities were formed, with walls consisting of the more viscous parts. These walls received from certain subtile fluids an absorbing power, internal re-action commenced, passages in the walls were formed, movements of the fluid took place, and organization and life were established. Some of these primary concretions being incapable of acquiring the power of irritability, owing to their chemical composition, were employed as the groundwork of the vegetable kingdom, while those in which this faculty could be established, furnished Nature with the materials for the fabrication of animals. Destitute, at this time, of any particular organs, these rudimentary plants and animals possessed only those properties which are common to all living beings. They did not, however, long continue in this simple form. By the absorption of fluids they increased in size, and began to multiply by gemmation; and by the *force of circumstances*, they speedily assumed various forms, and unfolded various systems of organs. By the continuance of these efforts, through many ages, these little bodies were brought into the condition of those various species with which the globe is now peopled. The *mucor* has unfolded itself in the stately *oak*; the *monas* has been equally active, and reached the dignity of *man*. In the course of these changes, however, the progress of Nature has been frequently arrested by counteracting circumstances,—by other powers, forces, or orders of things, than those under Nature's control. Hence it has happened on many occasions, that while Nature was occupied in developing one system of organs, another system, previously perfected, has degenerated in structure, and thus her advancing efforts have partially failed, occasioning those '*rappports particuliers*' or relations of analogy, when the object in view was to establish an affinity. Still her resources were numerous. After reaching any kind of structure in a single individual, she could propagate the quality, and make a *species*. Even the species themselves possess the most useful inherent properties. The snails and slugs, having felt,



felt, while crawling on the ground, an inclination to touch the objects before them, made the effort, the fluids rushed to the proper place, and their *feelers* or horns were formed. Some of the gasteropods, not having indulged any such wish, still remain destitute of these organs. Certain birds, anxious to be able to perch on trees, made the attempt, their toes and claws became elongated and bent, and they speedily found themselves qualified to grasp the branches. Some birds wished to swim, and they obtained webbed feet, while others, contented with wading, acquired long legs! As similar anxieties to change, or gain certain objects, still exist, new species must be daily forming,—and Man himself knows not what he may yet become, under the march of intellect! The author of this system is inclined to believe that Nature may have started from more points than one. Thus he supposes, that by means of the infusoria she fabricated the mollusca, while she derived crabs and insects from a simple *worm*. He is at a loss, however, to determine in what manner the vertebral animals could receive their origin from either of these points, or through any species yet recognized. The chasms of the chain are acknowledged to be numerous: the vertebrata are admitted to be far removed from all the other groups! Before offering any remarks on the value of this system, it seems necessary, with becoming gravity, to assure the general reader, that its author was long an active professor in the Museum of Natural History at Paris; that he has succeeded in making some converts; and that he occupies, *de facto*, a prominent place among the systematical zoologists of the continent. Well says the Christian poet,

‘All truth is precious, if not all divine;  
And what dilates the powers must needs refine;  
But Reason still, unless divinely taught,  
Whate’er she learn, learns nothing as she ought!’

The abettors of this view of the progressive development of organized beings offer no proof that the Deity could not create Man directly, as easily as a Monas, or the ultimate particles of matter of which that was formed. Neither is there any proof offered, that, in delegating power to Nature, the Deity necessarily limited her efforts to progressive development. Lamarck himself is compelled to acknowledge ‘En effet, nous manquons nous-mêmes de moyens pour nous assurer du fondement de nos déterminations à cet égard.’ The theory professedly advocates the simplicity of Nature’s proceedings, and yet the method prescribed to her for the formation of Man is the most complex and circuitous imaginable. Indeed, the whole scheme, as an exposition of the plan of procedure, is so obviously a dream of the imagination, that one may well be surprised to find it occupying a place

a place in the records of science. It is true, that the prejudiced advocates of this system have imagined that the physical distribution of petrifications gave support to their views. They have announced as an established truth, that the relics of animals, imbedded in the oldest rocks containing organic remains, belong to the simplest kinds, such as the zoophytes; and that the newer rocks exhibit relics of animals progressively advancing to the most perfectly organized structures. When, however, we open the cabinets of Nature, and examine the stores of her earliest works which she has preserved, we find in the same drawer of grey-wacke, transition limestone, or old red sandstone, the relics of zoophytes and mollusca, along with the bones of *vertebrated animals*, and the stems of *dicotyledonous plants*. These are facts familiar to the investigators of the inorganic kingdom, though too frequently unknown to those who conduct their zoological speculations, indifferent to the truths of geology, and the physical distribution of organic remains.

This theory of progressive development, in the arrangement of organized beings, has, we admit, been resorted to by several respectable naturalists. Some preliminary difficulties, however, seem to present themselves. If it were possible to arrange animals in the ratio of their perfection, assuming the monas as the simplest, and man as the most complicated, with which of these species should the system commence—Monas, or Man? If we place Man at the head, we can determine all the organs as we descend in the scale, as these are presented to us in their gradually reduced forms. But if we begin with a monas, the rudiments of organs will frequently present themselves at an early stage of our arrangement, the true characters of which cannot be determined until they be exhibited in a more perfect form, in some other part of the series. Thus certain black points occur on the head of many molluscous and annulose animals, which have been denominated eyes, in this progressive system, not because their structure or observed function indicated their nature, but because they bore some resemblance to the true eyes of animals in the higher classes. In effecting, therefore, an arrangement according to progressive development, assistance must be derived from the method to which it is opposed. If employed analytically, it is an instrument of no value; but if used synthetically, to communicate knowledge previously acquired, it will be found greatly to assist the student in forming accurate conceptions of the relations of different organs, by exhibiting the transitions from their simple to their complicated states. For example—if, in the family constituting the genus *Spongia* of Linnaeus, so well illustrated by the labours of Dr. Grant, we take the common sponge as the type of the



spongia of Aristotle, we shall find that, in reference to its skeleton, which is entirely albuminous, it exhibits the greatest simplicity of structure. If we consider this genus as the stem of the family, we shall find a branch issuing forth at each side, the one branch having its albuminous skeleton strengthened by siliceous spicula, forming the genus *Halichondria*,—the other branch with calcareous spicula, forming the genus *Grantia*.

The *circular distribution* of organized beings has been warmly advocated by Mr. Macleay, in his '*Horæ Entomologicæ*.' This intelligent naturalist, having embraced the *law of continuity*, as exercising its influence even on the *mutual relations* of organized beings, and feeling himself perplexed in arranging animals according to a linear series of progressive development of structure, has attempted a different method of distribution, which he imagines to be encumbered with fewer difficulties. He considers that, in any natural group, there is a regular chain of affinities always returning into self; so that if we begin at any part of the chain, we may proceed through the varieties of structure, in the different families or species, and be conducted to the type from which we took our departure. This relation of affinities is represented by a circle. Each circle is composed of *five* groups, and these may again be distributed into other five groups, until all the species be comprehended. The corresponding points of contiguous circles have relations of analogy, and each circle is connected, by approximating groups, with the two circles between which it is stationed. Thus it appears that the *circular*, instead of the *rectilinear* distribution, and the *quinary*, instead of any other numerical mode of grouping, constitute the peculiarities of a system, to the more prominent details of which we shall now direct the attention of the reader.

Instead of having discovered this circular arrangement in the organized kingdom as a whole, and accomplished a quinary distribution at the very commencement of the scheme—the author has found it necessary to consider animals and vegetables as constituting only *two* distinct circles. Even animals themselves are considered as having 'been created on *two* distinct plans.' According to the first, 'there is constantly a pulmonary or branchial respiration aimed at, with a perfect system of circulation for the nutritive fluid' (embracing the classes *vertebrata* and *mollusca*); 'in the other, not only is the existence of a circulation a question to which no small degree of doubt may be attached, but the system of respiration is of a nature quite different, and apparently much less perfect' (embracing *annulosa*, *radiata*, and *acrita*.) This distinction between these two plans is strangely inaccurate: since, among the *annulosa*, of the second division,  
organs

organs of circulation and respiration are exhibited as perfect as among the mollusca of the first division ; as the author himself admits that ‘ the general character of the *crustacea*, as an annulose class, consists in their breathing by means of branchiæ, and being in possession of a complete circulation.’ But overlooking this circumstance, and after having seen this learned naturalist intimating that the animal kingdom might with propriety be divided by positive and negative characters into two groups, those of the first exhibiting a perfection of organization to which the other could not lay claim, we might have expected the display of *two* circles ; or, if the five classes already noticed were to be preserved, that the three last should occupy a secondary rank. It appears, however, that by the admission of the mollusca to a higher rank than the annulosa, the latter would be so far separated from the vertebrata as to occasion an ‘unnatural interruption’ in the series ; and their degradation is accordingly decreed, though not very logically, in these terms—‘ it follows, therefore, that though they undoubtedly possess a very complete system of respiration and circulation, the mollusca are inferior in the scale of nature to the annulosa.’ Having thus arbitrarily arranged the animal kingdom into the following groups—acrita, mollusca, vertebrata, annulosa, and radiata, he considers them as forming a circle by the junction of the last of these divisions with the first.

Instead of travelling round this quinary circle, and tracing the connection of its component parts, we shall confine our remarks to the examination of those results in the discovery of affinities which seem to supply the defects of former systems. We have already observed that M. Lamarck, in his attempt to trace the progressive development of the series of animals, found himself unable to connect the vertebrata with the lower groups, by the intervention of any known species. According to the quinary system, the circle of vertebrata must pass by one series of affinities into the mollusca, and by another into the annulosa. The passage from the mollusca to the vertebrata is supposed to be effected by means of the *cephalopoda*, or cuttle-fish, on the one hand, and the *chelonian reptiles* on the other. But, after a number of fruitless efforts to discover a relation of *affinity*, and after being able to trace only a few trifling and imperfect relations of *analogy* among the subordinate parts of particular organs, the author adds—‘ it may, therefore, be concluded with safety that the *cephalopoda* come nearer to reptiles than to any other vertebrated animals, and that, of the reptiles, they come nearest to the *chelonians*. The *HIATUS* that occurs between them is, indeed, *VAST*, and hardly requires to be mentioned, since its existence is sufficiently demonstrated by the circumstance, that *hitherto no*



person has thought of the affinity!' Now, with such an admission, and in the face of a declaration of Baron Cuvier, that the cephalopoda differ entirely in their organization from the vertebrata, 'quant au plan et à l'arrangement général, tant intérieur qu'extérieur,' nothing but the most hopeless despondency could have induced an advocate of the quarian system to unite his contiguous circles of vertebrata and mollusca, by a vinculum so slender and unsuitable.—Has the attempt to unite the vertebrata with the annulosa been more successful?

The transition from the vertebral to the annulose animals is conceived to take place from the lamprey, among fishes, to the leech, in the annelides. Both animals have red blood, swim with an undulatory motion, have a circulation by veins and arteries, breathe by branchial pouches, and have the mouth formed to act as a sucker, with teeth in the interior. At first sight, these apparent affinities seem to justify the relation sought to be established; but are they fit to stand the test even of a moderate scrutiny? In reference to the nervous system, there is no relation either of affinity or analogy between the two species. The organs of sight in the lamprey and neighbouring genera are constructed according to the ordinary plan of the eyes of fishes; while in the leech, there are no organs with which the former can be compared, unless the ten black points on the margin of the upper lip, which were detected by Professor Carena, may be denominated eyes. The lamprey has organs of hearing and smelling, together with a tongue; of all which the leech is destitute. The lamprey has a sucker, with which it can adhere to its prey, and numerous teeth, wherewith to detach portions for food, to be swallowed by the aid of the tongue, and to enter a gullet, stomach, and intestine, and be ejected by the vent in the middle of the belly, as in other fishes:—the leech has likewise a sucker and three teeth, with the last of which a wound is made in the skin; the blood, in the absence of a tongue, enters the alimentary canal, which, after a series of constrictions, but in the absence of liver or kidneys, proceeds to the posterior extremity, where the vent opens above the tail. In the lamprey, there is a heart, well protected, with a regular circulation:—in the leech, there is no heart, and though there be a longitudinal vessel on each side, considered as arteries, and one along the belly and another along the back, regarded as veins, M. Thomas has seen the blood in these pretended arteries moving sometimes in one direction and sometimes in another. In the lamprey, the organs of respiration consist of pectinated gills, in pouches opening externally by lateral apertures, and internally by passages leading to the mouth, as in other chondropterygious fishes with fixed gills:—in the leech, respiration is sup-

posed

posed to take place by the intervention of vesicular bags, with minute external orifices along each side of the body, from one extremity to the other, unconnected internally with the mouth, and having simple walls. In the lamprey, the male and female organs of generation appear, from the observations of Sir Everard Home, to be united in the same individuals, so as to render conjunction unnecessary; the eggs, when expelled, are naked, and each contains a single foetus:—in the leech, the hermaphroditism requires the union of two individuals; the eggs, when expelled, are covered with a spongy matter, and each contains several young. In the lamprey, progress is made through the water by a *laterally* undulating motion of the body:—in the leech, progress is made through the water by a *vertically* undulating motion, or, over hard substances, by a sucker on the tail, acting alternately with the one on the head, like the geometers among caterpillars. In the lamprey, rest is secured by the sucker at the mouth, the tail being free;—in the leech, rest is secured by the caudal sucker, the head being free, or by both suckers acting simultaneously. Such being the *vast differences* existing in the organization of the two animals, we may well be astonished that any individual who had ever made the comparison should have been able to perceive ‘*very evident affinities*,’ where there existed only a few very remote and insignificant *analogies*. Nor need we hesitate to conclude that the *hiatus* between the vertebrata and annulosa is as great as that acknowledged to exist between the former and the mollusca. These defects in the system occur in those parts of the circle which are best known, and where the organization of the species is least obscure. In connecting the other circles, defects equally remarkable and extensive might be pointed out, were it necessary to enlarge; for whenever a relation of affinity is wanting, analogical resemblances are eagerly sought after, and incautiously employed; the judgment is deceived; and the imagination, unchecked, rears an edifice, which the breath of truth may destroy in a moment.

In the course of the efforts which have been made to establish the quinary system, we have witnessed a classification of animals, founded on the characters of their circulating and respiring organs, sacrificed, with scarcely the shadow of apology, to hypothetical views. The division of animals into vertebral and invertebral, founded on considerations connected with the nervous system, has likewise been rejected, ‘because it does not state enough; and that the young naturalist, placing full reliance on it, may be led to conceive that animals have been formed on only two distinct plans.’ This statement, however, exhibits a very inaccurate view of the subject: for, while the vertebral group is declared



declared as formed on a plan (and this no one will deny), the invertebral group is distinguished only by the negative mark, being destitute of a vertebral column, and concomitant characters. Nay, so much convinced is the author of the '*Horæ Entomologicæ*' of the existence of only *two* plans in the animal kingdom, that he acknowledges 'that the vertebrata are the perfection of one plan of organization, as the annulosa may be of another.' From thus overlooking the dichotomous method, on the one hand, as the only natural guide to *discrimination*, primary groups occupy the same station with such as are of subordinate rank; the logical genus is confounded with species, the major with the minor proposition: while, from disregarding the physiological groups or systems of organs, on the other hand, as the index of *affinities*, one set of organs are employed to establish a connection here, another to accomplish the same object there; confounding together analogy and affinity in that very system which calls most loudly for their separation. Under such a mode of management may the circles selected be so connected, by some one of the various organs, as always to exhibit a relationship; and even, if their juxtaposition be altered, they may still display new bonds of connection, leading the author of the quinarian circle to exclaim, with him of the tripod, '*stabit quocunque jeceris.*'

If we abandon the principle by which *subordination* of rank among our groups is preserved, and attempt, by the exclusion of all negative characters, to have each of our classes or circles founded on some positive feature of organization, then will our primary groups be co-extensive with our genera. By limiting the primary groups to five, the quinarians thus abandon, in some measure, their own principles; and the same means which they employ to divide a group when a fifth is wanting, might enable them to subdivide others—to the destruction, however, of the harmony of their system. What, but the most obvious prejudices in favour of hypothetical views, could induce Mr. Macleay to divide *insecta* into *mandibulata* and *haustellata*, and leave entire the *arachnidæ*? Of this system, indeed, it has been well said by one of the most distinguished naturalists of the age—'Mr. Macleay's whole system, upon paper, appears very harmonious and consistent, and bears a most seducing aspect of verisimilitude; but it has not yet been so thoroughly weighed, discussed, and sifted, as to justify our adopting it *in toto* at present.' Enough, we trust, has been advanced, in the preceding observations, to prove that its weakness is most apparent where its triumphs should have been the greatest, and that its author, while indulging the dream of being supported by '*evident affinities*,' was in fact relying on very deceitful analogies,

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The advocates for the existence of the 'law of continuity' among created beings in their mutual relations, have experienced no small degree of pain from those *chasms* which so frequently present themselves, and which prove so destructive to their speculations, as they occur, in equal abundance, among the best known groups as in those of most difficult investigation. They have attempted to train Nature to walk over a course, which they have marked out, with an equal pace. But, greatly to their annoyance, she occasionally makes a halt—as when she refused retractile claws to the hunting tiger; indulges in frolicsome leaps, as in passing from the vertebral to the invertebral animals;—and completes the confusion of those who wish to train her, by bolting off the course, to convey Man to his rational throne.

They have endeavoured to soothe their feelings by imagining that the unexplored regions of the globe may yet yield forms calculated to supply present deficiencies, and connect the detached links of the linear or circular chain. Much, no doubt, remains to be done in the discovery of *species*, and, perhaps, still more in comprehending the structure, functions, and distribution of those which systems have already recognised; but the boldest advocate of *this* scheme has not even ventured to hope for the discovery of a semirational species to fill up the greatest gap which exists. Some misgivings seem to prevail even with respect to this supposed fertility of unknown regions. These naturalists have therefore ventured to call upon the hills and mountains to give up the organic remains which they possess, in order to furnish forms and structures calculated to connect anomalous groups, inclose aberrant genera, and give harmony and continuity to the system. Geology, however, in all its bearings, opposes the bold requisition. The strata present to the student the relics of various groups of organized beings; but these must be examined in the peculiar compartments which have been allotted to them. The fossils of the chalk rocks must not be mingled with those of the carboniferous limestone, nor with the *species* which now exist. All these must be studied as *separate systems*—the works of the same Omnipotent Creator—formed for particular purposes, and existing during different epochs—

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‘ of the capacious plan  
Which heaven spreads wide before the view of man.’

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ART. III.—*History of Scotland.* By Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq., F.R.S.E. and F.A.S. Volumes 1 and 2. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1829.

**I**N our last Number, we made some remarks on the history of the northern part of this island during those ages in which the light dawns slowly as the sunrise on a morning of mist. The present author has adopted for the subject of his work a period somewhat later than that at which we left off, and thus escapes the dim and doubtful discussion over which our heads have ached, and our readers' eyes have perhaps slumbered. Feeling our own optics a little too much dazzled by passing at once from the darkness of Kenneth Mac Alpine's period into the comparative full light of Alexander the Third's reign, we shall introduce our readers more gently to the latter era; nor can we do so without expressing our hope that Mr. Tytler may find time, before completing his projected labours, to furnish us with some preliminary matter in the shape of introduction, or otherwise, so as to inform his readers of what royal race Alexander sprung, and over what people he reigned.

On this point it is singular to discover that the Scots, whose fabulous history represented them, down to the end of the eighteenth century, as a nation of the purest blood and most ancient descent in Europe, can, notwithstanding that vaunt, be easily traced as a mixed race, formed out of the collision and subsequent union of several different populations, which remained slightly connected or occasionally dis severed, till the difference in their manners was worn away by time, and they coalesced at length into one people and kingdom.

We have formerly shown that, in the year 496, a body of Irish, then called Scots, had colonised Argyllshire, and made fierce wars on the decaying province of Rome, by the assistance, doubtless, of those called Meatae, or Middle Britons, who, subjected by the Romans during their power, rose against them when it began to decline. These Scots, moreover, made war upon the Caledonians, more latterly called Northern Picts or Deucaledonians, who had for ages been in possession of the greater part of Angusshire, Perthshire, Fife, and the north-east of Scotland up to the Moray firth. Beyond that estuary it would appear the Scandinavians had colonies upon the fertile shores of Moray, and among the mountains of Sutherland, of which the name speaks for itself that it was given by the Norwegians; and probably they had also settlements in Caithness and the Orcaades. When, therefore, Kenneth finally defeated, dispersed, and destroyed the Picts, he obtained possession of the middle provinces of Scotland from

sea to sea, having joined his original dominions on St. George's Channel to the eastern shores washed by the German Ocean. Behind him, to the north-east, lay the warlike and poor Scandinavians; but in front of his kingdom, and between that and the present English frontier, lay three states, enjoying a boisterous and unsettled independence, and each peopled by a mixed race.

The first of these was Galloway, then extended considerably beyond the limits of the shires of Wigton and Kirkcudbright, to which the name is now limited. This remote and desolate region ere long acknowledged a vassalage to the crown; but being inhabited by a very brave and barbarous people, continued, substantially, a separate state till about 1234. Secondly, bounded on the east, and partly on the north, by Galloway, lay Strathclyd, inhabited by British tribes, of the nation generally called Meatae. These also were compelled to acknowledge the superiority of the throne. They may be generally described as occupying the territory from the castle of Dunbarton to near the village of Melrose; but their limits, like those of all savage nations, were variable and uncertain, as they failed or succeeded in wars with their neighbours. The last mention of the inhabitants of Strathclyd, as a people having a separate kinglet or prince, occurs in 1018. Thirdly, still to the eastward of the Strathclyd Britons lay the provinces now called Berwickshire and the three Lothians. This fertile country was the object of cupidity, in a much greater degree than the barren mountains of the more western frontier; and, after the decay of the Roman power, it lay peculiarly exposed to the inroads of the Picts, who appear to have settled there a large division of their nation, called Vecturiones, who mingled, doubtless, among such remains of Britons as might still dwell to the south of the Firth of Forth. But when the sword of the Saxons drove back the Pictish incursions, the victors appear to have won from the Picts all the flat country comprehending Berwickshire and East Lothian, and the greater part of West Lothian, which they joined to the Saxon kingdom of Deiria, or Northumberland. The Northumbrian Saxons being in their turn hard pressed by the Danes, their kingdom was so much weakened, that the Scots were tempted to cross the Firth of Forth, then called the Scottish Sea, for the purpose of occupying Lothian; and about 850 they made themselves masters of the keys of that province, Dunbar and Edwinsbury (Edinburgh). At a later period (961), Edgar, king of England, in a council held at York, divided the territory hitherto designated as Northumberland, into two parts: the more southern half corresponds with the modern county of Northumberland, the northern moiety comprehended Lothian and the district now called Berwickshire. Finding this latter division



of the country so obnoxious to the attacks of the Scots, Edgar made an agreement with Kenneth the Second, and conferred upon him that portion, to be held of the English crown. Thus came Lothian to the government of the Northern Princes, but by grant from the king of England, and therefore under condition of paying homage—a circumstance which has thrown additional confusion into a confused part of British history. Finally, upon like terms, a considerable part of Westmoreland and Cumberland was some time after conceded to the Scot.

From the time of Kenneth Mac Alpine to that of Macbeth—that is, from 841 to 1040, a space of about two centuries, we have a line of fifteen kings of Scots, of whom it is easy to perceive that, in spite of the absurd prejudices concerning the inferiority of the Gaelic race, they sustained successfully the sceptre of Kenneth, and, by repeated battles both with the English and the Danes, not only repelled the attacks of their neighbours, but consolidated the strength of their kingdom, gradually modelling an association of barbarous and in part wandering tribes into the consistence of a regular state. It is true that, through the mist of years, these sceptred shades are seen but indistinctly and dimly; yet, as we catch a glimpse, we see them occupied always in battle, and often in conquest.

The more civilised descendants of the murdered Duncan come on the stage with an interest peculiar to themselves, as well as that which arises from the name of their ancestor, at the tale of whose murder our imagination has been so early awakened. If it be true, as we are told by Fordun, that Malcolm, called Canmore (*i. e.* Greathead), actually repaired, during the usurpation of Macbeth, to the court of England, already refined by the multitude of Normans whom Edward the Confessor assembled around him, we may conclude him to have been the first of his race who obtained some share of a better education than the wilderness called Scotland could at that time afford. His history shows symptoms of a vigorous and regular government. He had strength and generosity sufficient to receive and protect the heir of his benefactor Edward, when the battle of Hastings had thrust him from his throne. He wedded Margaret, sister to the disinherited Atheling, who, by the influence which she obtained over her husband, tamed the impetuosity of a fiery spirit, and inclined to acts of religion and charity blood which, like that of Malcolm's ancestors, was naturally of a choleric temperament. There can be no doubt that, during the reign of this king, considerable improvement was made by the Scottish nation. The king's bounty and the queen's benevolence drew to the court of Malcolm Canmore tides of various emigrants, both Normans and Saxons, and these

these, brought with them their respective arts and languages. The English tongue already prevailed in Lothian, where the Northumbrian Saxons and the Danes had been long seated, and where they had communicated to the descendants of the Vecturiones, or Southern Picts, a language which, from their previous intercourse with Scandinavians, that people might be in some degree prepared to receive. When, therefore, the Scottish Princes made the important acquisition of Lothian and Berwick, they found the Anglo-Saxon, or English, completely established there; as being the language of a people who had more ideas to express, it must have been more copious than the Gaelic, and we can, consequently, see no reason to wonder that it should have become, by degrees, the dialect of their court.

In the introduction of the Saxon language into his kingdom, Malcolm himself was a considerable agent. As frequently happens, he caught the flame of religion from the pure torch of conjugal affection. His love of his consort led him to engage in the devotional services which afterwards procured for her the title of a saint. Totally illiterate, the king was unable to peruse his wife's missals and prayer-books; but he had them gorgeously bound, and frequently, by kissing them, expressed his veneration for what he could not understand. When the queen undertook to correct some alleged abuses of the church, Malcolm stood interpreter betwixt the fair and royal reformer and such of the Scottish clergy as did not understand English, which Malcolm loved because it was the native tongue of Margaret. Such pictures occurring in history delight by their beauty and their simplicity. A king of fierce barbarians, himself the bravest of mankind, takes on him the yoke of devotion at the voice of a mild and beautiful woman, and serves, at least, as a channel for conveying to his savage subjects the instructions which he himself probably comprehended but imperfectly. It reminds us of the classic gems in which Love is represented as bridling the lion. The more violent mood of Malcolm aided the effects of his conjugal affection, and assisted, in a very different manner, the propagation of the Anglo-Saxon language in the north. The spouse of Margaret, mild as a lamb when by her side, was in war an untamed and devastating tiger. Simeon of Durham records, that in 1070 the king of Scots laid waste Northumberland and the bishopric of Durham with such fury, that, besides a great number killed, he swept off such a host of captives, that for many years they were to be found as bondmen and bondwomen not only in every village, but in the poorest hovels in Scotland. There is also to be added the extreme severity of William the Conqueror, who, to be avenged of the frequent revolts occurring



in the north of England, plundered the province as that of an enemy, forcing many thousands to fly into Scotland, where they were protected by Queen Margaret.

Malcolm, then, enlarged his dominions by conquest, illuminated them by increase of knowledge, and left Scotland an united and consolidated people, in comparison to what he found it. With subjects composed of so many different tribes and nations, and even languages—himself totally uneducated, this prince, the founder of the monarchy as it finally existed, deserves no small praise for the defence which he made against the English and Normans, and for the improvements which he was able, in the midst of civil dissensions and foreign war, to introduce among his uncultivated subjects. After his death, at the battle of Alnwick (A.D. 1093), it seemed that his labours were about to be destroyed. His brother Donald (the Donalbain of Shakspeare) assumed the crown, according to a custom prevailing in that period, which preferred the brother of the deceased monarch to his eldest son, and endeavoured to conciliate the prejudices of such of the Scots as were attached to the rude manners of their forefathers, by expelling all foreigners from the kingdom. Some unimportant revolutions took place; and more than one kingly phantom had been seen on the throne, before it was at length more permanently occupied by Alexander, son of Canmore. He was a high-spirited man, who resisted with gallantry, constancy, and success, the various attempts of the English prelates of Canterbury and York to extend their spiritual dominion over Scotland, and invade, in so doing, the liberties of the Scottish church.

His brother David succeeded him in 1123, and more than rivalled the manly character of Canmore. He, too, was sagacious, wise, and valiant; an affectionate husband, and a careful parent; usually victorious in war and prudent in peace; with the advantage of a much better education than had fallen to his father's lot. David was early involved in war; for, being the uncle of the Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I., the king of Scots held himself obliged to maintain the succession of that princess against the usurpation of Stephen. Considering how much England was disunited during this reign, it did not, at one period, seem improbable that the territories of the Scottish monarch might have been pushed up to the Humber. But the successes which David obtained only encouraged the insubordinate spirit of the Galwegians, and other rude tribes, which composed his army; and, owing to their disorganization, not less than to the fidelity and valour of the barons of the north of England, he sustained, A.D. 1138, a severe defeat at Cuton Moor, near Northallerton, where, if he had obtained victory, the destinies of the two divisions of the island might, perhaps,

perhaps, have been singularly reversed. As it was, David's power continued so little injured, that Stephen saw the necessity of ceding to him the whole earldom of Northumberland, excepting the fortresses of Bamborough and Newcastle: Cumberland was restored to him at the same time, and on the same condition of homage. David did much for the improvement of his subjects, and even for the civilisation of the Galwegians, upon whom he imposed regulations, tending to prevent their unsparing ravage and bloodthirsty spirit of slaughter. He founded very many religious houses, the endowments of which were afterwards much grudged by his successors, one of whom termed him, in allusion to his canonization, 'a sore saint to the crown.' His views, however, were more patriotic than his descendants were willing to comprehend. In the monastic establishments, whatever learning the times possessed was carefully preserved: their inhabitants were sometimes engaged in educating the sons of the gentry and nobility; for their own comfort, they cultivated the arts of husbandry and gardening; and, finally, being protected, at this early age, by the sanctity of their character, the church lands alone afforded a safe refuge for agriculture.

Malcolm IV., who succeeded his father David, is commonly, but erroneously, called Malcolm the Maiden.\* This was an active and high-spirited prince; yet his treaties with England were unfortunate. Henry II., now in full possession of the English crown, resumed from the Scottish king that portion of Northumberland which Stephen had ceded in his weakness. The English historians assert that Lothian itself (*comitatus Lodonensis*) was included in the cession. But if the *superiority* of England was acknowledged in that province, it is certain that Lothian was not, in fact, delivered up, as was the case with Northumberland. In the interior, Malcolm IV. greatly consolidated his kingdom. He subdued a formidable insurrection in Galloway, and reduced the spirit of that fierce and intractable people. He brought to obedience the remote county of Moray, occupied chiefly by Scandinavians, and is said to have dispersed the inhabitants over other parts of Scotland. The imagination recoils when we find in ancient history accounts of such violent experiments. But the people on whom they were wrought were few in number, and, subsisting by the chase and by their herds and flocks, found, possibly, no very great hardship in exchanging one corner of the wilderness for another. Malcolm died in 1165, and was succeeded by his brother William.

\* It appears from a grant made by him to the abbey of Kelso (*Cartulary*, folio 16) that Malcolm the Maiden had a natural son.

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The precipitate courage of this monarch, commonly called William the Lion, brought great calamities on himself and his kingdom. He felt resentment for the resumption of Northumberland by Henry II. ; and, engaging in a rash war with the English monarch on that account, was defeated by an inferior force, and made prisoner in an unnecessary skirmish. Galled with impatience under the captivity into which he had precipitated himself, he agreed to purchase his liberty by surrendering the independence of his kingdom. This shameful bargain was made in 1174 ; by which William became in express terms liegeman of Henry for *all* his dominions. In a quarrel with the pope, the prince, who could thus betray the honours of the Scottish crown, maintained stedfastly the freedom of the Scottish church : and, while the superior, Henry, was causing himself to be scourged at the tomb of Thomas à Becket, his vassal William was setting the threats and actual excommunications of the Romish see at protestant-like defiance.

Upon the accession of Richard I., the desire of that chivalrous prince to obtain the means of seeking glory in Palestine, and, perhaps, some sense that his father had abused the right of conquest towards the king of Scots, induced him to enter into a new treaty—formally restoring all that he could claim by the new instruments which Henry II. extorted during William's captivity, and replacing matters between the kings of England and Scotland on the same footing on which they had stood in the reign of Malcolm. Thus the kingdom of Scotland, properly so called, was restored to its independence ; while the possessions in Westmoreland and Cumberland, as well as those in Northumberland and the province of Lothian, all of which had made part of the heptarchy, continued to be held by a feudatory title from the English crown. And the consequence of Cœur-de-Lion's generosity, or policy, was the existence of a peace, not entirely unbroken, but without the interruption of any great war, or serious national quarrel, for more than a century.

The reign of Alexander II., though not without domestic incidents of importance, is marked by no considerable revolutions in Scotland. This just and prudent prince succeeded to his father William in 1214. Instead of the fatal attempt of warring upon England, he turned his attention to the regulation of the interior of his own kingdom by wise and just laws, great part of which are still in force. He finally subjected the Galwegians ; he withstood, with constancy like that of his forefathers, the encroachments of the pope—whose legates obtained only partial success in levying their exactions within the realm of Scotland. Finally, he expired in the act of endeavouring to compel the Lord of the Isles

Isles to do that homage to the crown of Scotland for the Hebrides which he used to render to the king of Norway. Alexander was seized with a fever, and died in the island of Kerrera in 1249.

It is at this particular point that the new historian of Scotland, Mr. Patrick Fraser Tytler, has taken up the annals of his country—a most interesting era, no doubt; when the peaceful, and even splendid, character of the reign of Alexander III. presents a contrast equally striking and affecting to the violent and bloody period which followed; when of two sister countries which nature had formed for union and perpetual friendship, the more powerful was engaged in forwarding the most unconscientious oppression, while the weaker was driven now into acts of treacherous and feigned submission, and now into those of unrestrained and vindictive cruelty. Nevertheless, as we have already hinted, we wish Mr. Tytler would bestow a portion of the research which he has brought to the later period, upon those dark ages preceding the accession of Alexander, which might be made with advantage the subject of an introductory dissertation or volume. The facts are not, indeed, numerous; but, cleared of the hypotheses which have been formed, and the spleen and virulence with which these have been defended, some account of Scotland from the earliest period is a chapter of importance to the history of mankind. We can see, after the subjugation of the Picts by Kenneth Macalpine, a miscellaneous association of wild and barbarous tribes blending together and associating themselves, so far as the low countries of Scotland were concerned, into one state and one people, speaking one language, and governed by one monarch. In the reign of Alexander III. the Picts were no more—the Galwegians had become peaceable—the Britons of Strath Clyde had vanished from history—the Saxons, Danes, and other inhabitants of Lothian, had melted into one nation with the people who possessed the shires of Fife, Stirling, Perth, and Angus. The Scandinavian inhabitants of the remoter counties had been displaced and blended with the mass of population elsewhere. The English had become a friendly people, exchanging acts of faith and kindness with their northern neighbours; and the savage wars, which had so often ravaged the frontiers of both kingdoms, seemed at sleep for ever.

When examined more closely, Scotland, though it could at most be reckoned a second-rate kingdom in Europe, appears to have exhibited, nevertheless, all the materials of a regular government and an improving country. The exercise of strict justice, so far as the regal power extended, preserved the fruits of industry and the means of civilisation; and peace, and the protection



tection of the magistrate, encouraged commerce. The town of Berwick, in particular, then belonging to the northern prince, 'enjoyed a prosperity, such as threw every other Scottish port into the shade,' says Mr. Tytler; 'and caused the contemporary author of the *Chronicles of Lanercost* to distinguish it by the name of a second Alexandria'—an epithet not undeserved, since the customs of that town amounted to about one-fourth of all the customs of England.\* Mr. Tytler's picture of the northern court and army at this period is highly interesting, when we consider how short a while before these kings had been barbarous chiefs, not unsuspected of cannibal propensities; and their followers, hordes of savages, which spared neither sex—even to the extent of tossing infants upon their pikes; a favourite amusement, it is said, amongst the Galwegians who attended David I. to Cutoon Moor.

The following circumstances of regal pomp are recorded with some degree of triumph, as equal, if not superior, to the contemporary magnificence of the southern court.

'As early as the age of Malcolm Canmore, an unusual splendour was introduced into the Scottish court by his Saxon queen. This princess, as we learn from her life by Turgot, her own confessor, brought in the use of rich and precious foreign stuffs, of which she encouraged the importation from distant countries. In her own dress, she was unusually magnificent; whilst she increased the parade of the public appearance of the sovereign by augmenting the number of his personal attendants, and employing vessels of gold and silver in the service of his table.' (Mr. Tytler ought to have noticed the candid admission of his authority, that, if not of solid plate, the vessels were at least lackered with gold or silver.) 'Under the reign of Alexander the First, the intercourse of Scotland with the east, and the splendid appearance of the sovereign, are shown by a singular ceremony which took place in the High Church at St. Andrew's. This monarch, anxious to evince his devotion to the blessed apostle, not only endowed that religious house with numerous lands, and conferred upon it various and important immunities, but, as an additional evidence of his piety, he commanded his favourite Arabian horse to be led up to the high altar, whose saddle and bridle were splendidly ornamented, and his housings of a rich cloth of velvet. A squire at the same time brought the king's body armour, which were of Turkish manufacture, and studded with jewels, with his spear and his shield of silver, and these, along with the noble horse and his furniture, the king, in the presence of his prelates and barons, solemnly devoted and presented to the church. The housings and arms were shown in the days of the historian who has recorded the event.'—vol. ii., pp. 236, 237.

Mr. Tytler has shown, with great research and ingenuity, that Scotland, in this early period, possessed a considerable knowledge

\* *Tytler's History*, vol. ii., p. 303.

of such arts and sciences as were in estimation elsewhere. He has justly celebrated the patriotism of the clergy; who successfully defended their national freedom, in several instances, against the intrusive domination of Rome, and the ambition of the English prelates. In philosophy, he appeals to the subtle and celebrated Joannes Duns Scotus; in the exact sciences, to the more questionable attainments of Michael Scott and John Holywood. He dwells, also, with fondness, on the early passion of his countrymen, from whatever race derived, for poetry and music.

They possessed a wild imagination, and a dark and gloomy mythology; they peopled the caves, the woods, the rivers, and the mountains, with spirits, elves, giants, and dragons; and are we to wonder that the Scots, a nation in whose veins the blood of all those ancient races is unquestionably mingled, should, at a very remote period, have evinced an enthusiastic admiration for song and poetry; that the harper was to be found amongst the officers who composed the personal state of the sovereign, and that the country maintained a privileged race of wandering minstrels, who eagerly seized on the prevailing superstitions and romantic legends, and wove them in rude but sometimes very expressive versification into their stories and ballads: who were welcome guests at the gate of every feudal castle, and fondly beloved by the great body of the people?—vol. ii., pp. 368, 369.

The national means of defence are also celebrated, and with perspicuity, simplicity, and, at the same time, more beauty of language, than we are accustomed to find bestowed on antiquarian subjects. We find an accurate account of the principal feudal fortresses; to which the author adds a passage graphically descriptive of the Scottish baron and his household.

Innumerable other castles and smaller strengths, from the seats of the highest earls, whose power was almost kingly, down to the single towers of the retainer or vassal, with their low iron-ribbed door, and loop-holed windows, were scattered over every district in Scotland; and even in the present day, the traveller cannot explore the most unfrequented scenes, and the remotest glens of the country, without meeting some grey relic of other days, reminding him that the chain of feudal despotism had there planted one of its thousand links, and around which there often linger those fine traditions, where fiction has lent her romantic colours to history. In the vicinity of these strongholds, in which the Scottish barons of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries held their residence, there was cleared from wood as much ground as was necessary for the support of that numerous train of vassals and retainers, which formed what was termed the "following" of their lord, and who were supported in a style of rude and abundant hospitality. The produce of his fields and forests, his huge herds of swine, his flocks and cattle, his granaries and breweries, his mills and malting houses, his dovecots, gardens, orchards, and "infield



and outfield'' wealth, all lent their riches to maintain those formidable bands of warlike knights and vassals, who were ready, on every summons, to surround the banner of their lord. Around these castles, also, were placed the rude habitations and cottages belonging to the more immediate servants and inferior dependents of the baron,—to his armourers, tailors, wrights, masons, falconers, forest-keepers, and many others, who ministered to his necessities, his comforts, or his pleasures. It happened, too, not unfrequently, that ambitious of the security which the vicinity of a feudal castle ensured, the free farmers or opulent tradesmen of those remote times requested permission to build their habitations and booths near its walls, which, for payment of a small rent, was willingly allowed; and we shall afterwards have occasion to remark, that to this practice we perhaps owe the origin of our towns and royal burghs in Scotland. It appears, also, from the authentic evidence of the Cartularies, that at this period, upon the large feudal estates belonging to the nobles or to the church, were to be found small villages or collections of hamlets and cottages, termed Villæ in the charters of the times, annexed to which was a district of land called a Territorium. This was cultivated in various proportions by the higher ranks of the husbandmen, who possessed it, either in part or in whole, as their own property, which they held by lease, and for which they paid a rent, or by the villeyms and cottars, who were themselves, in frequent instances, as we shall immediately see, the property of the lord of the soil. Thus, by a similar process, which we find took place in England under the Normans, and which is very clearly to be traced in Domesday Book, the greater feudal barons were possessed not only of immense estates, embracing within them field and forest, river, lake, and mountain, but of numerous and flourishing villages, for which they received a regular rent, and of whose wealth and gains they always held a share, because they were frequently the masters of the persons and property of the tradesmen and villeyms, by whom such early communities were inhabited. In these villages the larger divisions, under the names of caracutes, bovates, or oxgates, were cultivated by the husbandmen, and the cottars under them, while, for their own maintenance, each of these poor labourers was the master of a cottage, with a small piece of ground, for which he paid a trifling rent to the lord of the soil.—vol. ii., p. 207—209.

The army of the king of Scotland is said by Matthew Paris to have been numerous and brave. He had a thousand horsemen (men at arms, viz.), which were tolerably mounted, though not indeed on Spanish or Italian horses. His infantry (including light horse, doubtless) amounted to nearly 100,000. To such national advantages, and to such formidable means of defending them, had Scotland attained during the minority of Alexander III. The only dangerous task reserved for him seemed to be that of checking and repelling the attacks of the Norwegians. The quarrel concerning

concerning the *superiority* of the Hebridean islands, in prosecution of which Alexander II. had lost his life at Kerrera, still subsisted between the son of Alexander and Haco of Norway, a king of redoubted power and skill in arms; and no sooner was the heir of Scotland arisen to the years of manhood than the contest was renewed.

In the midst of summer 1264, Haco embarked at the head of a fleet and army, considered as the most formidable which ever left Norway to seek spoil and glory on distant shores. Mr. Tytler candidly compares the Norse and Scottish accounts of this memorable expedition, and, allowing for the partiality of both, endeavours to reconcile them with each other, or to ascertain the probabilities of the disputed points. It is, perhaps, on account of these discrepancies, that Dr. Macpherson, in his *Critical Dissertations*, arises to such a pitch of incredulity, as to doubt whether such an event as the battle of Largs ever took place. The veracity of the Norwegian Chronicle is ascertained by what Mr. Tytler justly calls 'a fine example of the clear and certain light reflected by the exact sciences upon history.' This ancient narrative mentions an eclipse of the sun witnessed by Haco and his fleet, and that eclipse, having been calculated by modern astronomers, is found to have taken place on the 5th of August, 1263. The powerful fleet of Norway arrived in the firth of Clyde, while Alexander, assembling his forces, moved towards the shores threatened with attack. The Norwegian armament suffered by a storm, nor was its violence entirely abated when they reached the bay of Largs, near the mouth of the Clyde. Here the Norsemen attempted their projected descent, and here they were met and opposed by the various divisions of the Scottish army, as they came up in succession. A protracted battle of three days was maintained by the invaders persisting in their attempts to land: the plain, yet covered with cairns and rude monuments of the slain, with the ancient weapons repeatedly found there, bear witness to the sanguinary character of the contest. The invaders found their way back to their ships with great difficulty and loss, but the defensive army had also sustained much damage in their contest with the 'dragons of wave.' The Scandinavian Chronicler naturally imputes the failure of the expedition to the tempestuous weather, while the Scottish authors claim the victory as due to the bravery of their countrymen. Haco escaped, with great loss, to the Orkney Isles, where he died of the fatigues which he had incurred in the course of his expedition and of the mortification which attended its conclusion. The field of Largs was a decisive event, which ended for ever the wars betwixt Scotland and Norway. The renewal of quarrels was guarded against by a



marriage betwixt Margaret, the daughter of Alexander, and the youthful Eric, Haco's successor.

And now, triumphant over her last open and avowed enemy, under the rule of a monarch who was still in the flower of life, the royal line strengthened by the existence of two sons of Alexander, and the supposed friendship of Edward I. of England, it might have been thought that Scotland had a fine opportunity of pursuing the course of internal improvement and civilisation which she had adopted for two centuries, and pursued with increasing success during the last of them. But heaven had ordered it otherwise. The tokens and the tidings of evil came upon Alexander by messenger after messenger, as they assailed the inspired poet of Uz. The two princes (his sons) died without issue; Margaret, Queen of Norway, also died, leaving only one child, a girl, called by Scottish historians the Maiden of Norway. 'And thus,' says Mr. Tytler, 'the king, still in the flower of his age, found himself a widower, and bereft by death of all his children.'

Alexander had no near kinsmen; his granddaughter was an infant, in a distant land. To supply, if possible, that want of heirs which threatened and afterwards produced such formidable consequences, the king took for his second wife, Jolleta, daughter of the Count de Dreux. Evil omens preceded this union; a spectre, habited in the manner in which the king of terrors is represented, glided in among the personages of a pageant exhibited at the nuptials, and suddenly vanished. This skeleton-like apparition was, doubtless, a part of the masque, but it was in bad taste, and moved fear instead of mirth. These vague apprehensions of evil were turned to panic terror by the event. Shortly after his marriage, Alexander, riding in winter time from Kinghorn, (which takes its name of the King's peak, or cliff, from the fatal circumstance,) to Inverkeithen, the horse, starting or stumbling, rolled with his rider over a precipice. Thus perished a prince universally regretted for his own virtues, both public and private. 'Under his reign' (says Fordun) 'the church flourished, her priests were honoured with the due reverence, craft and violence were alike overawed, justice ruled supreme throughout the land. He reigned over himself as well as others; and was regarded, far and near, not only among his friends, but his enemies, and especially the English, with love as well as fear.' When it is considered that his only near heir was a mere infant, and residing in the distant country of Norway, and that the failure of a life so precarious must necessarily open the way to all the evils of a disputed succession, it is no wonder that the credulous recalled the phantom of death which had appeared in the hour of nuptial revelry; that even the nobles of the land listened to pale-eyed soothsayers, intimating

intimating disasters which they dared not openly name;\* or that a people attached, as Mr. Tytler describes them, to music and poetry, should have commemorated their king's gentle government and their own loss in the following rude but affectionate lines, supposed to be the earliest specimen that is preserved of the Scotto-Saxon, or Lowland Scottish dialect.

† When Alexander, our king, was dead,  
Who Scotland led in love and le, ‡  
Away was sonseſ of ale and bread,  
Of wine, and wax, of game, and glee; §  
Our gold is turned into lead ||  
Christ, born into virginity,  
Succour poor Scotland, and remeid, ¶  
That stad ¶ is in perplexity.

The death of Alexander III. did indeed open a scene of accumulating anxiety, which darkened deeper and deeper, till a storm was excited which wrecked the whole national prosperity of Scotland for a time, and had well nigh destroyed it for ever.

The natural guardians of the little Maiden of Norway were her father, King Eric, and Edward of England, her grand-uncle. The former seems to have interested himself little more in her fate than a sense of paternal anxiety, not of the most acute description, might prompt him. Very different were the feelings of Edward I., one of the wisest and most sagacious monarchs of Europe, one of her best and most accomplished knights—perhaps the best leader of an army who then lived. The high-minded Plantagenet was also one of the most ambitious and the least scrupulous of men. While he strove to cast loose in his own person those feudal ties which made the Duke of Normandy vassal to the King of France, he was no less anxious to bind the independent countries of Wales and Scotland in the same manner to the foot of his English throne. Upon the death of Alexander, who had been all through life his kind and confiding brother-in-law, he could not disguise his triumphant anticipations. ‘Now,’ said he, ‘the time is at length arrived when Scotland and its petty kings shall be reduced under my power.’

His first measures for making this important acquisition were fair and equitable, and seem to have been equally acceptable to both kingdoms. Entering on a treaty with the barons of Scot-

\* The prediction of Thomas, called the Rhymer, to the Earl of March, is well known.

† Not to embarrass unskilled readers, we adopt the modern spelling, and add a glossary for the obsolete words. They will probably be struck with its general similarity to modern language; since only four words, out of about fifty, require the least explanation.

‡ Law. § Abundance. || Remedy. ¶ Placed.

land,



land, the king proposed an alliance between the Maid of Norway and his own son, the unfortunate Edward of Caernarvon. Articles were drawn up for securing the independence of Scotland, and they were solemnly sworn to by the King of England. It may be doubted how far this oath would have been kept had the match taken place—for it is evident that Edward laid some foundations for an English party in Scotland, and obtained possession, under pretence of preserving the peace of the country, of most of its castles and strong places. But the scheme of an union between the kingdoms by marriage was defeated by the death of the Maid of Norway, which reduced the king of England to the alternative of either laying aside every hope of adding Scotland to his dominions, or of pursuing the object by hidden craft, intermingled with open oppression and violence. It is probable that a monarch so ambitious did not long hesitate whether he ought to sacrifice the beggarly virtues of integrity and self-denial to what he considered as a golden opportunity, or betake himself to such indirect courses as might supply new foundations for his disappointed hopes. The result of the king's mental debate was a communication to his chief nobility and privy council, 'that he had it in his mind to bring under his dominion the king and kingdom of Scotland, in the same manner that he had subdued the kingdom of Wales.\*' The corner-stone on which this monarch founded his pretence of title to interfere in the affairs of Scotland was a claim which he advanced to be Lord Paramount of that country; a claim supported by his being in possession of its chief strengths and castles, by virtue of the treaty of marriage betwixt his son and the deceased Maid of Norway.

There could be nothing more unjust than this claim of the Plantagenet. To create a fief, or a feudal dependence, the superior must be proprietor of the lands which he bestows upon the vassal, and the vassal must receive them under condition of homage and services. Now the monarchs of England were never in possession of Scotland properly so called. That kingdom, the original seat of the Scots in the remote province of Argyle, was extended, by the conquest of the Picts, to the northern borders of the Firth of Forth, called, from being their boundary, the Scottish sea. The provinces thus conquered and melted down into the kingdom called Albania, and afterwards Scotland, were territories which the English had never possessed or claimed right to, and lay beyond the more northern wall, where the Southern Britons never set foot, but as flying from the sword of the Romans.

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\* Tytler, vol. I. p. 79.

This change of territory in North Britain took place as early as 538. At this period there is not only no proof of the king of England having interfered with the conquest of the Scots over Pictland, or to dispose of the lands of the vanquished; but it seems probable there was not a king of England to make the grant or receive the homage.\* The idea, therefore, that Scotland was held as a fief of England seems totally groundless: at no moment, till the temporary usurpation of Edward I., had any king of England such possession of *Scotland* as to dispose of it as a fief, either to the Scottish king or any other; nor was it in any respect by English cession, permission, or connivance, that Kenneth Macalpine and his successors swayed their sceptre.

There were, however, dominions which, having formerly been part and portion of England, and ceded to the Scots by the monarchs of that country, were held by the Scottish princes as the vassals of England to that extent, saving the independence of their crown on other occasions; just as the Plantagenets held their own French possessions as vassals of the king of France, saving and reserving their independent dignity as monarchs of England. The provinces which the kings of Scotland held by this tenure were that part of Cumberland ceded to their line in 945, and the northern parts of Northumberland ceded in like manner in 971,—to put an end, says the contemporary historian, ‘to the old quarrel concerning *Lothian*.’

To render this expression intelligible, we must remember that *Lothian*, including Berwickshire, originally the settlement of the Vecturiones or Southern Picts, had been afterwards subjected to invasion and conquest by the Saxons and Danes. The king of Scots might set up some claim to it as successor to the Pictish princes, and Edgar, indifferent as to the possession, might be willing to cede it, for the purpose of converting a troublesome neighbour into a friendly ally. But it *was* given under the condition of homage and allegiance. This fact, that the Scottish kings paid homage for *Lothian*, has greatly distressed and puzzled the Scottish antiquaries, who did not sufficiently attend to the circumstance that *Lothian* and Berwickshire, though they have been long integral parts of Scotland, were never subject to a Scottish king till they were ceded by Edgar to Kenneth, under the burthen of homage and fealty. When Malcolm IV. did homage for the earldom of *Lothian*,—*Lothian in England*, as it is expressly called,—the special designation assigned to that province excluded any possibility that *Scotland*, in whole or in part, was comprehended under the tenure. But the North Britons are so habi-

\* The learned Turner has shown us great reason to doubt whether Edgar ever was king over all England. See History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 441, and note.



tually heated with this controversy, that they seldom can consider it with the necessary coolness.\* Even the venerable patriarch of their history, Lord Hailes, is induced to seek the English *Lothian* in Leeds, rather than acquiesce in the fact that homage was done for a province to the north of the Tweed—though in fact the latter interpretation aids the argument for Scottish independence.

The claim of homage is often mentioned in history as occasioning animated disputes between the ancient kings of the northern line and their powerful neighbours; and numerous were the occasions on which the latter endeavoured to wrest the homage, acknowledged to be due for the English possessions held by Scotland, into a general homage for the whole of the latter kingdom. This, however, was uniformly and manfully resisted. The phrases in which the actual homage was rendered are not uniform or explicit, but, till the reign of William the Lion, no general acknowledgment of subjection, however frequently demanded, was ever made. William, to accomplish his own liberation from captivity, did indeed consent to become a feudatory of England; but his engagement to do so was cancelled by Richard I. in consideration of a large sum of money, and, consequently, the relation between the countries returned to the original footing. Nevertheless, Edward I., availing himself of his situation of arbitrator, required, as a preliminary condition of his decision, that each competitor for the Scottish throne should acknowledge him as Lord Paramount of the kingdom to which he aspired. The number of candidates (increased by Edward's secret intrigues) reached to twelve, comprehending almost every person who, by a legitimate or illegitimate connexion, could claim affinity with the royal family of Scotland. The enlarged list of claimants tended to render the election still more complicated; the strife resembling a sweepstakes, where no man can venture to name the winner, while all foresaw that the candidate who declined to acknowledge the paramount superiority claimed by the arbitrator would forfeit every chance of success. Influenced by these

\* A whimsical instance of the *perfidum ingenium Scotorum* lies now before us. It is a copy of Ferne's *Blazon of Gentry*, which appears to have been the property of a Scottish officer-at-arms, called Thomas Dryesdail, Islay Herald. This gentleman seems to have perused with great equanimity the treatise of Mr. John Ferne, and has made several marginal glossings, now approving of, now in a civil manner expressing his dissent from, the propositions announced by the author; but when the latter, insensible to whose eyes or ears he might be announcing the obnoxious averment, says, while writing on the subject of kings, 'that there is a king, a homager or feodalty to the estate and majesty of another king, as that of Scotland to our English empire,' the irate Scottish herald dashes his pen through the last clause of the sentence, and writes on the margin, 'he is a traitor and a liar in his throat, and I will offer him the challenge that says Scotland's king was ever tributary to England.' When Islay Herald thus furiously attacks the English author, he bears a strong resemblance to Don Quixote storming the puppetshow.

unworthy motives, one and all of the competitors deliberately acknowledged the claim of Edward, and submitted to his judgment as *lord paramount*.

Mr. Tytler, who has traced the affairs of Scotland with a firm and faithful hand to this fatal crisis, proceeds to show how Edward I. availed himself of the power thus acquired to award the throne to John Baliol; and how, having done so, the same Edward took occasion to push him to resistance by the most rigid and harsh exertion of his claim of paramount superiority, in virtue of which he summoned him to answer in the English courts, on the slightest occasion, and made him feel at every turn the disgrace and mortification of a mere dependent. Goaded to rebellion, by finding himself thus exposed to insult and injury, where he had expected amity and honour, John Baliol rushed into a hasty war, in which the English defeated his forces and overran his kingdom, until he found himself obliged to abdicate his crown in favour of Edward, under every rite which could add disgrace to so humiliating a ceremonial.

Chaucer observes 'that there is no guise so new that it has not been old,' and those may be probably of the same opinion who compare the crafty devices of Edward when eager for the throne of Scotland, with the vows of friendship to the Spanish royal family paraded on a memorable occasion by the late Emperor of France. Nor are the causes, owing to which these powerful and ambitious men fell short of their purpose, when they appeared most secure of it, without more than one point of coincidence. First, success, and the self-opinion attendant upon it, had elevated both Plantagenet and Napoleon above consideration of the extensive tasks which their ambition had cut out for them; and as the latter might, in all likelihood, have achieved the conquest of Spain, had he not been called back to Austria and afterwards to Russia, so Edward would, it is scarcely to be doubted, have completed the subjugation of Scotland but for the necessity of carrying his arms into France. Secondly, neither the one nor the other of these haughty sovereigns calculated justly or truly upon the energy with which a free and high-spirited people will turn on their oppressors, or what degree of misery they will be willing to endure rather than yield in a struggle so holy. Thirdly, in either case, the Almighty armed in the cause of suffering freedom one of those men of rare talent who determine the fate of nations; nor, though fortunate in a much more extensive scale of exertion, will the character of the English general be injured by comparing it to that of the Scottish king.

The first champion of Scottish freedom was, indeed, of a different and somewhat ruder moulding. He was that Sir William Wallace,



Wallace, of whom history can say little, and tradition can never be silent.

'The family,' says Mr. Tytler, 'was ancient,' (we will add, in the Shakspearian sense, *gentle*,) 'but neither rich nor noble. In those days, bodily strength and knightly prowess were of the highest consequence in commanding respect and ensuring success. Wallace had an iron frame. His make, as he grew up to manhood, approached almost to the gigantic, and his personal strength was superior to the common run of even the strongest men. His passions were hasty and violent; a strong hatred to the English, who now insolently lorded it over Scotland, began to show itself at a very early period of his life; and this aversion was fostered in the youth by an uncle, a priest, who, deploring the calamities of his country, was never weary of extolling the sweets of liberty and the miseries of dependence.'—vol. i. p. 125.

This formidable hero was placed by his countrymen at the head of an insurrection which swept Scotland, defeated King Edward's delegates, and regained almost all the national fortresses. But, though almost adored by the people, he could not maintain his interest among the nobility; they were arrogant and jealous, and the champion of Scotland was irascible, and intolerant of restraint and contradiction. In war he was merciless and cruel, witness the description by Henry, the minstrel—who, though he exaggerates and adds to his adventures, seems to have had a just idea of his character—of his burning the church of Dunotter, built upon those sea-girdled rocks, where the castle of the same name now stands. The passage is not without poetical merit:—

'Wallace on fire gard\* set all hastily,  
Burnt up the court, and all that was therein,  
Atour† the rock the lave‡ run with great din,  
Some hung on craggs right dolefully to die,  
Some leapt, some fell, some fluttered in the sea;  
No southron on life was left without that hold,  
And them within they burned to ashes eold.  
When this was done, fele§ fell on knees soon,  
At the bishop asked absolution.  
Wallace said, laughing—"I forgive ye all;  
Are ye war-men—repent ye for so small?  
They rued not us in the town of Ayr,  
Our brave barons when that they hanged there."—

*Wallace, book vii.*

Edward marched to victory and vengeance. He engaged Wallace at Falkirk, where the nobility, or such of them as with their followers composed the Scottish line of cavalry, left the field without fighting, and abandoned the infantry, who fought with even more than wonted obstinacy, to the fury of the English. Wallace,

\* caused. † around. ‡ the rest. § many. German *viet*.

after loss of this battle, retired from the office of guardian of the kingdom. After an honourable but ineffectual resistance on the part of Sir John Comyn and Sir Simon Fraser, the nobles and wealthier part of the gentry submitted to the conqueror. Wallace alone, who never would accept the slightest boon at the hands of Edward's lieutenants, or consent to truce or parley of any sort, was still in obscure but constant opposition to *the southron*. He was, at length, betrayed, taken, and executed. We transcribe an account of his fate, as a good specimen of the style and manner of our historian :—

‘His fate, as was to be expected, was soon decided ; but the circumstances of refined cruelty and torment which attended his execution, reflect an indelible stain upon the character of Edward, and, were they not stated by the English historians themselves, could scarcely be believed. Having been carried to London, he was brought with great pomp to Westminster Hall, and there arraigned of treason. A crown of laurel was in mockery placed on his head, because Wallace had been heard to boast that he deserved to wear a crown in that hall. Sir Peter Mallorie, the king's justice, then impeached him as a traitor to the King of England, as having burnt the villages and abbeys, stormed the castles, and miserably slain and tortured the liege subjects of his master the king. Wallace indignantly and truly repelled the charge of treason, as he never had sworn fealty to Edward ; but to the other articles of accusation he pleaded no defence ; they were notorious, and he was condemned to death. Discrowned and chained, he was now dragged at the tails of horses through the streets, to the foot of a high gallows, placed at the elms in Smithfield. After being hanged, but not to death, he was cut down yet breathing, his bowels taken out, and burnt before his face. His head was then struck off, and his body divided into four quarters. His head was placed on a pole on London Bridge, his right arm above the bridge at Newcastle, his left arm was sent to Berwick, his right foot and limb to Perth, and his left quarter to Aberdeen. “These,” says an old English historian, “were the trophies of their favourite hero, which the Scots had now to contemplate, instead of his banners and gonfanons, which they had once proudly followed.” But he might have added, that they were trophies far more glorious than the richest banner that had ever been borne before him ; and if Wallace already had been, for his daring and romantic character, the idol of the people, if they had long regarded him as the only man who had asserted, throughout every change of circumstances, the independence of his country, now that the mutilated limbs of this martyr to liberty were brought amongst them, it may well be conceived how deep and inextinguishable were their feelings of pity and revenge. Tyranny is proverbially short-sighted, and Edward, assuredly, could have adopted no more certain way of canonizing the memory of his enemy, and increasing the unforgiving animosity of a free people.’—vol. i. pp. 213—215.

The



The people of Scotland had been compelled to submission; but it is probable that, even whilst serving under these engagements, they designed the evasion and breach of their oaths to Edward. The conqueror, on the other hand, did his best to draw close these fragile bonds of allegiance, and strengthen them by the rules of civil polity. Since the reign of Canmore, the feudal system had been gradually making its way into Scotland. To the great vassals it was recommended by the clear and concise form in which it placed their right of possession; and to kings it was acceptable on account of the flattering doctrine on which it rested,—that all the land of the kingdom belonged originally to the crown, and was only to be inherited as holding more or less directly of the sovereign, and as reverting to him in case of any act of disobedience. It was the policy of Edward to introduce this system into Scotland to the exclusion of all others; so that whilst the natives, on the one hand, were subjected to laws similar to those of England, they should be, on the other, deprived of those ancient customs which preserved the memory of their independence. The words of the provision are,—‘that the custom of the Scots and the Brets shall for the future be prohibited and no longer practised.’ We strongly recommend this obscure and singular passage to the care of Mr. Tytler, in his next edition, since it does not, in the present, appear to have attracted his attention. We point it out to his observation, the rather that we entertain an idea that light will be thereby cast on the controversy respecting the law-book, called *Regiam Majestatem*. This treatise itself, purporting to be a collection of ancient Scottish statutes, is, in fact, unless in passages containing such differences as are or seem to have been introduced for the nonce, a mere transcript of Ranulph de Glanville’s treatise termed (like the other, from its incipient words) *Regiam Potestatem*. Now, as the one of these books has been indubitably copied from the other; and as no motive can be assigned why the English writer should have borrowed from the Scottish, it is at least worth inquiry whether the *Regiam Majestatem* may not have been a fabrication, got up and interpolated by the policy of Edward I. to impose on the Scottish nation an English code, under the pretext that it was a compendium of their own laws. Thus might this artful prince, while pretending to revive the statutes of King David and older monarchs, substitute the enactments of England in place of the consuetudinary regulations of the Scots and Brets (or Britons), which were brought from the mountains of Argyle, and the wild recesses of Strath Clwyd. It is possible that, when closely inquired into, this stratagem may yet be accurately traced.

While Edward was preparing for the future legislation of Scotland,

land, in a manner calculated to unite the people with those of England, the hopes of the Scots had again found a leader, of a character more formidable than had yet arisen. Robert Bruce, the young Earl of Carrick, (grandson of him who had been a competitor for the crown,) had, during the civil wars previous to 1305, repeatedly changed sides from the patriots to the English invaders, with a versatility more wavering than any person of the period. In that memorable year, he had the rashness or misfortune to stab Sir John Comyn, a nobleman of the highest rank, before the altar of the Dominican church of Dumfries; and a sense of the desperate state to which he had thus reduced himself, raised him from the condition of a sacrilegious homicide, to that of the candidate for the crown which was his rightful inheritance, and of a patriot labouring for the freedom of his country. Unless for his assumption of such elevated claims, he must, from the nature of his crime, have sunk into an unpitied outlaw. The displaying open banner against England mustered his countrymen around him as a respected sovereign. His forces, however, when compared to those which assailed him, were like a drop of water in the ocean, and his complicated misfortunes of defeat, exile, death of some friends, and desertion of others, his own personal sufferings, and the courage with which he endured them, showed how soon the approach of adversity had ripened the versatile and selfish Earl of Carrick into a wise, sagacious, and undaunted monarch. His distresses and his difficulties are narrated by Mr. Tytler, with the animation called for by a tale of such romantic character; and the most brilliant age of Scotland is fortunate in having found an historian, whose sound judgment is accompanied by a graceful liveliness of imagination, and who does not give a shadow of countenance to the vulgar opinion that the flattest and dullest mode of detailing events must uniformly be that which approaches nearest to the truth.

Even while the life of the great Plantagenet was still twinkling like a taper in the socket, he had the mortification to learn that Bruce,—having wearied out the spite of fortune, or undergone the penance decreed by heaven for the mispent years of his youth, and for the deed of blood which opened his higher career,—had returned in triumph to Scotland, and gained friends and followers on every side. The monarch hastened to reassure himself of the object of so many years' ambition, so often lost when it seemed on the point of being gained; and he died as he came in sight of the obstinate land of mountains which, after all his attempts to enslave them, lay yet before him free and unsubdued. The wisdom and the enterprise of The Bruce had hitherto been balanced by the high qualities of Edward I., his equal in skill and bravery,



very, and his superior in experience. When the Scottish hero came to match himself with the imbecility of Edward II., it was far otherwise. It was after many delays,—some to be ascribed to the frivolous and contemptible love of idle minions and pleasures, some to a hesitation to measure himself with so redoubted an adversary,—that, stung at last with a sense of the dishonour he should sustain, in suffering so fair an acquisition of his father's policy and bravery to be wrested from his dominion, the King of England finally assumed the purpose of invading Scotland in person.

The account of the battle of Bannockburn is given with national spirit; and Mr. Tytler details with judgment the mode in which Robert Bruce provided against the superiority of the English men-at-arms by the position which he took, and the manner in which he strengthened it; as likewise the movement by which he discomfited the archery, in which the invaders were no less superior, by suddenly charging them with a body of light horse, kept in reserve for that purpose. Secured from these dangers, the phalanx of Scottish spearmen had opportunity to act with formidable energy. It is one of the most remarkable circumstances in history, that, notwithstanding the example shown them by the ardour of their monarchs, and in despite of the valour and skill with which the Scots usually disputed and often gained actions with the English where the forces were moderate on each side, their general battles, from the field of Dupplin to that of Pinkie, were uniformly lost by their inferiority in archery, the artillery of the day.

The brief but splendid period during which Scotland, actuated by the spirit, and upheld by the wisdom of her brave monarch, maintained a positive superiority over her haughty neighbour, is described with truth and vigour. It is no wonder the historian dwells with fondness on the portrait of the prince, whose personal character thus elevated that of an enfeebled and almost subdued nation. After recollecting, with regret, that we can only see Robert Bruce, through the mists which time has cast around him, as a figure of colossal proportion, 'walking amongst his shadowy places,'—after tracing, as well as circumstances will admit, the tall and manly figure, strength of person, and courtesy of manners of this remarkable monarch—after noticing that, by the English themselves, he was held the third best knight in Europe, Mr. Tytler is led naturally to remark that, but for a counteracting quality, his love of individual enterprise and glory might have converted a great king into a mere knight-errant.

'But from this error he was saved by the love of his country, directed by an admirable judgment, an unshaken perseverance, and a vein of strong

strong good sense. It is here, although some may think it the homeliest, that we are to find assuredly the brightest part of the character of the king. It is these qualities which are especially conspicuous in his war for the liberty of Scotland. They enabled him to follow out his plans through many a tedious year with undeviating energy; to bear reverses, to calculate his means, to wait for his opportunities, and to concentrate his whole strength upon one great point, till it was gained and secured to his country for ever. Brilliant military talent and consummate bravery have often been found amongst men, and proved far more of a curse than a blessing; but rarely indeed shall we discover them united to so excellent a judgment, controlled by such perfect disinterestedness, and employed for so sacred an end. There is but one instance on record where he seems to have thought more of himself than of his people, and even this, though rash, was heroic.'—vol. i. p. 416.

The author alludes to Bruce's personal encounter with the English knight, Sir Humphrey de Bohun, whom he slew in single combat the afternoon before the battle of Bannockburn. But considering the period, the crisis, and circumstances, we incline to think even this venturous risk was justified in point of discretion. The king was about to fight a pitched battle for the safety of his crown and his country; and, besides that the ideas of chivalry rendered it dishonourable to shun the encounter of a single cavalier, his retreat before Bohun must have taken much from the mettle of the Scottish troops and added to that of the enemy; while his engaging in personal conflict, with the success which his habit of arms must have rendered probable, was generally received as a splendid omen of next day's success.

The second volume of Mr. Tytler's history leads us through the reign of David II., the son of Robert, who, in all but courage, proved so unequal to his father. The leaders of the nations were again changed; and while Edward III. headed the English, and the Scots were guided by the rude and ignorant chieftains who succeeded Bruce, the defeats of the latter nation proved well nigh as numerous as those which Longshanks had inflicted on them at Berwick, Falkirk, &c.; and the liberties of the country were again brought to the brink of peril. This volume, like the former, is full of critical turns of fortune, military adventure, feudal pageantry, and display of personal character, though the heroes called into action are of a strain inferior to Bruce and Wallace. The appendix, which occupies more than half the volume, contains three interesting essays on the general appearance of Scotland, its early agriculture, the distinct races by which the kingdom was inhabited, the state of the various orders of society, &c. &c.,—comprehending an elaborate inquiry into the ancient state of the country,—from which we have already made large extracts.

Before



Before concluding this article, we have the delicate task of comparing the work of Mr. Tytler with that of the most esteemed of his predecessors, to whose unwearied exertions we owe the first gleam of rational light on a history peculiarly clouded by fiction. The circumstances under which that venerable person wrote, were such as might well have obstructed the studies of a man of less fortitude, or disgusted one of more ambition. His nation had been long lulled to sleep with dreams of their own antiquity and greatness, with which so many persons united their private pretensions to illustrious descent, that to dispel them was a very unpopular task; and those who could not maintain against evidence the figments which had been the Dalilahs of their imagination, were not the less displeased with the author who had broken the spell. Neither were authorities so easily referred to in those days as in the present. The Record Office at Edinburgh has been arranged in a very different manner, and its treasures rendered in every respect more accessible. The circle of readers being expanded to an incredible extent, the interest excited by historical labour is incalculably deeper than in 1776;—at which time there existed in England a special apathy concerning Scottish history—while in the narrow circle of Scotland itself, there was, among the older persons at least, a predetermination to remain satisfied with their *Mumpsimus*, and to give no attention to any new reading. They had Buchanan and Boethius, and they neither wanted nor were willing to receive better authorities. Lord Hailes, a man of rank and fortune, did not want the emoluments of publication; and it was well for his fame and for posterity that he was independent of them. But these circumstances did not tend to the popularity of his work; for, in order to advance the sale of almost any book, it is necessary that *the trade* (to speak technically) shall have some capital invested in it. He, therefore, wrought upon his historical collections, like Ulysses upon his bark in the island of Calypso, to leave land upon his lonely voyage unanimated by any plaudits, and not expecting any when he should return—the whole object of his enterprise a search after truth—his only reward the mental satisfaction of having discovered it. Finally, he published upon disputed points, the very debateable land of Scottish history; before he could draw up his forces, he was uniformly obliged to clear the ground of the enemy. His work was therefore of a controversial character; and though many portions indicate considerable powers of eloquence, yet the necessity of frequent digressions, and of recording insulated and sometimes unconnected facts, induced him to adopt the humble title of *Annals*, instead of announcing a *History*.

Such

Such being the origin and character of those modest labours, Mr. Tytler had, unquestionably, a fair and open right to fill up the fragments which Hailes has left unfinished—to be concise where he was prolix—to receive as proved that which his lordship was under the necessity of supporting by evidence;—and these united circumstances imply great advantage. But the possession of such superiority ought to induce the modern historian to mark, with deference and courtesy, the points on which he differs from, and presumes to correct, the authority of his predecessor. Too intent upon his subject, too eager to display that Lord Hailes had left him something to do, it seems to us that this young gentleman has committed an error of taste in pointing out the errors of the venerable annalist with something less than liberality, candour, and good humour. We have heard some readers, who profess to be acquainted with the long-breathed nature of a Caledonian feud, refer this to a literary quarrel of some standing, in which the grandfather of Mr. Patrick Fraser Tytler, the ‘revered defender of the beauteous Stuart,’ was engaged with Lord Hailes. This, we dare aver, is an idle imputation; but that such an idea has been started, ought to induce Mr. Tytler, in future editions, to soften the severity of his remarks where Lord Hailes is concerned. This is the more necessary, as, allowing that several of them are just and judicious corrections, yet these, for the most part, occur in matters of little moment; while there are more in which the parties have not been fairly at issue, and the modern seems disposed to assume the credit of a victory where no battle has been fought. We will mention an instance or two.

Lord Hailes, in speaking of the battle of Falkirk, lost by Wallace, has taken some pains to confute a popular tale. It is said by every historian, from Fordun to Abercrombie, that this battle was lost by disputes and treacherous desertions among the Scottish leaders; that Wallace, Stewart, and Comyn quarrelled about the honour of leading the van; how Comyn compared Wallace to an owl in borrowed feathers; how Comyn treacherously withdrew with ten thousand men; how Wallace followed his example, out of resentment against Stewart; and how Stewart, in consequence of this double defection, was overpowered and cut to pieces. Now, Lord Hailes having observed that there was scarce one of the old writers who had not produced an invective against Comyn, an apology for Wallace, or a lamentation over the deserted Stewart, proceeds to show that the great superiority of the English cavalry over that of Wallace might have furnished *one* sufficient cause for the retreat of the Scottish men-at-arms. Mr. Tytler takes up this passage, as if Hailes's



object had been to exculpate Comyn and the other leaders from the charge of dissension among themselves, or treachery to their country. According to his statement, it appears to be certain that the Scottish men-at-arms fled of set purpose; he proves, by a circumstance omitted by Lord Hailes, that two of the Scottish earls were in communication with Edward, and upbraids Lord Hailes as 'sneering at the account of the Scottish historians as trash.' After observing that Lord Hailes had fully admitted the contests and discontent which existed in the Scottish councils, he remarks, 'that why that which is given as authentic history in March, becomes trash in July, is not easily explained.'

Now, we conceive that, in all this reasoning, Lord Hailes's argument is stated too high. He does not, he could not, deny the existence of dissensions and possible treachery among the Scottish nobility, but what he does deny and dismiss as trash, is a long series of fictions, which Mr. Tytler certainly does not regard as truths, since he has excluded them from his own animated account of the battle. Lord Hailes denies that we can know anything of what passed in the Scottish councils, or that the application of the apologue of the owl has been accurately reported. Especially he denies that Comyn deserted with TEN thousand men, and that Wallace, with a like force, stood aloof and did not fight. Surely it may be very true, that there existed dissensions amongst the Scottish nobility in March, and yet that not one of those things, which are asserted to have happened in July, actually took place. In fact, the story, confuted by Lord Hailes, is totally inconsistent with Mr. T.'s own narrative. Stewart did not lead the vanguard, for the archers of the forest of Selkirk, whom he commanded, were drawn up in the intervals of the four *echellons* or phalanxes of spearmen, which contained the strength of the Scottish army. These phalanxes were commanded by Wallace, who addressed them as men upon whose valour the whole success of the day depended:—'I have brought you to the ring,' he said, 'dance as you can.' The gallant manner in which these infantry supported the hopes of their leader, ought to have protected them from the foul and fabled imputation of deserting and betraying their vanguard. So far Lord Hailes is perfectly right, in destroying the web of fiction, which the historians before him had left undisturbed; and the only question which remains disputable seems to be the motive of the Scottish men-at-arms who, ONE thousand men in number and commanded by Comyn, drew off the ground without splintering a lance. Lord Hailes imputes their retreat to conscious inferiority; Mr. Tytler contends it was owing to treason; we are inclined to think that Comyn left the field partly from his quarrel with Wallace, but principally because it was a  
hopeless

hopeless case to lead one thousand men against the half of the English cavalry (who numbered four thousand in all), and, moreover, under every disadvantage as to arms, equipments, and spirits. In short, to suppose Mr. Tytler right, it is not necessary to condemn Lord Hailes, who, whether we call Comyn and his followers more treacherous or more timid, has clearly the best of the controversy on every point.

The taking of Wallace is another matter on which Hailes is sharply assailed, and, as we think, without sufficient grounds. 'The popular tradition (writes Lord H.) is, that Wallace was betrayed by Sir John Monteith, his familiar friend, by an act of domestic treason.' Now, Lord Hailes does not deny, what is stated by every historian, and proved by documents, that Sir John Monteith, a Scottish man of rank in the English interest, a Juramentado, in the modern phrase, and governor of Dunbarton Castle, was the person by whom the champion of Scotland was delivered to the English. This, we repeat, is a fact admitted by Lord Hailes. But he denies that part of the tradition which affirmed that Wallace was connected with Monteith by 'any intercourse of friendship or familiarity.' So, indeed, it is said by Blind Harry, whom every historian copies, yet whom no historian, save Sir Robert Sibbald, will venture to quote. But, notwithstanding the authority of this romantic writer, it is most improbable that Wallace should have voluntarily put himself in the power of a man whom he knew to be in an office of distinguished trust under Edward. Again, Lord Hailes complains, 'My apology for Monteith has been received with wonderful disapprobation by many readers, for it contradicts vulgar traditions, and that most respectable authority, Blind Harry.' . . . 'Those who condemn Sir John Monteith ought to condemn him for having acknowledged the government of Edward, and for having accepted an office of trust under him, not for having discharged the duties of that office.' Finally, Lord Hailes shows, from the coincidence of a passage in Arnold Blair's relations, with a curious passage in Langtoft's chronicles, that Wallace was not, properly speaking, betrayed by Sir John Monteith, in whom he reposed no trust, but that he was betrayed to him, by the agency of a servant, called Jack Short, who, in consequence of ill-will conceived against his master, gave such information as enabled Sir John to take Wallace prisoner near Glasgow.

On these passages Mr. Tytler rears the following charge:—

'I have elsewhere observed that Lord Hailes is fond of displaying his ingenuity in white-washing dubious characters, and that, with an appearance of hypercritical accuracy, in his remarks upon other historians, he is often glaringly inaccurate himself. His note upon Sir John



Menteth is an instance of this. He represents the fact, that his friend Menteth betrayed Wallace to the English, as founded upon popular tradition—and the romance of Blind Harry, Wallace's rhyming biographer.—vol. i. p. 443.

Mr. Tytler proceeds to urge the various authorities, which, in addition to that of Blind Harry, affirm that Monteith was the captor of Wallace. But this is no fair statement of the question. Lord Hailes has repeatedly stated the same fact, and has only apologized for the apostate chieftain, so far as to show that Sir John betrayed no confidence reposed by Wallace in him personally. It may be very wrong to whitewash dubious characters; but, on the other hand, the very devil may be painted blacker than he is; and the difference is something between describing a man as a betrayer of his country, an adherent to the interest of her enemies, and a persecutor of her martyrs, and presenting him as, at the same time, the familiar and trusted friend of the hero whom he delivered to the vengeance of foreigners. Mr. Tytler is a Scottish lawyer, and well knows the difference betwixt murder and murder under trust.

After all, we are far from thinking Sir John Monteith suffers much injustice in the common relation. He who employs domestic treason cannot complain if, being the instigator, he is also represented as the chief perpetrator of the villainy; nor need it be thought wonderful if, in course of time, the mere agent shall be forgotten, and the sum total of infamy attached to the name of him who was principal in the conspiracy. Few Scottish men, we suspect, having read the palliatives offered for Monteith, will be the less inclined to join in the hearty execration against him and his master, Edward, and the benediction on the memory of Wallace, with which Arnold Blair, the military chaplain of that heroic person, closes his Relations. *Damnandus sit dies natiuitatis Joannis de Monteith, et excipiat nomen suum ex libro vite; maledictus sit in eternum inhumanus iste tyrannus; cum nobilis ille Scotorum dux pro sue virtutis premio vitam eternam habebit in secula seculorum. Amen.*

The third and last instance of a seeming desire to cavil with Lord Hailes, which we shall mention, occurs in Mr. Tytler's account of the manner in which the Countess of Buchan was confined by Edward I., for having acted a conspicuous part at the coronation of Robert Bruce in 1306. This lady, a personal object of Edward's spleen, was lodged (says Matthew of Westminster) in a species of cage, composed of wooden and iron bars, and established in one of the towers of the castle of Berwick. From this description, some authors, adopting too strictly the idea of a cage, have represented it as hung over the walls in such a way as  
birdcages

birdcages are now suspended, thus exposing the unfortunate countess to the scorn and ridicule of all passengers. On this point, Lord Hailes has hesitated, and producing the order for the lady's confinement, has argued that the mode of providing for her rigid imprisonment is inconsistent with the story of Matthew of Westminster. Mr. Tytler lays lance in rest in behalf of the old chronicler.

'Lord Hailes,' he says, 'observes, that "to those who have no notion of any cage but one for a parrot, or a squirrel, hung out at a window, he despairs of rendering this mandate intelligible." I know not what called forth this peevish remark, but any one who has noticed the turrets of the ancient feudal castles, which hang like crowns, or cages, on the outside of the walls, and within one of which the countess's cage was to be constructed, will be at no loss to understand the tyrannical directions of Edward, and the passage of Mathew of Westminster.'—vol. i. p. 451.

Now the question here disputed seems to rest on the interpretation which shall be put on Matthew's phrase that the lady's crib was so constructed and so placed on the wall, *ut possent eam transeuntes conspiciere*. If this is to be received as only meaning that the passengers should be rendered aware, by seeing this particular cabin, that the countess was lodged in disgraceful captivity, we can easily conceive it was so. But then there is no room to challenge Lord Hailes's explanation. If, on the contrary, we must necessarily receive the phrase in its literal sense, as implying that the Countess of Buchan was put in an open cage or crib, like one of those in which wild beasts are shown, perview to the eyes of all men, who were to behold her sleeping or waking, at meals and at toilette, and equally accessible to every blast of heaven—we suspect that if such penance was ever inflicted, the very effects of the climate would prevent it from lasting long. We will take a crowned and Gothic steeple well known to Mr. Tytler (that of Saint Giles, in Edinburgh), and ask how long any living thing, except, perhaps, a jackdaw, could exist among the knops and pinnacles of the flinty coronet. Unless, however, we back Matthew of Westminster to this extent, there is no difference that we can trace betwixt him and Lord Hailes. Both of them must have known that, as there is even in the lowest depth a deeper still, so every ancient prison contained interior places of confinement, called *cages*, strongly constructed with bars of wood and iron, to secure turbulent captives, or augment the durance of those to whom it was determined to use severity. Louis XI.'s castle of Loches was furnished with several such cages, of new and terrible construction. There was one, also, in the jail of Edinburgh, —the old 'Heart of Mid-Lothian'—which, when that building

was



was pulled down, was purchased by the magistrates of a neighbouring town, and is, perhaps, still in being. The cage of the countess was probably of the same nature, but placed in a conspicuous situation, that the view, not, surely, of her person, but of the cell in which she was immured, might call to frequent remembrance her offence and her punishment. The misapprehension of the technical term seems to have led to the idea that the cell resembled a bird-cage, and was suspended over a wall.

We willingly quit the task of censure for that of praise, and must render the justice to Mr. Tytler, that occasionally he has been able to correct errors and supply gaps in his predecessor's Annals. Although he appears to us to have failed in his attempt to diminish the authority due to Lord Hailes in the instances we have alluded to, we think others occur, in which the venerable author, professionally accustomed to give judgment only in accordance to facts fully proved, has been rather sceptical on subjects where, if the historian is to decide at all, he must decide on such materials as tradition affords him. This, sometimes the worst of evidence, is in other cases the best, and it is, in *them*, as great an error to throw it aside without consideration as it can ever be to rely on it with credulity.

We must add, that the plan and extent of Mr. Tytler's history, and the advantage which he possesses in good taste, and a simple, manly, and intelligible strain of writing, enable him to adorn his pages with a great many light yet interesting touches which Lord Hailes, being confined to the dry task of composing annals, was compelled to omit. It is by such judicious additions and improvements that modern authors should endeavour to establish a superiority over those who may, indeed, have given us cause of regret, but cannot have intended any offence, when *nostra ante nos dixerunt*.

Amongst other objects of new and curious interest, we understand that Volume III. of Mr. Tytler's history will contain some singular evidence concerning the fate of Richard the Second, who (or some one personating him) appears to have resided in Scotland ten years after the period commonly assigned in the English annals as that of his death.

It is with great pleasure we anticipate a speedy continuation of this work. Pinkerton, whose book is the only modern one treating of the history of Scotland till the reign of Mary, leaves far richer gleanings behind him than the accurate Lord Hailes. An excellent scholar he was, yet deficient in actual local knowledge. He did not recognize, for example, in the 'Castle of Cowthelie,' the baronial fortress of the Somervilles, called Cowdailly, although, we believe, he was educated, if not born, within  
a few

a few miles of that place. He sought the maps of Pont and Bleau in vain for the parish of Bowden, which any almanac would have pointed out; and, long resident in England and foreign countries, he was singularly inexpert in the Lowland Scottish tongue. Selected by Gibbon to be his assistant in republishing the old historians of England, he repaid the obligation by imitating the style of the historian of the empire, which, in his hands, became harsh, tumid, and obscure. Besides, although Mr. Pinkerton collected many valuable materials from the Paper-office, yet that valuable depositary of original letters is far from exhausted; and the unwearied labours of Mr. Deputy-Register Thomson have thrown interesting light on the reigns of the second and third Jameses. The immense stores collected by the industrious Chalmers have also been added to the materials for Scottish history, within the last twenty years; we hope, therefore, Mr. Tytler, young, ardent, and competent to the task, will not delay to prosecute it with the same spirit which he has hitherto displayed. And so we bid him God's speed upon his journey—

For long, though pleasing, is the way,  
And life, alas! allows but an ill winter's day.

ART. IV.—*Lettres sur le Système de la Co-Opération Mutuelle.*

Par Joseph Rey de Grenoble. Paris, A Sautet. 1828.

2. *The Co-Operative Magazine.*

3. *The Brighton Co-Operator.*

4. *The Birmingham Co-Operative Herald.*

IN the year 1696, one John Bellers published 'Proposals for raising a Colledge of Industry of all useful Trades and Husbandry, with profit for the rich, a plentiful living for the poor, and a good education for youth.' In his rules for teaching children languages, he agrees with Mr. Hamilton, and the modern reformers on this subject, in recommending the vocables to be learnt before the grammar, 'though rules,' he says, 'as well as words, make the complete scholar, yet considering words *lies* (!) in the memory, and rules in the understanding, and that children have first memory before understanding, by that Nature shows, memory is to be first used, and that, in the learning of language, words should be first learnt, and afterwards rules to put them together.' In learning his mother tongue, John Bellers never reached more than the knowledge of words, for, in a pamphlet of only forty-three pages, he has contrived to give detestable examples of every possible sin against grammar. Nevertheless, he seems to have been a benevolent, pious, and sensible man, and in his scheme there



there is nothing of the 'tête montée' which these schemers so generally betray. Men whose minds have long been exclusively occupied with what they deem an important novelty, are of all writers the most tantalizing; heated to excess by their favourite notion, it loses all solidity, expands into gas, and evaporates in an endless redundancy of explanations and declamations, till the reader, hopeless of ever reaching the point he is in search of, lays down the book in despair. This is the main reason why these writers, 'with one idea,' so frequently complain that no one will attend to them—they make us pay too dearly for the precious unit; as it has cost them almost a life to discover it, they think we ought to spend a life in learning it; but the reader is commonly of a different opinion—his expectation is kept on tiptoe till the toe wearies, and he walks off without waiting the result.

John Bellers is a writer of a very different kind; he comes straight to the point, and at once discloses his scheme clearly and briefly. It is that the rich should found a 'College of Industry,' in which to receive the poor, employ them, maintain them, and take the profits to themselves—the poor labourers securing a provision during sickness and age, and education and maintenance for their children, and the proprietors receiving an ample interest for their money. The college was to contain three hundred persons. Bellers calculated that the labour of two hundred would produce enough for the maintenance of the whole, and that the labour of the other hundred would produce a clear profit to the proprietors. The inhabitants were to be employed in such trades as were required for the wants of the college, or as would be profitable in the neighbourhood, 'so as to be an epitome of the world, being a collection of all the useful trades in it, so it may afford all the conveniences and comforts a man can want, or a Christian use.' 'The members of the college may be distinguished in caps and cloaths, as the master workmen from the prentices, and women from girls. A certain number of the boys and girls should be appointed weekly to wait at table upon the men and women at meals, that, as much as may be, the men and women may live better in the college than anywhere else. There should be several wards; for young men and boys; for married persons; for sick and lame.' The establishment was to admit a certain number of boarders, who, paying an annual stipend, would be excused all labour; and parents were advised, when they had children of doubtful dispositions, to leave their property to the college, and so purchase for such children a residence and maintenance for life, which they could not squander as they might an estate. For the erection of this college, it was calculated that eighteen thousand pounds would be required. Who John Bellers was, and what became

became of his scheme, we know not; either it failed, or, what is more probable, it was never tried.

There is no doubt that men have been brought to live in working communities, and have prospered in them; but the question is, whether they require for their success a combination of circumstances which rarely occur together, or whether the necessary elements can be commonly collected and combined. This is the great practical question; the desideratum is, a remedy for every-day evils of society. The practicability of such schemes, as a mere question of finance, if the industry, frugality, and good conduct of the members could be depended upon, there can be no doubt about. If it had never been proved before, it has lately been shown to demonstration, by the success of the settlement at Fredericks Oord. The success of this and other settlements in the Netherlands has been so complete, that it is surprising no attempt has been made to introduce the same plan into England. If the object were to administer the parish rates so as to attain the very minimum of success, the managers could not succeed better than they do at present in this country. We throw out the same hint to the directors of the Refuge for the Destitute. With such funds, the question might soon be settled, and perhaps an important improvement in the management of the poor, one of the greatest of our national wants, be introduced into this country. If any doubts were entertained about the accuracy of Mr. Jacob's account of these establishments, the Netherlands are near, and a committee of two or three inquisitive, accurate, right-headed, unsanguine gentlemen might soon see things for themselves, and bring home conclusive information on the subject.

It is well known that working communities have been formed with success by Moravian teachers, in Hottentot villages at the Cape of Good Hope. The accounts we have received, from eye-witnesses of undoubted veracity, are equally decisive as to the worldly prosperity of those villagers, and their moral and religious character *now*. The question still to be determined is, whether they will have intelligence enough to continue the system, when the present directors and founders have been removed by death.

One of the strongest examples of a successful working community is the Society of Harmony. It originated at Wurtemberg, in Bavaria, about the year 1780, under a clergyman of the name of Rapp. The members emigrated to America, where they arrived about 1805, and settled in the western part of Pennsylvania, near Pittsburg. At first they were subject to extreme privations; in fact, they were reduced to the verge of famine, because their capital was not sufficient to maintain them comfortably while they were clearing ground and raising their first crops. These difficulties



culties being overcome, their wealth accumulated rapidly. Within seven years they had brought into cultivation three thousand acres of land, and possessed about two thousand sheep; they had hop-gardens, orchards, and vineyards—barns, stables, and granaries large enough to hold one year's produce in corn always in advance; houses for making cyder, beer, wine, and oil; distilleries, mills for grinding and sawing, and machines for making all kinds of clothing; they had a shop for retailing Philadelphia goods to the country, about a hundred good dwelling houses of wood, a large stone-built tavern, and a church of brick. They did a great deal of business, principally manufacturing for the people of the country. About the year 1816 they disposed of their property, and settled in another district on the Wabash river, when their common capital was estimated at about fifty thousand pounds. In the year 1818 they were prospering at a greater rate than ever; they were introducing steam into all their manufactures, and even building a steam-boat to traffic with New Orleans. In 1823, the members were about seven hundred, and prospering in a way that astonished their neighbours for many miles round; they were then considered to be great capitalists, and resorted to by their neighbours for negotiating loans and discounting bills. They have a common capital and common labour. Marriage is not forbidden, but it was rather discouraged than otherwise, so that the numbers increased slowly. In the year 1827 they were beginning to adopt more liberal notions on this and other subjects, for they were paying more attention to the education of their children, and to the general information of the members. It is fair to add, that Mr. Rapp has gratifications beyond those of the community; and that his son is understood to be realizing a fortune from the increase of its wealth.

Another working community, which has been successful in the United States, are the people called Shakers, from the grotesque nature of their religious ceremonies. Captain Basil Hall, during his late travels through North America, paid them a visit at Lebanon, the place of their residence, and though he found their forms of worship too ludicrous to describe, having never 'beheld any thing, even in Hindostan, (he says,) to match these Shakers,' yet he describes them as 'a very orderly, industrious and harmless set of persons.'

There is another community, never yet noticed in print, of which we have received the following account from one who visited it. A number of persons emigrated together from Europe, meaning to form a settlement near each other. On arriving at Pennsylvania their funds were exhausted, and they were enabled to go forward only by the liberality of some Quakers; they formed  
a settle-

a settlement near Wheeling, on the Ohio. They purchased land, and divided it into as many portions as there were families. It was then proposed that each should take possession of his portion, build his own house, and till his own ground. Till this could be done, they built a large house for common accommodation, and cleared a piece of land for common support. When they had accomplished this, it was proposed by some of the influential people, that as they had lived together so long with mutual comfort and satisfaction, it would be as well to continue the same plan which had thus been *proved* to be advantageous, instead of dividing their interests and property. This they did; and in 1827, they were a true working community, their labour, capital, and produce being in common, and with every mark of prosperity about them.

M. Rey, of Grenoble, the author of the little volume of which we have given the title above, was for some time in England, and became a convert to Mr. Owen's views. From his second letter, if we may trust the accuracy of his information, it would appear that, beside the Harmonists and the Shakers, a numerous crop of working communities have sprung up within the last few years in various parts of the United States. In 1824, the Harmonists sold their village and the surrounding land, amounting to thirty thousand acres, to Mr. Owen, and retired further west to Cincinnati. Mr. Owen having, in the American newspapers, invited settlers to form a working community, they flocked in from all quarters, so that he soon found himself with a sufficient number of persons for the commencement of his plan, but many of them woefully deficient in the necessary qualifications, being ignorant, idle, and profligate; he therefore divided them into several classes, forming the worst into what he called a preliminary society, amounting to about one thousand or twelve hundred persons: these he placed in the village, whilst he formed the better sort into four separate communities, which he placed on different portions of the neighbouring land. The half savage inhabitants of the village were for some time very unruly, and at length split into three communities, one of which is described by M. Rey as being steadily and progressively prosperous. We have seen it stated in the '*Revue Encyclopedique*,' that they have a library of five or six thousand volumes—that they have balls, concerts, and conversaziones in the evening—that the young women quit their pianofortes to go and milk the cows and cook the dinner, which much amused Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, who remained among them eight or ten days, and whose secretary danced at their balls in the dress of the community,—to wit, a Greek tunic with large pantaloons. But the duke, in his own book, gives a more unfavourable account of the whole concern; and, in fact, predicts its speedy dissolution.

Besides



Besides these communities planted by Mr. Owen, M. Rey states that there is a community of Quakers at Vallée Forge, about forty miles west of Philadelphia; another at Haverstrand, on the Hudson, and six smaller ones still further west. Exclusive of the communities organized on the land round New Harmony, and of the religious communities, there are said to be at least twenty others in different parts of the United States.

For the most part, the attempts hitherto made in this island to form working communities have been signally unsuccessful. In the year 1826, an association of this kind was formed at Orbiston, near Glasgow, on the estate of a gentleman of considerable property, who had embraced Mr. Owen's views with enthusiastic zeal, and under the immediate superintendence of an intelligent person of the name of Coombe; dwellings were erected,—a huge shapeless mass of stonework, deforming woefully one of the loveliest vallies in Britain;—workmen, with their families, were admitted, and for some time the society went on promisingly,—but the patron went abroad—Mr. Coombe died; the inhabitants became dissatisfied and disorderly; the establishment was broken up, and the property sold. In London, a society, chiefly of journeymen printers, planned a working community, and issued a prospectus about it, but they failed in collecting the necessary funds, and the plan was relinquished. An association of the same kind, we believe, was formed near Exeter, and made considerable advances, at least in the erection of buildings, but that project also failed, and those who had embarked property in it sustained considerable loss.

There has, however, existed for about fifteen years a little community about five miles from Dublin. It was commenced by four individuals who lived together in that city, and agreed to make a common purse, and when they had saved sufficient money, to retire into the country, and cultivate a piece of land in common. They did so, and permitted others to join them. A year's probation is required, and married persons are not admitted. The number of members is now about thirty-two, and they rent about thirty-six acres of land. They have a priest who resides with them, reads prayers morning and evening, takes his meals with the rest, but has a library to himself. Four of these associates cultivate the ground, four keep a school of about three hundred children from neighbouring parishes, many of whom are fed and some clothed; some of the members are carpenters and wheelwrights, others bakers; they send bread, milk, and vegetables to Dublin daily; their chief manufacture is the jaunting car, for which they are in great request; they have erected buildings of various descriptions, and the society has the countenance of some of the first noblemen in Ireland. For

For several years there has been a society in London for the express purpose of encouraging the formation of working communities among the labouring classes. They have held meetings, made speeches, and published a monthly paper under the title of 'The Co-operative Magazine,' but nothing practical had been effected, at least nothing successfully, till about two years and a half ago, when a few intelligent and industrious workmen at Brighton formed themselves into a club which they called the 'Brighton Co-operative Society.' They held meetings in a room which they hired for the purpose, and never at a public-house: this was one of their chief rules; they too published their monthly paper, consisting only of four pages, price one penny. Besides this they entered into a weekly subscription; when this had accumulated to a sufficient amount, instead of investing it in a Savings-bank, where it would have produced a small interest and increased slowly, they employed it in trade,—purchasing the goods generally wanted by the members at the wholesale price, selling them at the retail price both to the members and to the public, and adding the profit to their capital. It is the progress of this little community which we propose to communicate to our readers, and which we have learnt partly from personal observation, and partly from the publications issued by this society, and others totally unknown beyond these societies themselves. They disclose reasonings and proceedings among this large portion of the population, which no thoughtful mind can contemplate without an interest quite disproportionate to the small beginnings which we shall have to describe: for, firstly, in the present case, it is not an enthusiast calling on the rich to subscribe towards a scheme for amending the condition of the poor, but the workmen themselves are the prime movers; and, secondly, the means required are within the power of the labouring classes in every town in this kingdom. We shall proceed as briefly as we can to give our readers a notion of the proceedings of these co-operators,—how they reason, what they propose for themselves, and recommend to others, and above all, what they have done, and how far they have actually succeeded. They begin thus:—

'The rate of wages has been gradually diminishing for some hundred years, so that now it is not above one-third of what it used to be—but this is not all, for the same causes continuing to act, the wages must go on diminishing till a workman will not be able to maintain a family; and by the same rule, he will at last not be able to maintain himself. The independent day-labourer has almost ceased to exist. The country labourer who can, in many respects, live cheaper than we can in a town—who can have his garden, and raise his own potatoes, &c., can now very seldom live without the parish aid; and it is a common rule to make an allowance for each child above a certain number.

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The same situation has begun to beset the mechanic. He is frequently obliged to go without work a day or two in the week, or to have his wages lowered. If this goes on, he must also come to the parish.

But parish relief does not cure the evil—for many have too much principle or pride to apply; and many are deterred, sometimes by living at a distance, and sometimes by the opposition and frowns they meet with: so that there are many families after all, who, though they do not starve, yet live constantly upon short allowance, and many days do not put victuals into their mouths.

In manufacturing districts they are frequently overtaken by the horrors of a famine, not from a failure of the crops, but from a failure of employment, of which Manchester, Kidderminster, and Spitalfields afford recent examples. But putting aside these occasional distresses, the mass of the working population are, as society is at present constituted, placed in circumstances which preclude the possibility of attaining an independence, however small, for themselves in case of sickness or age, and if they die, for their wives and children. Hard work for a long day, and a long week, with no time for innocent enjoyments, and for that improvement of the mind which would teach them to prefer innocent to vicious pleasures, and so on through the whole active period of their lives, is barely sufficient to procure them common necessities; to succeed thus far is their best lot. They have no hope of rising above it into independence, and myriads sink below it into wretchedness. But misery produces crime, and the most severe and sanguinary laws are insufficient to suppress it. A hungry stomach, starving children, and in winter a cold hearth, are stronger temptations than the fear of punishment can counteract.

And this is the lot of those who fabricate all the wealth of the country. 'The labour of every nation,' says Adam Smith, 'is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessities and conveniences which it consumes.' But the labourers, those from whose hands issue all wealth, are themselves left with empty hands; those who grow all the corn, make all the clothes, build all the houses which we see, are the worst fed, the worst clothed, and the worst housed part of the community; those who contribute hands and arms, and skill and knowledge, and the almost incessant employment of these to the production of wealth—their lot is poverty; they whose hands and arms, and skill and knowledge are not exerted—their lot is plenty, independence, ease, and often wealth.

When the discovery was made that machines could be contrived which would increase to an incredible degree the productiveness of labour, so that one man could produce as much as formerly required hundreds or thousands, a simple person who knew nothing of the mechanism of society, of the connexion between the work-  
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ing classes and those by whom they are employed, and the way in which the former are rewarded for their toil—such a person might naturally expect that the discovery of machinery would be the happiest of all possible events for the working classes: it is they who have discovered the machines in most cases, and have fabricated them in all; and it might be reasonably expected that these lifeless but industrious children of their ingenuity would become their useful slaves, who would work for them, lighten their labour, and increase their abundance. But, whatever the ultimate result may be—and we, for our part, doubt not that will be good—the consequence to the existing generation has been very different; instead of serving them as the fairies did Crispin in the German tale, who had only to cut out his shoes at night, and he was sure to find them made the next morning, machines have served them like the monster in *Frankenstein*, who, when life was given him, used it only to persecute the giver. Machines, instead of being their servants, have become their most formidable competitors.

‘Labour’ (says one of these co-operative pamphleteers) ‘is working against machinery. Those that eat, drink, and get families, are working against those that do not eat, drink, or get families. In such a contest, the eater and drinker must be worsted. He cannot be put in a garret, and kept without food, till he is wanted. He cannot be laid up for the winter. The birth of new labourers cannot be deferred, like the production of new machines, till their labour is called for. They cannot be put together one day, and pulled to pieces another day. They come forth with new faces every day, and still there is a greater troop behind. As the waves that break upon the shore never exhaust the great body of the deep, so the womb of futurity contains more myriads of germs than there are drops of water in the mighty fathomless ocean.’

The application of machinery to manufactures, instead of being a blessing to the existing generation of the labouring classes, brought on them a new evil, called over-production; the machines which had been almost always contrived, and were of course always fabricated by them, became the property of their masters, and worked for these, not for the labourers. By the combination of labour and machinery, the master manufacturer was enabled to produce as many goods as he did formerly, with a small number of workmen, and thus was enabled and induced to discharge hands; or, if he continued to employ as many, these, by the aid of machinery, produced such a superabundance of goods, that the master manufacturer could not sell them: for a time, therefore, he ceased to produce them, and during the season of non-production, paid off a crowd of workmen: thus either at first, or ultimately, the employment of machinery in manufactures diminished the



the demand for labour, and the consequences were low wages, diminished employment, and sometimes none at all, with its attendant horrors.

'The whole secret of the business' (says the same writer) 'lies in this, that the workmen do not work for themselves. The workman sells his time, strength, skill, and labour, all his ingenuity, all his cleverness, all his industry, all his health, to his master. If he performed a thousand times as much work as he does, he would be no better off. His master would be the only person benefited. The greater the quantity of work done, the richer would the masters and upper classes become; but not a jot richer would the workman be. Indeed, the very contrary is proved to be the fact. For the working classes have now, by the aid of machinery, which they have themselves invented, produced such an abundance of food, and all kinds of necessities, that their labour is no longer wanted. "The market (say the wise ones) is overstocked with workmen: there are too many poor: too many of the lower orders: too much population. The workmen must be sent out of the kingdom—they are the greatest evil we have to contend against. If we could but get rid of the working classes, we should do very well." Such are the reflections which are every day made upon the present state of things; which prove completely, that if the workmen were to produce a thousand times as much as they do, they would be no better off: or rather, that the more food, clothes, and houses they produce, the fewer necessities, comforts, and enjoyments they must themselves necessarily possess. But would this be the case if the working classes worked for themselves, and not for others? Most certainly not. They already produce enough for themselves, and all the world besides. Therefore, if they worked for themselves alone, they would be supplied most abundantly—not only with the necessities of life, but with all its luxuries into the bargain.

'The remedy is in our own hands. The remedy is co-operation. At present, in working for others, we get for ourselves only a small part, some say, one-eighth, some, one-fourth of the produce of our work. If, in any way, we could work for ourselves, we should get the whole. How is this to be done? As we have no capital, we are obliged to find a master to give us employment, and we must work for common wages. This is true—it is capital we want; and now let us consider how this capital is to be raised. We shall find that it is by no means an impossibility. Union and saving will accumulate it.

'Many of us belong to friendly societies, which have accumulated a large capital, by small weekly deposits: many of us have saved sums of money in the savings banks: the thing, therefore, is possible. We must form ourselves into a society for this especial purpose; we must form a fund by weekly deposits; as soon as it is large enough, we must lay it out in various commodities, which we must place in a common store, from which all members must purchase their common necessities, and the profit will form a common capital to be again laid out in the commodities most wanted. Thus we shall have two  
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sources of accumulation—the weekly subscription, and the profit on articles sold. Suppose two hundred persons thus unite, and subscribe each a shilling a week, and by purchasing at their own store, produce a profit of twenty pounds a week, they will accumulate at the rate of thirty pounds a week, or one thousand five hundred and sixty pounds a year. This capital, by being judiciously turned over, will accumulate even faster than at the rate here mentioned, and may be employed in any way the society may think most advisable. The society will be able now to find work for some of its own members, the whole produce of whose labour will be common property, instead of that small part of which we spoke. As the capital accumulates still farther, it will employ all the members, and then the advantages will be considerable indeed. Every member of the society will work, there will be no idlers. All the property will be common property, there will be no pauperism or crime. When any of the members are ill, they will live and have medical attendance at the common expense. When the capital has accumulated sufficiently, the society may purchase land, live upon it, cultivate it themselves, and produce any manufactures they please, and so provide for all their wants of food, clothing, and houses. The society will then be called a community. When the members are too old to work, they will still live comfortably among their friends, and end their days in peace and plenty, instead of a workhouse. When a man dies, the community will receive his widow and children into their bosom: she will not know the pangs of desertion, nor be obliged to send her children to the parish. The children will be fed, clothed and educated, at the common expense, and when grown up, may become members of the community, or go into the world properly prepared to earn their own living. But if the members choose to remain in a town, instead of going into a community, they may derive all the advantages from the society which I have stated. We must go to a shop every day to buy food and necessaries—why, then, should we not go to our own shop? We must send our children to school—why should we not have a school of our own, where we could bring up our children to useful trades, and make them good workmen and sober lads? We might also bring up our girls to learn all the useful work of women, and such manufactures as might be beneficial to the society.

Benefit unions or societies accumulate a common capital, by means of weekly subscriptions. This common capital is invested in different securities, which yield a small interest, that is, the common capital is lent to some person who employs workmen with it, the produce of whose labour is sufficient to pay the interest and yield him an ample profit besides. This mode of investing a common capital is mere ignorance in the working classes. They might as well employ themselves upon this capital as lend it to another to employ them upon it; in the one case, they would get the whole of the produce, in the other, only that small part which is called interest. The society in West-street, Brighton, have made this discovery, and are now reaping the



fruits of it. It appears by their books, that the sums of money which, if they had been invested at interest in the usual way, would have yielded a profit of about four pounds, have, by being invested in trade, yielded them a profit of about thirty. Working men have no idea of employing money in trade; they think that it is a distinct occupation which belongs to others; they almost fancy that they could not exist a day without a shop to go to to buy food; though they produce the food and carry it to the shop, yet they fancy they could not eat it without it went through the shopman's hands,—so it is with every other article of production. Workmen have no idea, that a certain number joining together, with a small capital to begin with, could produce and consume among themselves, independent of the rest of the world. The union, then, will begin with a shop: to manage this shop they must have an agent; this agent must be a member,—he will be chosen by the society,—he will keep regular accounts, as is done in all business. Three other members will be appointed as trustees to receive the weekly subscriptions, to superintend the agent, and to audit his accounts; this will be done weekly, that all may know the state of the society; and the trustees being changed occasionally, all will become acquainted with the mode of transacting business. At first, as the capital of the society will be small, the shop will not be able to supply the members with all the articles of consumption they may want. But the capital will exceed what the shop requires in less than one year after the society is formed, even though the weekly subscriptions should be as low as threepence. When this period arrives, the society will ask themselves, What shall we do with our surplus capital? The answer will be, Employ one of your own members to manufacture shoes, or clothes, &c. for the rest; pay him the usual wages, and give the profits to the common capital. In this way they will proceed to employ one member after another, either to manufacture articles consumed by the members or by the public. If any one should think it impossible for such a society to carry on business profitably, they have only to go to West-street, Brighton, and satisfy themselves.

This little society, (now two years older than when the above was written,) considering the paucity of its means, and the short period of its existence, is prospering well. Since its commencement its plans and views have undergone some changes, as the members acquired further knowledge on the subject. At first it was a joint stock company, divided into shares, which differed in value according to the amount of each subscription; the members consisted partly of intelligent workmen, partly of little capitalists;—differences of opinion arose,—the former became the advocates of a community, the latter were for persisting as a joint stock company. These finally seceded from the association on being paid the amount of their subscriptions, leaving the accumulated property to the workmen who were the unanimous advocates

advocates for a community. But the seceders had felt too much of the benefits of co-operation to lose sight of the principle. With the money which they received as the value of their shares, they built a fishing-boat, and employed their own members in fishing. The boat, which cost them one hundred and forty pounds, has produced at the rate of about four pounds per week clear profit, after deducting all expenses and losses; they have just built another, and are making money fast. The association which they left have a shop at Brighton, and a garden of twenty-eight acres, near that town, on the London Road. They employ, for the conduct of these concerns, about seven of their own members; and are now about opening another shop for the produce of their garden. As their common capital increases, they intend to open new shops and embark in new concerns: this will employ a greater number of their members, till at length the whole number will be employed in the service of the society, and the community will thus be completed, although the individuals may be scattered in different parts of the town or neighbourhood. But they hope ultimately to procure land and reside upon it together: the houses to form a continuous village, like the Beguinage at Ghent,—the front being a bazaar of shops, containing the different articles fabricated by the members. As the society is young, and its capital small, they are unwilling that should be touched for the relief of the sick—they have, therefore, a separate subscription for that purpose. For the same reason they have not yet bound themselves to provide for the families of those who die, but it is their intention in such cases to do all in their power until the time arrives when the community, being complete, will adopt, as a matter of course, the family of every man who dies within their fold. Some philanthropic persons have once or twice assisted them with small sums of money, which have been always punctually repaid, but they are disinclined to receive any large loan, because it would burthen them with debt, and they would rather their capital should accumulate gradually as they gradually acquire the skill to manage it.

Our account of this society would be very incomplete, if we omitted the special care taken as to the admission of members. Strict inquiry has been made all along as to their moral characters, and idle or drunken persons have been uniformly rejected. Who can doubt that to this principle of selection the continuance and prosperity of the society have been mainly owing? and the difficulty of enforcing such rigour, on a larger scale of operations, must be obvious.

The English are eminently a practical people: one fact has more influence over their conduct than a volume of reasoning



without any fact to show for it. This little society at Brighton, by putting their hand to the plough, proceeding to work, and publishing their success, have contributed more to the formation of similar societies in a few months, than the London co-operative society had done in as many years by their meetings, debates, and publications. Among the numerous co-operative societies which have been formed, and are forming, for not a month passes without several springing up, one of the youngest but most active is that at Birmingham. A lady, who became acquainted at Brighton with the co-operative society of that town, and carried away a knowledge of the scheme, has formed three similar societies, one at Tunbridge, one at Hastings, the third we know not where: that at Hastings was, at the end of July, just thirteen weeks old; it had made a clear profit of 79*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*, and its returns for the last week of that month were 104*l.* There are now upwards of seventy co-operative societies in different parts of England, and they are spreading so rapidly, that the probability is, that by the time this number of our Review is published, there will be nearly a hundred. We have seen several private letters from members of co-operative societies in different parts of the kingdom; some of them, notwithstanding occasional errors of grammar and spelling, are uncommonly well thought and well expressed, and all of them betray nothing but good intentions and good feelings. They express a strong hope that they have at length discovered an effectual remedy for their distresses, a determination to give it a full trial, and hostility towards no one.

The benefits which the co-operators hope to derive from these associations, if they should ever reach the highest stage of success, are 1st., a perfect emancipation from all fear of poverty; a sure provision for themselves, not only in health and activity, but in sickness and age, and for their families after their death. 2d, A sufficient supply of the comforts of life without that hard and incessant labour which now wears them out prematurely. 3d. Leisure for innocent enjoyment, the acquisition of knowledge, and the cultivation of their minds: in fine, great and lasting improvement in not only their physical, but their moral and intellectual condition. Such are their views and hopes; and, assuredly, hard grinding poverty is not the school of virtue, at least during school time. He who escapes from it and feels secure that it will never return, may sympathize with those who are still subject to this bitter tuition; but while he is suffering himself, with no prospect of escape, it is more likely to generate selfishness and the bad passions of our nature. Craving wants are as sure to injure our dispositions as to excite our understandings. Even among the middling and higher classes, those who have to make their way in the

the world by their talents, are far more liable to envy, hatred, and malice, than those who are born to affluence; and Austin, the keeper of the menagerie, near Waterloo Bridge, found that if beasts of prey were kept so well fed as not to know the sense of hunger, the cat would live with the rat and the mouse, and the hawk with the sparrow—in the same cage in peace and playfulness.

If these associations succeed, their influence on the rest of society must, to a certain extent, be beneficial. At present, the working classes are in a state of perpetual hostility with their masters, and may be said in the *trade union clubs* to keep a standing treasury for carrying on the war. They lean oppressively on the rest of society in the shape of poor-rates, voluntary charity, and those vast subscriptions that are sometimes called for when want of employment overwhelms them in multitudes;—and their distresses are continually urging them to crime. Wherever the poor form themselves into successful co-operative communities, these evils must cease; they will no longer quarrel with their masters, for they will have no masters to quarrel with; they will need no assistance from the parish, and they will have no temptation to invade the property of others. A man who is fed, clothed, and employed, will hardly turn housebreaker, and risk his neck for a community. Their influence must be anti-revolutionary; all those concerned in them will have a something at stake; and consequently a motive for preserving the peace and order of society. Besides, the object of these societies is the same as that of the legislature; namely, to take labourers out of the market, and place them in circumstances in which they shall want neither employment nor relief. Thus far the influence of these associations must be beneficial both to the members and to the nation; but are they likely to produce any counterbalancing evils?

If they should ever become so numerous as to absorb the greater part of the working population, (a very improbable supposition,) the manufacturer, and all those who employ workmen, and whose prosperity depends on the profits of capital, may find a difficulty in procuring hands, excepting at wages which they would call exorbitant. How far this might go it is impossible to anticipate; if it went no further than to give the labourer a more ample maintenance, to compel the capitalist to be satisfied with smaller profits, and diminish the excessive inequality of condition among men, this effect would be numbered, not among the evils, but among the benefits effected by these associations—excepting by those who consider the working classes as born only for their service. Another evil which will be apprehended from the extension of these communities is their interference with the present retail traders. If every town had in its suburbs a bazaar of co-operative shops,



shops, supplying all the articles required for the consumption of the towns-people, it would materially interfere with the independent shop-keepers—particularly as the co-operators, from their superior education, would be likely to excel these in skill, and, by working for themselves, would be able to undersell them in price. But this effect must inevitably be slow; the present generation would scarcely feel it; and as to the next, as they gradually come into employment, they will betake themselves, we may suppose, to those modes of living in which there may appear the fairest prospect of a maintenance. The co-operators would seem to have as fair a right to these niches in society as those who are unborn.

Other evils may be anticipated, or rather the same evil in different shapes;—for all resolve themselves into the fear, that the working classes might become so independent that the unworking classes would not have sufficient control over them, and would be ultimately obliged to work for themselves; but we think that these are visionary fears. The disposition to live in a community, and by that means relinquish the good as well as the evil, the hopes as well as the fears of independence, is never likely to attract a very large number even of the lower classes; especially Englishmen, who have more of repulsion and less of attraction in their composition than most people. A very small number of them ever attain competence or wealth; but every man thinks he may be the happy man, and many would not relinquish that chance for the comforts and dependence of a community. It would be giving up all the pleasures of hope and ambition, which stirring spirits cannot live without. Beside this, supposing these associations were to succeed splendidly, how long would they last? Nothing is more probable, than that, finding that their common property had become so large they did not know what to do with it, they might come to the resolution of selling it, dividing the spoil, and separating again into independent members of society. Man is a restless and dissatisfied animal; as long as he is hunted by the dread of poverty, he thinks that any plan which offers him a comfortable provision and a tranquil mind, comprehends every thing in life; but let him continue in this state so long as to forget what it is to feel or to fear hunger, and will he not begin to think his mode of life insipid, and long for a more adventurous one? There is another, and a very serious point to be considered. The most active manager of the Brighton Society, the man that kept their shop, left them lately, and went to America. On inquiry, nothing of dishonesty appeared against him; but *had* it been otherwise—had he plundered or embezzled the joint stock, of which he was in part the owner, he could not have been proceeded against criminally; and the other members would have had

had no remedy but a chancery suit. The law respecting partnership, therefore, must be taken into view, when we would form an estimate of the probable permanence of such societies in this country. It would be absurd to overlook these difficulties: at the same time, they should not be rashly pronounced insurmountable. No scheme can be devised for improving the condition of the poor which shall not be liable to some objections and apprehensions; but they must be shown to be equally certain and great as the evils which at present exist, before we admit them as conclusive *against* the scheme.

We have ventured on the above reflections concerning the tendency of co-operative communities—but we offer them only as conjectures, and with a diffidence proportioned to the uncertainty of the events to which they relate. These societies are all of them of too recent establishment to allow of our forming any judgment at present concerning their future progress and ultimate effects. Whether co-operation will make a stir among the working classes for a few years only, and then die away and be heard of no more; or whether it will increase and multiply throughout the island; what influence, finally, supposing them to succeed, this new organization of society among the working classes would have on the aristocracies of capital and rank—all these are questions which we are not far-sighted enough to determine with the naked eye, and we have no telescope through which we can see clearly. The political economists will, of course, point their glasses at the distance, and calculate the result with unfailing certainty; but we have no faith in the reports of these political star-gazers. We leave them to prophecy, contenting ourselves with the humbler task of watching the progress and awaiting the issue of the experiment. It is at present in its infancy—a cloud no bigger than a man's hand. Whether it is to dissipate in heat, or gradually spread over the land, and send down refreshing showers on this parched and withered portion of society, God only knows, and time only can reveal.

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ART. V.—*Life and Services of Captain Philip Beaver, of his Majesty's Ship Nisus.* By Captain William Henry Smyth, R.N. 8vo. London. 1829.

THE race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; and that thought should carry with it a salutary sense of humiliation to the heart of every one who has won the prize, whatever it be, for which he contended. The most successful of fortune's favourites may call to mind men who started with



with him in the same course, having equal ardour, prospects equally encouraging, and equal, or perhaps greater natural endowments, yet who have dropped on the way, or been left lagging far behind him, at hopeless distance : some, perhaps, owing to their own misconduct, but others neither for want of strength, nor of wise and virtuous exertion : he has been in the full stream of fortune ; but they have been caught in its eddy, and embayed, or borne back, or sunk, it having so seemed good to that Providence which directs all our ways, while its own are inscrutable : this, let us repeat, ought to be a solemn, and humiliating, and, therefore, a salutary consideration for those who in their lifetime have received their good things.

The person whose memoirs are now before us will be known by name to a very small portion of our readers, though a braver, an abler, more accomplished, or more high-minded officer never trod the deck of a British ship. Philip Beaver (the third of eight children, two of whom died in infancy) was born on February 28th, 1766, at Lewknor, in Oxfordshire, a village in which his father resided seventeen years, as curate. In the summer of 1777, the father was presented to the living of Monksilver, in Somersetshire : just as this better prospect had opened, he died in the vigour of life. His widow, 'in the complicated misery of her situation,' received from her friends that active kindness which was due to her husband's worth and to her own ; and at General Cailaud's request, Captain Joshua Rowley received Philip as a midshipman on board the *Monarch*. The boy was then in his twelfth year ; he had never seen the sea, 'scarcely even a boat ;' but he had an ardent predilection for a sailor's life.

The *Monarch*, in Admiral Keppel's action (July, 1778), received the fire of the enemy's whole line,—great havoc was made in her crew, 'her spars and rigging were seriously injured, and her hammock nettings set on fire by the enemy's wads.' Beaver was only in his thirteenth year ; but when he was questioned by Admiral Forbes concerning the particulars of the action, his relation was so clear and satisfactory, that the veteran declared he had never heard a consistent account of it before. As he told a straightforward tale, so he delivered a straightforward opinion ; for, being asked what he thought of the two flag officers, whose recriminations were then the general topic, he replied, 'They both deserve to be shot.' We must not mention Admiral Forbes without noticing, that he, when a lord of the Admiralty, refused to sign Admiral Byng's death-warrant, a refusal more to his honour than if he had gained a victory like that of the Nile or of Trafalgar. At the close of that year Commodore Rowley hoisted his broad pendant on board the *Suffolk*, took all the officers of the *Monarch* with

with him, and went with seven sail-of-the-line to reinforce Admiral Byron in the West Indies. Byron was so proverbially unfortunate, that it was said he had never once met with a fair wind; yet his acknowledged merits were such, that his disasters were always imputed to his ill fortune, never to his fault.

We must pass over the details of some busy months, including an action 'more remarkable for gallantry than success,' with D'Estaign. That able commander, notwithstanding his superior force, avoided a close and general conflict, and Byron made the best of his way to Basseterre roads, there to repair his damaged ships. This allowed Beaver time to improve himself in navigation and nautical astronomy, there being a master's mate on board who had a considerable proficiency in both sciences. At this time he was not more remarkable for buoyant spirits than for occasional sedateness and caustic observation, which drew from the admiral a remark, that if 'that boy should get safely through the snares which snap us up between fifteen and five-and-twenty, he would turn out an admirable officer.'

War now took place with Spain, and brought with it the usual expectations in which sailors indulge on such an occasion, and the usual disappointment which ensues. He was present at the destruction of part of a French convoy under the batteries of Port Royal Bay, and at the capture of three frigates belonging to La Motte Piquet's squadron; one of these the Suffolk chased, and having come up abreast, gave her a few random shot, 'which (says our midshipman in his journal) she impudently answered with a broadside, and then struck.' This has been often done by French ships of war, when about to strike to a superior force; so often, indeed, as to show that many of their naval officers see in it nothing inconsistent with honour and humanity, and to render it fitting that effectual means should be taken in any future war for putting a stop to a practice which is at once cowardly and murderous. After this success, Admiral Rowley shifted his flag to the Conqueror, and took Beaver with him: Rodney soon arrived to take the command, and it was then the boy's good fortune to serve, and in an active scene, under one of our best naval commanders. In the action of April 17th, 1780, the Conqueror had her masts, yards, and rigging much torn, her hull riddled by some heavy shot, besides the hits between wind and water; thirteen men killed and thirty-seven wounded: 'As for myself,' says he, in his Journal, 'I have still my proper complement of legs and arms; but I have twice to-day narrowly escaped a dive into Davy's locker.' The success which was that day within Rodney's reach was let slip, because some of the British ships, instead of doing their duty, 'took it easy.' One captain was brought to a court-



a court-martial: another, who inquired of Rodney why he had been mentioned in terms of reprehension, received this impressive answer: 'Could I have imagined that your conduct, and your inattention to signals had proceeded from anything but error in judgment, I had certainly superseded you; but God forbid I should do so for error in judgment only. I merely resolved, Sir, not to put it in your power to mistake again upon so important an occasion as the leading a British fleet to regular battle.'

Beaver followed Rowley's flag into the *Terrible* and the *Princess Royal*; but when that admiral was ordered to convoy the homeward-bound traders in the *Grafton*, it was thought best to leave him on so active a station,—recommending him to the notice of Sir Peter Parker, who held the *Jamaica* command. While in the *Princess Royal*, he wrote a ballad on the battle between the *Milford* frigate and the *Duc de Coigny*, (fought on the 10th of May, 1780)—which, both for its spirit and diction, is a most remarkable production for a boy in his fifteenth year.

'Up in the wind, three leagues or more,

We spied a lofty sail;

"Let's hoist a Dutch flag, for decoy,

And closely hug the gale."

Nine knots the nimble *Milford* ran,

"Thus—thus," the master cried;

Hull up, she raised the chase in view,

And soon was side by side.

"Down the Dutch ensign, up *St. George*,

To quarters now all hands,"—

With lighted match, beside his gun,

Each British warrior stands,' &c.

Early in the ensuing year, an American brig was brought in prisoner off Cape Nicola, and the charge of it given to this youth, as an efficient officer. Proud of this first command, he parted from the fleet in high spirits; but his joy was of short continuance. That same evening the vessel caught fire at the fore-peak, owing to the drunkenness of one of the men. All hands were half the night in extinguishing it; and hardly was this done, before he saw himself chased by a privateer, whom he could neither resist nor escape, and he was carried into Port-au-Prince. War was not then carried on upon the barbarous system of not exchanging prisoners; and after about eleven weeks' confinement, he was sent on board the *Southampton* frigate. In less than four weeks after he had joined her, that ship, in company with the *Pomona*, burnt two enemy's vessels, captured one, escaped from a French fleet, and took some shipwrecked sailors off the great Inague island. She then parted from the *Pomona*; suffered

suffered severely in action with a large ship which got out of Nicola mole; and weathered that tremendous hurricane in which their late consort, with the elder brother of Captain and Sir Samuel Hood on board,

'Whirl'd, riven and overwhelm'd, with all her crew  
Into the deep went down.'

While the Southampton was refitting at Kingston, the town took fire; and Beaver and his messmates distinguished themselves by their exertions in pulling down the houses which would otherwise have spread the flames, removing people and property, and saving lives. Next year, this frigate escaped again from a French fleet, and from a second hurricane which disabled her. He was then removed into the *London*, 90, in which he had another providential preservation; for in a dreadful storm the lightning struck the foremast, and shivered it from the truck to the gunner's store-room, with a terrible explosion close to the fore magazine. But Beaver was desirous of more active service than a three-decker affords, and therefore obtained his removal into the *Tobago* sloop of war: from that sloop he was sent to navigate a prize into port, and in port was attacked by a dangerous fever. In that deadly climate, fevers are so generally fatal, that men's graves are sometimes made ready before they die; and his death was inserted in a *Jamaica Gazette*, copied into a London paper, and seen by his eldest sister. Strength of mind belonged to the family in an eminent degree: the sister, hoping against hope, determined not to communicate the intelligence till it should be confirmed. She had the fortitude to keep this resolution, and the inexpressible joy to receive letters from himself which announced his perfect recovery.

In June, 1783, his friend Admiral Rowley gave him an acting order to the *Nemesis*. He passed his examination on the 15th October. The next day Rowley complimented him with an appointment to act as first lieutenant of the same ship, which duty he performed till she was paid off; and so conspicuous were his merits, and so well known, not only by those under whom he had served, but by those also who had served in the same fleet, that he obtained his commission after the peace in May, 1784.

But, as many officers, with ostensibly better interest, failed at that time in obtaining their rank, Lieutenant Beaver became an object of envy, because, forsooth, bearing a high character from every officer with whom he had served, he was justly rewarded. This is what many of the most insignificant in the service call "luck"—as if a youth of strong natural parts, with obedient, diligent habits, was not likely to make his way, in a service which, however clogged by drones of interest, must always have a demand for efficient officers. It is really



really marvellous to observe how many embark, who merely exist in apathy and uselessness, though surrounded by every inducement to exertion; and, instead of pursuing the zealous, straightforward course of duty, which insures both honour and happiness, use all the subtleties and refinements which they can resort to, for evasion.'—p. 41.

Captain Smyth has truly observed, that 'it may happen to eighty officers out of a hundred not to witness more service during a whole professional life, than Beaver had already encountered in his noviciate.' He might have added, that it might happen to the other twenty not to profit in the same manner by the service which they saw. It was thought a piece of good fortune for him to be placed on the first step of the ladder in time of peace; and such an instance in the Admiralty of attention to deserts which had been manifested in the whole course of service, and not necessarily brought to its notice by any single splendid action, was as unusual as it was wise and just. But if the good of the service had been prospectively considered as it ought, such a youth would not, at the age of eighteen, have been turned adrift to support himself as he could upon a lieutenant's half-pay, and to rust in idleness, or run wild in dissipation. Some choice spirits might have been saved from both, and reserved to do honour to their country and themselves; if, during those years of peace, one or two vessels had been constantly employed in surveys or voyages of discovery; and the officers selected with reference exclusively to their ability and good conduct. Lieutenant Beaver soon became weary of an idle life, and used to say he was never so happy as when sure of meeting an enemy every day. His mother, who was now obliged to assist him more than when in the West Indies, where his prize-money almost supported him, saw that a London lodging was a dangerous abode for him: he himself, not satisfied with possessing a sailor's colloquial knowledge of the French language, was ambitious of acquiring an idiomatic proficiency in it; removal to a cheaper country was desirable for both, and they went to Boulogne. This part of his life, his biographer says, is that on which he would perhaps have looked back with the least satisfaction. 'In the ardour of youth, without occupation, or any restraint except the gentle check of an indulgent mother, it is not surprising if he fell into that dissipation which he saw around him.'

We happen to have heard that, during his residence in France, Beaver became acquainted with a French officer, since so well known as Marshal Soult; and that he always spoke of him as one of the ablest persons he had ever known. The fate of these two men, in whose characters there were probably some points of strong resemblance, was widely different. Marshal Soult has  
risen

risen to the highest rank in his profession, has been raised to the highest grade of nobility, and has enriched himself in a war as wickedly conducted as it was treacherously commenced. Captain Beaver left little other inheritance to his children than a good name, to which no title could add honour: but he died with a conscience clear of any offence against his fellow-creatures; and while Soult's name will receive its lasting character from the history of that flagitious war, the story of Beaver's not less eventful life will be put into the hands of many a young sailor, as containing an example by which he may learn how to perform his duty, not only as an officer, but as a man and a Christian.

In 1787, the Lieutenant made a visit to his brother, the Rev. James Beaver, at Stoke, near Coventry. Here he rose late, lounged away the mornings, justified this course of life by arguing that he had no actual duties to perform, and might perhaps have irretrievably lost the energy of his character, if his brother had not wisely admonished him, and placed such books in his way as were likely to fix his attention, and awaken a sense of his deficiencies. His good sense and good feelings were roused; and he declared that, for the first time, he now felt the shame of conscious ignorance. The loss of time was soon repaired by vigorous and constant application; and that application was well directed: he sought for knowledge, not for mere amusement; and seeking to store his mind well, cared little for what is called cultivating his taste. Nature had given him a sound and manly one. His note-books (it is said) display the assiduity, and depth, and variety of his reading; but, with the exception of Milton and Shakspeare, he did not profess much regard for poets or writers of fiction: his healthy appetite required more substantial food. From this time forward his acquirements were commensurate with his industry, and that was great. Captain Smyth has here well observed, and the remark extends as well to the army, that 'the necessity of application cannot be too often repeated to aspirants in the British navy: it is a proud profession; and there is sufficient leisure for attaining considerable knowledge.'

When a fleet was equipped in consequence of the dispute concerning Nootka Sound, in 1789, Beaver was appointed first lieutenant of the *Fortune* sloop. Being paid off in 1790, he solicited employment the year afterwards in the Russian armament; and by Lord Hood's express desire was appointed to the *Saturn*, 74, with a promise from a statesman high in office, that if war should be declared he should certainly be promoted. The expected war was averted. Beaver was again paid off: he was then at the age of twenty-five; and being, as he himself has said, not inclined to be inactive, he turned over in his own mind in what way



way his time could be completely, and at the same time usefully, employed. Any thing he thought better than lounging about the capital. 'The world was all before him;' and no man, in such circumstances, ever took a wider view of it with the mind's eye than he did at this time :—

'I had a great wish,' says Mr. Beaver, 'to be acquainted with both our northern and southern whale fisheries, and therefore intended to go out as passenger in some ship employed in those trades, in order to make myself master of the subject. The season was gone by for the former; I was therefore confined to the latter; and went, in consequence, to a house at Paul's Wharf, which owned a great number of ships in the southern whale fishery. Inquiring for the gentleman of the house, to whom I was totally unknown, "Sir," said I, "I understand that you have several vessels employed in the southern fishery?" "Yes, sir," he replied. "A young friend of mine," I continued, "wishes very much to see your mode of killing the fish, cutting them up, and melting them down, as well as the manner of killing seals and sea lions, on the Falkland islands; where, if your vessel should be absent about two seasons, he will have no objection to remain one winter; and I am come from him to propose his going out as a passenger in one of them: he will pay you anything you choose to demand for his possessing half the cabin; and taking with him his books, he will have nothing to do with the ship, where he will never be in the way, but, being a bit of a seaman himself, he may sometimes be of use." "Sir," he replied, "we never take any such persons; I cannot, therefore, comply with your request: he must be a very odd young man, sir." "Yes, sir," said I, "he is an odd fish."'

—p. 47.

This intention being thus frustrated, which he says it might probably not have been if he had been a little more explicit, three other schemes, all of a more arduous character, divided his attention. The first was to reach the North Pole. Daines Barrington's well-known paper upon that subject gave birth to this desire: perseverance he knew would be required for it, but not much time; for at the expiration of the first, second, or third summer, if not accomplished, it would be given up. The next was to traverse Africa, from the Cape of Good Hope, north, or from the Gambia, east. This required three years' preparation, and probably five more for its accomplishment. The third was to coast the world, which he conceived might be usefully done in about twenty years, time being to him a thing of no account; for having seen three armaments end in accommodations, he began to think war was at an end for our days, and that his occupation was gone. While undetermined between these projects, and contriving the means for them, he was introduced to Mr. Dalrymple, whom the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company had at that time chosen to be

be governor of the settlement which they were about to found. Dalrymple invited this young officer to go out with him. 'It was a plan so congenial to my mind,' says he, 'that a second was not required to hesitate; and my own plans, being too expensive for my purse, were given up. I knew nothing of what would be expected from me,—nothing of the plan, except that it was benevolent and humane. All that I knew was, that a colony was to be established, and among uncivilized tribes; and that was enough for me.' Thus it is that in our disordered state of society, talents, and genius, and moral worth, which is of more value than both, are found adrift, like thistle-down upon the wind, ready for any direction that chance may give them! After a few days, Mr. Dalrymple and the Directors disagreed, and this engagement fell to the ground. But Beaver had now conceived a strong inclination to form a colony in Africa; and upon Dalrymple's observing that when he was with his regiment at Goree he had heard much of Bulama, an uninhabited island at the mouth of the river Grande, as a proper place for making an establishment, Beaver said, 'Let us colonize it ourselves!' 'With all my heart!' was the reply; and thus originated the expedition to Bulama. So prompt, so hasty, and so unpremeditated a resolution did not, he says, argue much wisdom; but his mind was so completely fixed upon the African scheme, that he would have undertaken it if he could only have got half a dozen persons to accompany him.

'I determine,' says Beaver in a note-book (from which Captain Smyth has extracted passages that throw much light upon the history of this wild but well-meant adventure)—'I determine to give up my whole time and attention for one year to the success of the undertaking; and however I may be laughed at, or discredited in this money-making world, no prospect of amassing lucre has any influence in my giving up the comforts I enjoy in my own country, to join myself with an unknown party to cut down forests and plant sugarcane in Africa. Wealth, to be sure, has its advantages; and, if it should accrue, may render me more independent in moral action; but I can never hoard. Why did Bacon forget his own adage—"that money, like manure, is of no use unless it be spread?"'

No object could be worthier than what the projectors of this unfortunate expedition had in view—

'To try whether or not the poor degraded Africans are capable of holding that rank in the society of nations which, it is natural to suppose, all people are capable of attaining, if they have but an opportunity of acquiring knowledge, was the end,' says Beaver, 'of our institution. To purchase land in their country, to cultivate it by free natives hired for that purpose, and thereby to induce in them habits of labour and of industry, it was thought might eventually lead to the introduction of letters, religion, and civilization, into the very heart of Africa.



Africa. If we fail, the negroes will be just where they were; but, if we succeed, it promises happiness to myriads of living, and millions of unborn, people.

But the children of this world are, in their generation, wiser than the children of light. Excellent as the intentions of these projectors were, Beaver was the only man among them whom nature had qualified for such an undertaking. Six persons, all of whom were or had been officers in the military or naval service, met at a coffeehouse, and constituted themselves a committee to open a subscription, and form regulations for carrying their views into effect. The next step was to acquaint the prime-minister with their intentions. Mr. Pitt informed them that he had no objection to the enterprise, but he did not caution them against drawing up a form of government for their colony, which could be done legally by the legislature alone. He no doubt supposed that the projectors were aware of this; and, perhaps, did not know that their ardour would not allow them to wait till a charter could be obtained, for they were determined to sail that season. But they were ignorant of the law on this subject, and prepared a constitution for themselves. This was an error of ignorance: it was an error of judgment when they increased the number of the council from seven to nine, first, and afterwards to thirteen. 'Increasing the numbers,' says Beaver, 'was increasing the means and the probability of weak measures and disunited counsels: the probability of succeeding would have been increased had they been reduced to three; and much more so had one person only had the direction—for I am fully convinced that in enterprises of this kind the direction should be left to one. He should have full power, and should be responsible for the use of it.' The scheme was not viewed with friendly eyes, either by the founder of Sierra Leone or the West India merchants; but it met with no opposition; and the proposals took so well, that the projectors did what could not have been accomplished in any other country: in little more than three months after Bulama had been named by Dalrymple to Beaver, they were ready to sail with three vessels, and nearly three hundred persons. But then the difficulties began: the ships were at Gravesend, almost every person on board, and all anxiously waiting the order for departure, when an order came from the secretary of state forbidding them to proceed. The rainy season on the coast of Africa was fast approaching; and the daily expense of the ships enormous, when compared with the funds of the Association. They presented a memorial, therefore, to Mr. Secretary Dundas on the last day of March—were permitted to move the ships round to Portsmouth, and there await its issue; and, on the 9th of April, received permission to proceed,

proceed, on condition of their disclaiming and setting aside their printed agreement and constitution of government;—then learning for the first time that printing the constitution was a high misdemeanour; that wherever they should make their settlement, there the laws of England attached; and that, without an act of parliament, they had no authority to make bye-laws. Government had no wish to impede the undertaking: it required only an observance of the existing laws; and there seems to have been no unnecessary delay in expediting the permission. The projectors were, however, sufficiently punished for their ignorance; they were reduced to the necessity of either giving up the enterprise, or sailing without having any legal restraint on a class of people, who, from the very nature of things, peculiarly required it. But they had gone too far to recede; and with this inauspicious beginning they sailed from Portsmouth.

Beaver himself, as the story of the miserable adventure evinces, was the only one among the projectors who had strength of purpose enough for such an adventure, as well as every requisite of bodily and mental activity. Nature breaks none of her moulds, though Ariosto has said so; but of all her moulds, infinite in number as they are, there are none in which she repeats her cast so seldom as that in which Beaver was made. Among the colonists there were some who deserved a better fortune than that which compelled them to embark in this expedition, and a better fate than awaited them in it: but these were very few in number; and though it was likely, or rather certain, that more would take this course in consequence of their misconduct than of their misfortunes, the proportion of scoundrels was greater than might have been expected, and there were among them men of so villanous a description, that the gallows has seldom been more largely defrauded than when they set sail for the coast of Africa. One hundred and fifty-three men, fifty-seven women, and sixty-five children sailed in two ships and a Gravesend boat. One of the ships (the *Hankey*) was under Beaver's command; and both the others (the *Calypso* and the *Beggar's Benison*) were commanded by lieutenants in the navy. Desirable as it was that the ships should keep company, they lost sight of each other on the third day. Rough weather came on, and in Beaver's ship

'most of the landsmen and all the women were sea-sick; the latter, some of whom had infants at the breast, were more than twenty-four hours without nourishment of any kind, and would (says he) have been so much longer, if I had not undertaken to cook for them; for some who would have relieved them, if able, were labouring under the same disease, and the surgeon, whose more immediate duty it was to attend to them, was wholly destitute of feeling: he left to those who had



folly enough to feel, the charge of taking care of his patients. This certainly was not a very dignified employment; it was at least a useful one; and had I not undertaken it, these poor women might have suffered much from hunger, ere any other would have relieved them. I had already been employed, since our sailing, in functions equally low, and therefore was in some degree prepared for it; but at times I was compensated for the meanness of these employments by the exercise of authority pertaining to more dignified posts; for I verily believe that there is not an office or gradation of rank in naval service, from the admiral and commander in chief down to the Jack of the bread-room, which I had not already exercised in this ship. The fact is, that, to govern and maintain order and regularity amongst a licentious rabble, without any legal power, was an exceedingly difficult task, and only to be accomplished by example. I soon perceived that I must either give up the point, which threatened ruin to the undertaking, or accomplish it by the constant exercise of unremitting exertions. The latter was most congenial to my mind; and, therefore, there was no employment, however humble in the general opinion of the world, which I hesitated to undertake; but, having once done this, I ordered whom I pleased afterwards to perform the same duty; and the consequence was, that, from the sailing of the expedition to the final abandoning of the island, I was never more cheerfully, willingly, nor implicitly obeyed, when armed with the authority of martial power, than I was by the members who embarked in the undertaking.

This extract is truly characteristic of Philip Beaver, a man who, in the sincerity of his heart and understanding, knew that as there could be no station, however elevated, above his capacity, so was there no duty, however humble, beneath his regard. It is more-over valuable, because it exemplifies in what manner even the worst subjects may be controlled and guided. Severity is not necessary for producing obedience to one in whom they can see no caprice, discover no weakness, suspect no unworthy motive, fear no tyranny, apprehend no injustice. The good horse rejoices in an accomplished rider; and in like manner men, as if by an instinctive sense of fitness, feel in their obedience something like the freedom as well as the strength of voluntary exertion, when it is called for by one in whom they perfectly confide. Men will always act for those who will think for them; they love to cast their cares, as well as to rest their hopes, and pin their faith upon others. The priest, the physician, the steward, and the lawyer know this; so does every officer who deserves to hold a commission. If his men have confidence in him, he may confide in them, under all circumstances, even though their confidence should be only in his intellectual, not in his moral nature also: but, if they love as well as respect him; if they know him to be a good man as well as an able one, to have a kind heart as well as a  
brave

brave one, they will honour and obey him with a zeal like that of religious feeling, and in that feeling sacrifice their lives, if it be needful, willingly and gladly for his preservation. Worse subjects no man ever had to deal with, than those with whom Beaver was embarked. Among some of the directors of the enterprise, he saw a constant attention to their own interest, and an entire neglect of that of the public; among others, a total indifference to both; a general apathy in all, concerning all such measures as could contribute to success. Yet over these people, bad as they were, Beaver at once asserted and maintained an ascendancy in which they acquiesced, from a full conviction that it was for their own good.

At the Canaries the Beggar's Benison joined company with the Hankey; and these two vessels, proceeding to their destination, anchored in sight of the three islands of Bissao, Arcas, and Bulama, on the 5th of June. The Calypso had been before them and alarmed the Portuguese at Bissao, by avoiding any communication with them. When Beaver, therefore, landed at the factory, he was taken for a pirate, the long boat was seized, and he and its crew lodged for the night in an empty room. Beaver, who never lost his temper or his courage, after remonstrating in vain against this usage, told the governor that he expected two things, 'first, that you send us a good supper, for we are hungry; secondly, that you send us beds, for we are weary.' The good humour and the plain dealing of this demand had their effect; for the governor promised both, and kept his word. But the next morning, he insisted that the captain should go back to the ship, accompanied by a Portuguese officer, to examine his papers, and learn her destination. Beaver, who had already, of his own accord, made him acquainted with the object of the expedition, objected to this; but the matter ended in detaining him as a hostage till the papers had been examined. The members of the council saw no reason for refusing this examination. Beaver, whose notions of national dignity were such as it behoves a British officer always to maintain, thought there was reason to refuse what there was no right to demand. But he did not sufficiently bear in mind that in this case the suspicion of piracy was not altogether unreasonable, and that when such a suspicion had been excited, the governor, in guarding against danger, committed no disrespect toward the British nation, and only discharged his duty to his own.

The affair terminated amicably, as it could not fail to do, where nothing but what was right and honourable was intended on either part; and it led to an acquaintance with the principal merchant of Bissao, Sylva Cordoza (probably Cardoso) by name, to whom



Beaver was afterwards indebted for much real kindness, and all the services which it was in his power to perform. Next day he returned on board. On the 5th he had left a quiet, clean, healthy, and orderly ship, the colonists contented, and in good spirits; when he returned on the 7th, the ship was noisy, dirty, disorderly, the people dissatisfied and out of heart. The *Calypso* had joined in the interval, bringing with it tidings of misfortune. That unlucky vessel had got sight of *Bulama* on the 24th of May, sent all the boats armed on shore, and took possession of the island as if it had been their own, without making any agreement for it with the natives, or thinking it necessary to take any precautions against them. The *Bijugas* who claimed the island, watched their opportunity: they had observed that in the morning the men 'straggled into the woods by twos and threes,' and returned in like manner at evening; that those who remained at the block-house (a shed inclosed with inch planks, which the intruders had erected) were generally asleep from one to three (during the greatest heat of the day), and that no watch whatever was kept. Accordingly, at two o'clock on Sunday the 3d of June, they approached the block-house, where the people were sleeping, and fired into it; as the colonists ran out, they were killed or wounded one by one; the negroes then rushed into the house, found sixty stand of arms there, loaded and primed, which they instantly seized, turned against the miserable adventurers, and killed them with their own weapons. So totally had the persons in the *Calypso* neglected all measures which could conduce to their own safety, that not a gun was out of the hold, when the poor wretches on shore ran into the water for protection; and had the negroes pursued, they might have put all the fugitives to death before any assistance could have been given them. Early the next morning the *Calypso* got under sail, and without attempting to revisit the block-house, or look for the bodies of the slain, went to *Bissao* in hopes of meeting her consorts. Nor was this the only ill news which Beaver learnt upon his return to the *Hankey*. There was a fever on board the *Calypso*; with this, as well as with dirt and disorder, and discontent, that ship had been permitted to infect her consort; and in both ships there was a settled gloom in the countenances of all, of which Beaver says it is difficult to convey an idea, but which it was melancholy to behold.

While the other members of the council complained of the colonists for insubordination, and the colonists complained of them for neglect and incapacity, Beaver alone acted with promptitude and decision: through his Portuguese friend *Cardoso*, he took immediate measures for ransoming the prisoners, and through an American

american

rican slave captain purchased Bulama in due form from the two Bijuga kings, Belchore and Jalorem, for goods amounting in value to something less than 80*l*. Having sought for the remains of the dead, and buried the few scattered bones which the hyenas had left, in a deep grave, close by a large tree, on which they cut deeply the figure of a cross to mark the spot, he went himself to conclude the ransom of a woman and her child who had been separated from the other prisoners. He landed alone, and unarmed, to show the natives that he had no fear, and trusted in the laws of hospitality which are generally observed among savages. Nothing could be said concerning what had past at Bulama that would not, he says, 'recall the idea of our weakness, humiliation, and disgrace.' But Beaver took always the straight course, which in matters of policy is always the right one. He told King Jalorem that the best friends had sometimes the misfortune to misunderstand each other's intention, and so to quarrel; this had been their case: what was done could not be undone, and therefore he should say nothing on that subject, but hoped that they should hereafter live like good neighbours; so he came with presents for him and his brother king, offered friendship, and proposed to purchase their hunting island of Bulama. 'Jalorem replied, that what was done was done: that he was sorry for what had happened, but that *then* they neither knew who we were, nor our intentions; *we were strangers, and we took their land*; however he knew *now* that we were good people, hoped we should always be good friends, and was glad, very glad, to see me.' The business was concluded to Beaver's satisfaction; and the woman and her child were restored to him, though they were in such a state that it was only to die in peace among their countrymen. A white skin is so disgusting to those negroes who have not been accustomed to see Europeans, that he could hardly find a black man to assist in carrying these poor creatures to the boat; but the king's women, he says, behaved remarkably well to them, 'and exhibited that delicacy and feeling, which from either pole to the equator will be generally found characteristic of their sex.'

Having now purchased the island, and read the treaty to the colonists, he expected that they would have gone to work immediately, and in good earnest, clearing away the woods and erecting houses: but no plan had been digested; not a word was said of landing and commencing their labours; and the council and colonists, who had been convened to hear the treaty, separated as soon as it was read, as if the written instrument itself was to create them a town. He, however, with a party of twelve men, landed, and worked till sunset; and when he returned on board, proposed to



to the council some regulations for their future proceedings, without which nothing effectual could be done. Instead of adopting or discussing these, the council resolved to discuss, on the following morning, the question where the ships should be stationed during the rains. This was the first intimation which Beaver had of any design to abandon the enterprise. Upon perceiving the general discontent on board the *Calypso*, he had himself proposed, a week after her junction, that one of the ships should be made ready to carry back to England all persons who chose to return: this proposal was rejected on the 14th of June by the very persons who, on the 3d of July, resolved, that because the rainy season had commenced, and that a great mortality among the settlers might be expected during that time, the three vessels should remove to Sierra Leone to water, and there take into consideration the expediency of proceeding to England, or returning to Bulama after the rains.

'What, in the name of common sense,' says Beaver, 'did we come here for? Did we not know that the rains would commence when they did before we left England? Mortality, in some degree, must be expected in such an enterprise; when was a colony settled without it? To go to Sierra Leone for water! Is not water to be procured here? But *there* to consider the expediency of returning to England or hither: and why not consider of that expediency *here*?'

Of all the adventurers, he was the only one who, before he left England, had declared his intention of returning thither after the first rains. Most of the difficulties, he thought, would be over in one year, and he had no idea of remaining longer. But to return in this manner, without making some attempt to succeed, seemed to him so disgraceful, that he could not submit to it. He entered a protest, therefore, against the resolution of the council; three others joined in it; but of these three, two changed their opinion, and determined on departing with the rest. Beaver then informed the council that he would remain on the island with his servant, though everybody else might leave it, and he expected, therefore, that one vessel should be left with him. By the next morning, between eighty and ninety volunteered to remain with him; and it was then settled that the *Calypso* should proceed with the rest to Sierra Leone and to England. Beaver advised all the married men who offered to remain to return in this ship; and when they refused to do this, he urged them, but without effect, to send home their wives and children, who were ill able to encounter the difficulties which he foresaw. But it is no wonder that this advice was disregarded; for better was it that these unfortunate persons should take the chance of climate upon the coast of Africa, than be turned adrift upon the shores of their own country,

country, there to beg their way, or be passed as paupers to their respective parishes. So the *Calypso* departed for Sierra Leone on the 19th of July, carrying fever on board; and Beaver remained at Bulama with forty-eight men, thirteen women, and twenty-five children, besides four seamen and a boy in the cutter.

Bred as he was in a school of strict discipline, and scrupulously obedient to the laws of his country, by principle as well as habit, he would never have voluntarily placed himself in the situation in which he was now found. To give up the enterprise was, in his view, unjust to the absent subscribers, dishonourable to those who had undertaken it, and injurious to the nation, by lowering the British character in the eyes of the neighbouring Africans, and of the Portuguese. But, without power, the attempt could not be carried on; and therefore he refused to take charge of the colony till the assembled colonists had agreed to be governed by that constitution which the council had been obliged to disclaim before they left England. Illegal he knew this to be; but he knew it also to be an act of moral necessity; and what he believed it to be his duty to do, that Beaver always did. When they had agreed to this, he read to them certain regulations, which were unanimously approved. Then he began to clear ground for a garden, sent the cutter to Bissao for fresh provisions, and took that opportunity of writing to Cardoso, and proposing to contract with him for a regular supply during the rains. On the second day after the *Calypso's* departure, Lieutenant Hancorne, the only one of the original council who remained, died of the fever, with which that unlucky ship had infected the Hankey; but the care and cleanliness which were now enforced seems to have subdued the infection. Beaver's next care was to become acquainted with the Biafaras on the opposite shore, that no such misunderstanding might occur with them as had fallen out with the Bijugas. He learnt that they were an inoffensive people, but that they would expect to be paid for the island; because it was to them, not the Bijugas, that it rightfully belonged. Accordingly, he visited them; and for goods to the amount of about 26*l.*, not only satisfied them for the island, but purchased a much greater extent of land on the opposite shore, together with all the adjacent isles. One of the black kings, Niobana, was very desirous to have an establishment made in his country: 'If white man live here,' said he, 'we shall want nothing; but if white man does not live here, we shall want everything.'

It was not at that time notoriously known, that 'white man' cannot live there: that the European *homo* can no more bear the climate of Western Africa, than the African *simia* can bear that of northern Europe. Soldiers, indeed, at Gorée, and Guinea  
men



men had had proof of this; but their experience was of no use to others. Only a vague opinion prevailed, that the climate was unhealthy at certain seasons: the first proof that it is absolutely fatal to European constitutions was given by this expedition; and yet so little was Beaver's mind prepared for such a result, that he failed to perceive it even from the demonstration before him when it came. Believing, as all persons at that time believed, that there was no such insuperable impediment on this score to colonization from our part of the world, he saw clearly that in all other respects there could not be a more eligible spot than that part of the Western African coast between the rivers Grandé and Gambia. At the bottom of that immense harbour, formed by continental islands on the north, and the Bijuga archipelago on the south—and at the mouth of the Rio Grande, (which Beaver, who sailed thirty miles up it, thought the most beautiful river he had ever seen,) the island of Bulama lies. It is about seven leagues long, its breadth varying from five to two. 'The soil is everywhere rich and prolific, and affords ample pasturage to innumerable elephants, buffaloes, deer, and other wild animals which graze on its surface; the sea which surrounds it is sheltered from violent agitation in every direction, and abounds with excellent fish of various kinds; in short, here reigns abundance of everything requisite to the comforts of savage life. It seems,' says Beaver, 'to have been produced in one of Nature's happiest moods.' But not for white colonists! It is from negroes and mulattoes, trained in European civilization, that the civilization of Western Africa must come; and proper colonists, fitted by such training, as well as by constitution, will be raised up in the course of one generation, from the time in which the humane, and temperate, and just, and wise measures of our present colonial policy shall be fairly carried into effect in the Columbian Islands.

The effects of the climate were soon felt. Returning on the 4th of August from his expedition to the Biafaras, he found that, during the four days of his absence, four had been added to the sick list; and fear, which, in such cases, is the sure precursor of sickness, had begun to show itself among the sound. He had occasion to send the cutter to Sierra Leone; and four persons requested leave to take that opportunity of departing, that they might find a passage home.

'Is it not odd,' says he, in his Journal, 'that these people could not have made up their minds sooner? It is only nineteen days since the *Calypso* sailed! As to asking my leave, it is ridiculous in the extreme; for, were I inclined to detain them, they all know that I have no power to do it. I have not asked any one to remain with me, and believe I never shall; for of the whole number I cannot select half a dozen that deserve their bread.'

One

One of that little number was one of the first victims to the climate, Mr. Benjamin Marston, the surveyor of the colony, of whom Beaver has left this memorial in his Journal: never was a more feeling or a nobler tribute rendered to departed worth:—

Mr. Marston was born in Marblehead, New England, where he was a respectable merchant, and had considerable property at the commencement of those unfortunate troubles which terminated in the separation of that country from England. In consequence of his loyalty he had not only lost a comfortable competency, but had undergone, for the last ten years, unheard of, and almost incredible, difficulties. Sometimes he was whole days without bread; and weeks together his daily expenditure amounted only to three halfpence, a penny-worth of bread and a halfpenny-worth of figs. Too noble to beg, yet willing to work, but unknown and friendless in England, no one would employ him. Thus did this good man struggle in poverty for ten years, in that country which he had fought for, in that country for whose interest he had quitted his friends, his relations, the land of his ancestors, and everything which is dear to man.

I never heard this good man rail at, nor say harsh things of that country, by which he had been so ill treated; he bore all patiently. He was about sixty years of age; had been educated in Howard College, New England; and was both learned and pious. Happy in having known such a man, I felt it a duty to endeavour to record his virtues. Should this Journal, by any accident, ever reach Marblehead, it may be a consolation to some of his friends and family to know what became of him; and at the same time to know, that if he did not die a rich, he died a good man; for I cannot be suspected of flattering or overcharging the character of that man whom I never saw, till in this expedition; and who, though it ought to have been otherwise, was in such a situation as would not be likely to procure an interested panegyrist. It may also be some consolation to them to learn, that his virtues were not unknown; and that though we may have but little ourselves, we have at least sufficient to respect it in others; that this good man lived respected, and died regretted by all; and is now, we trust, receiving the reward of his virtues and sufferings in this world.

This is such a record as none but a wise and good man could have written; it is here inserted to illustrate the character of Beaver himself, and to fulfil the intention, or, rather, the hope with which he penned it. For *this* Journal assuredly will reach Marblehead; it may yet find there some who are akin to the deceased, and others who remember him; and they will feel, upon perusing it, if they can distinguish between good and evil, that though this good man took what they deem the wrong as well as the unsuccessful part, and, when proscribed from one country, found, for his earthly recompense, ingratitude in the other, neglect, poverty, and destitution, he bore his sufferings meekly, bravely, and contentedly, with the consciousness of having acted according



according to his own clear sense of duty, and has thereby obtained an honourable remembrance. They who bear his name ought to be more proud of it, than if he had left rank, and honour, and large possessions to his representatives.

Beaver himself had nearly fallen a victim to the climate, thus early in the attempt. He was seized with a fever, and on the fifth day his life was despaired of.

As the front of the cabin, (says he) from one side of the ship to the other, was one continued window, I could hear everything that was said, but could not be seen on account of a canvas screen round that part where my cot hung. Reader! if this should ever be seen by other eyes than my own, call me vain if you please; for I do assure you that I was exceedingly so, when I heard every individual speaking only my praise. Every one said that I had killed myself by my exertions for their good; that labouring and exposing myself so much as I had done, no constitution could stand; that now they *must* go home, for as they had lost me, there was no one left who could take care of them. Between seven and eight in the evening, I could no longer articulate, but was seized with a rattling in my throat, which I conceived to be a symptom of my no very distant dissolution. I was still sensible. . . . Captain Cox, sitting by the skylight almost immediately over me, said, that to-morrow he should have orders to get ready to sail for England. I can with truth aver, that if in these moments I had the least wish to live, it was to preserve this colony. Death, if thou never comest clothed in greater terrors, I shall never be afraid to meet thee; for the happiest moments of my existence were those when I expected to cease to be. May my future life be such as to enable me always to meet thee thus!

This disease, severe as it had been, left no debility behind: he gained strength with a rapidity at which even he himself was astonished; and on the sixth day after the first symptoms of recovery had appeared, he traced the lines for a block-house, and set the people at work. He had now a visit from the old Bijuga king, Bellchore, with men enough in his company to render some precautions necessary, in case their intentions should be evil, or any accidental quarrel should arise. The old king, who had by no means spared the rum which had been set before him on his arrival, would not go to bed without having a bottle and glass within reach; 'For,' said he, 'suppose I might wake in the night, that time I can drink rum too.' A mat and pillow were spread for him on one side of Beaver's cot; three of his men slept on the other side of the cot, and four under it. This cordial treatment, and the habitual frankness of Beaver's fearless manner, kept the old African in a placable mood after a provocation so gross that it could never have been anticipated. He had gone on board the ship to dine; and Beaver, thinking no harm could possibly

sibly arise there, went ashore to keep peace between his people and the Bijugas there. But when he returned to dinner, he saw immediately, by Bellchore's countenance, that all was not right. A bullock having been killed on board, one of the negroes carried to the king in the cabin some of the entrails, dressed in the most approved manner of Bijuga cookery; that is, just warmed through on the coals, and like a woodcock with its trail. The sight so offended one of the committee, that he turned the poor Bijuga and his food out of the cabin, and, upon Bellchore's interfering, turned him out also. 'It was certainly as easy, and would have been much more civil,' says Beaver, 'for Mr. M. to have turned himself out instead of his guest; and that was a conduct which our situation, one would have supposed, would have led him to pursue, rather than give offence to a people whose good opinion we were particularly interested in acquiring.' Beaver, however, brought the offended potentate into good humour, and sent him away with many presents.

When this negro saw the extent of ground which had been levelled for the foundation of the block-house, (180 feet by 115,) he observed, 'Plenty of time must pass before that house can be done!' The old man had not then learnt to appreciate the character of the director, but he anticipated, with sure foresight, the fate of the colonists. On the 19th of July, Beaver had been left with four and forty able-bodied men; five had left him, and before the end of August the number capable of working was reduced to twenty-four. It was necessary to spare them as much as possible; and yet their health, safety, and very existence, depended upon their being housed in a place of strength and security, before the Hankey (whose charter was to expire early in November) should leave them: very unwillingly, therefore, Beaver, who, from a sense of duty, was punctual in religious observances, required them to work on Sundays. One man declared that nothing should induce him to do this. The necessity of the case being clear, Beaver's arguments were very short.

'I told him,' says he, 'that if he did not work, I should take care that he did not eat on a Sunday. This was a gratification which he had no inclination to forego, and all his scruples vanished.'

By the end of September their number was reduced from eighty-six to sixty. He himself was persuaded that this great and unexpected mortality was owing to the fatigue attending a first attempt to settle a colony; and, especially, to the necessity under which they had been placed of working in the rains, in order to have a fort to defend and a house to cover them. Of abandoning the enterprise he never dreamed; but when he gave notice that the Hankey would sail about the middle of November, he requested



quested that all who wished to return in her would communicate their intention without delay, and thereby save the unnecessary labour of building more apartments than would be occupied. Five persons only gave in their names; for, even among this people, Beaver's resolute conduct had excited a sense of shame; and, however desirous they were to fly from death while it was yet possible, they were not less desirous of doing so with credit to themselves. Some of them, therefore, endeavoured secretly to produce a general resolution of returning in the Hankey, whereby they should compel him to leave the island also—shelter themselves under his example—and, moreover, get a free passage home! With this object, they chalked upon the door of the new storehouse—'It is death to stay!' So, indeed, too surely it was, Beaver writes in his Journal, Oct. 7—'Not a carpenter able to lift a tool; myself, with a little assistance, continue the logging; everybody seems much depressed; not a soul among them capable of exertion.' It was not in any stubborn spirit of pride that Beaver struggled against the insurmountable difficulties of this undertaking. Insurmountable they did not appear to him, because he did not know that he was struggling against a law of nature; anything short of this he knew himself capable of surmounting. But he had soon perceived that 'not only from sickness, but from a kind of stupor, a general depression of spirits, and a total unconcern even for their own safety, which had, in a most unaccountable manner, seized almost every person,' he should not be able to complete the blockhouse, or to keep it, if completed, unless it were by means of the natives. Accordingly, he had requested Cardoso to hire for him some of those natives who serve Europeans for wages, and who are called by the Portuguese name of *grumetas*, and early in October two arrived. These men worked well and willingly; but so great was the horror which they felt at a white corpse, or any thing relating to it, that he was obliged to dig graves for the dead, and bury them himself; the funeral service he always read. These *grumetas* chose to leave him at the end of the month; and, most important as their services were, he did not even ask them to remain, but paid them their wages and gave them presents besides. Before the Hankey sailed, he was again attacked with fever, and was for thirteen days too ill to keep a journal; and when she departed, on the 22d of November, taking with her fourteen persons, he was left with twenty-seven—of whom fifteen men, four women, and four children were on the sick list, leaving only three men and one child in health; but besides these he had a sailor belonging to the cutter and seven *grumetas*, whom his zealous friend Cardoso had engaged for him. On leaving England they had been two hundred and seventy-five in number; they

they were ninety when the *Calypso* left them; and to this they were now reduced.

To a certain degree, Beaver had certainly been steeled by the habits of his profession. Accustomed to hold his own life cheaply, as a thing which might at any hour be called for in the course of the king's service, he seems to have regarded the loss of men by the climate here, as he would the loss of lives in action. And when his old schoolfellow, Mr. Birkhead, who commanded the cutter, gave notice that, if he recovered from the fever, he should return in the *Hankey*, he expressed, in his Journal, surprise as well as regret at the intimation. Birkhead, after vainly urging him to abandon an attempt which he believed to be utterly hopeless, said that he could not in conscience leave him, without making him acquainted with the character of the only man who would be left in the cutter, Peter Hayles, by name: he had been a notorious pirate in the bay of Honduras; he had also run away with one vessel in which he had sailed, and sold her; and had set fire to another, and then plundered her—for which he had been tried; but had succeeded in defrauding the yard-arm. Birkhead, in returning from Sierra Leone, had slept with pistols under his pillow, in fear of some attempt from this fellow, and verily thought he would, one day or other, run away with the cutter. 'I was sorry to learn all this,' says Beaver, 'for he is certainly the most useful man in the colony.' However, knowing a man to be a villain is getting over every difficulty. Certainly no man ever knew better than himself how to give a villain credit for the good which may be in him, and bring that good into action. That same day he promised to increase Peter's wages from 1*l.* 15*s.* per month to 3*l.* A week after the *Hankey* had sailed, every man, woman, and child was ill, except himself; and he and the grumetas continued to work at the building.

Four men had recovered sufficiently to be capable of bearing arms when Belchore was seen with two canoes coming round the point. Beaver beat to arms, saluted him, and then loaded his eight four-pounders with grape and canister. By that time the old African had landed and marched up to the eastern part of the square with two and thirty well-armed negroes. Beaver placed two sentinels at each gateway, with orders not to admit any one within the square, and to put to death any who might attempt to force their way. He then went out to meet Belchore, conducted him to his own tent, and put his men in possession of a hut which had been built for the grumetas. His own force, consisting of himself, the four convalescents, and seven grumetas, he divided into two equal watches, taking the command of one, for the intention of such visitors in the then state of the colony could be no matter of doubt.



doubt. He was advised not to trust himself in the tent with the Bijuga chief and two of his men; but believing that the danger would only be heightened by showing any symptom of fear, he dined there with Bellchore unarmed, the other negroes squatting on their hams, one on each side of him the whole time, Bellchore giving them occasionally large pieces of meat. It was thought that he ran great risk of assassination during this meal, and he thought so himself. After dinner, Bellchore was particularly solicitous that he might be admitted into the square, and through the store-room; Beaver took him there accordingly. The negro then returned to his people, and told them that most of the white men were dead; that all the survivors, except their captain, were sick; that he had put them there, and could send them away, for they were his chickens; an expression of contempt by which the Bijugas were accustomed to call their unwarlike enemies the Biafaras. A grumeta who heard this reported it immediately to Beaver, and said that Bellchore meant to attack him. Beaver thought this so likely, that he assembled the rest of the grumetas, and the four colonists, and told them so; if they behaved with common firmness, he said, there would be no danger, for they could certainly repel an attack; but if they did not, there was no safety; for rather than be taken by these people, he would blow them all up. The sequel must be told in his own words.

“There was about a ton of gunpowder, a few feet only from my cot in the storeroom; and I ordered Nash, the cooper, to take the heads out of two of the barrels, one at either end, and by these were placed lighted matches. The north and west gateways were blocked up, and there was a four-pounder in the east and south ones. The Bijugas occupied a hut about thirty yards from the blockhouse; and I made their King Bellchore, having first pointed out to him the powder and the matches, sleep in my cot. A few minutes afterwards, Nash, who had been accustomed to sleep on board the cutter, (where I had only one man, who was now on board, with orders to fire directly into the hut if he heard two muskets discharged in the night,) came to me, and requested me to go on board the cutter to sleep as usual. This I refused. He threatened to swim on board; and I promised to shoot him if he made the attempt. He had never yet known me break my promise, and therefore went to the post where I had ordered him. I lay down wrapt up in a cloak, in the middle of the east gateway, with a brace of pistols under my head. Five sentinels called “All’s well,” every five minutes, and the night past in peace. Thursday 6. All day taken up with Bellchore, endeavouring to get him away before night, without his perceiving that it arises from fear. I succeeded about an hour before dark. Saluted him as he went out of the harbour. I attribute our safety to the powder; he certainly meant to attack us.”

It is not surprising that after such a visit, and the sight of the open

open powder-casks, the grumetas should, all except one, have desired to leave him; they made whimsical pretexts for this, as if they were ashamed to confess their reasonable fear to so resolute a man as Beaver; but to their comrade and interpreter, Johnson, who, being from Nova Scotia, had more confidence in the resources of a white man, they fairly acknowledged their motives, and that on no other account they had any reason to be dissatisfied. 'I told them all,' says Beaver, 'that every man on this island was free to leave it whenever he pleased; that they had voluntarily come to work for me, and that I would not detain them a day longer than they wished; adding, that though I stood in need of a few grumetas, they were at liberty to depart by the first boat.' He was at this time again very ill of the fever, and the *palaver* with these men aggravated the disease; the next day he was delirious, and, on the following, having somewhat recovered his deranged senses, he sent for Fielder and Hood, the only subscribers who were able to move, made his will, and gave them advice how to act in case of his death. Almost the next entry in the journal is as follows: 'Died and was buried, this evening, Mr. Fielder. This is the man, who two days ago, made my will, and whom I thought likely to be my successor. He was young and brave, fit to draw a lion's tooth.' Next day, 'Still very ill.' The pinnacle departed, 'leaving my servant Watson, the only colonist well, on shore, and Peter Hayles in the cutter. Watson and myself slept in the east gateway, every other being barricadoed; and I collected the colonists, being seven sick men, into the adjoining berth, that we might be in a body in case of an attack. Two sick men, with Peter, guard the cutter.' If craniology were true, the bumps of perseverance and resolution on Philip Beaver's head must have risen into prominences like the horns of Michael Angelo's Moses.

'Friday, Dec. 21. Have overworked myself, and feel very ill. Since the first of this month, of nineteen men, four women, and five children, we have buried nine men, three women, and one child, which is, except one, half of the whole colony. It is melancholy, no doubt, but many have absolutely died of fear. More courage, and greater exertions, I firmly believe, would have saved many of them; but a lowness of spirits, a general despondency, seems to possess every body. When taken ill, they lie down and say, that they know they shall die; and what is very remarkable, I have never yet known one recover after having, in such a manner, given himself up.'

This fear, which Beaver supposed, in great part, to have caused the fatal termination of the disease, was in reality one of its symptoms; not so much a vain apprehension of death, as a sure presentiment of it. When he recovered from this illness, Johnson, to  
his



his 'inexpressible pleasure,' returned with eighteen grumetas, three women belonging to them, and two boys, so that he had now four-and-twenty able-bodied men, all free native labourers. But these men were continually quarrelling among themselves, so that sometimes there was, on this account, little or no work done. They were noisy, and troublesome, and riotous enough to make him exclaim, 'no man, I believe, was ever so plagued with such a set of rascals.' And yet over these people he asserted and exercised as firm an authority as he could have done on board a King's ship.

'This morning, one of the grumetas drew his knife on me. Had I a pistol, I believe I should have shot him. This crime is common with them: they all carry knives in their girdles, and the instant they have any quarrel the knives are directly drawn. If this is not stopped, at least towards white men, I know not what may be the consequence. At noon, I assembled all the grumetas, and endeavoured to convince them of the enormity of the crime which Domingo Swar had been guilty; that his life was forfeited; and that he now only lived through my clemency. They seemed astonished at his boldness, sorry for his crime, and acknowledged that his punishment ought to be great. The man himself was half dead with fear. I told him that no punishment short of death could atone for his crime, and that if he had attempted to wound one of the colonists, that would have been his fate; but as the attempt was made upon me, whom twenty of them could not wound, I should remit his punishment, from his excessive folly: I then ordered a block to be put on the branch of a large tree, and reeving a rope through it, declared that I would hang immediately the first of them that should ever be guilty of a similar crime. Domingo was then ordered to the beach, there to wait the first boat's arrival to carry him off the island, and was told, as he valued his life, never to appear again in my presence.'

Beaver had taken advantage of the opinion general among them, that all white men are witches, to confirm them in a notion, that he was invulnerable by any of their weapons. Two of the best of these people he was ere long obliged to discharge, for disobeying his orders, an offence, in his situation, 'not to be forgiven.' The rest behaved so ill, that he told them all they were a set of scoundrels, and might go away too, if they chose: seven accepted this offer, and were immediately sent to Bissao. But he had now established his character for justice as well as resolution among these people; and as he never detained a man who expressed a wish to go away, he never wanted grumetas, the boats generally returning with more new ones to the island than equalled the number of those who had departed.

Twice more he was in danger of a treacherous attack from the Bijugas; but we must omit the details of these escapes. Some fruit

fruit of his perseverance began now to be seen. The blockhouse was so far advanced, that he deemed it perfectly secure against any attack from the natives, and he, therefore, ceased working on the Sabbath; for he had rightly judged, that any such cessation from work on that day was not justifiable till the people could go to prayers in safety. He now began again to fell trees, and extend the cleared ground; made little excursions into the island, and felt himself so far secure, that towards the end of March, he undressed himself, for the first time, except when he was ill, for eight months and nine days: 'for though, I trust,' says he, 'that I have no improper fears, I have hitherto always thought it prudent to have arms within my reach, and to be ready to act in a moment, without losing the time necessary for dressing, in case of surprise; from open force we have now nothing to fear.' There was, however, much to fear from the character of the people about him. One day, there was such a riot that it was necessary to beat to arms; he knocked down the black servant Watson with the butt-end of a fusil, and was about to seize Johnson, who was particularly violent, and put him in irons, when this grumeta presented a cocked pistol in each hand, and said, that he would rather be killed at once than put in irons, as he knew that he should then be flogged severely. Peter Hayles (the ex-pirate), who was close by, asked, at that moment, if he should fire at him, saying, that if orders were given, he would shoot him dead on the spot. 'This sanguinary fellow,' says Beaver, 'I called a scoundrel; and ordering his musket to be taken from him, gave my own to Mr. Hood, and then went up to Johnson, and seized him by the collar: he immediately burst into tears, and dropped both his pistols, saying he could not fire upon an unarmed man.' Had such a scene occurred in Greek or Roman history, it would have become a common-place illustration of magnanimity, as exemplified in both parties. The anecdote is, indeed, one of those useful ones which tend to counteract that sad sense of human depravity that any course of historical reading too surely impresses upon the heart. But a generous impulse, and that Beaver knew, may sometimes safely, and therefore wisely, be relied on, in cases where it would be the extreme of credulity to expect, or even hope for, any permanent reformation. The course of this man's life had been somewhat remarkable. He was a negro, born in British America, and brought up there as a blacksmith: then he became a carpenter; and then, during the American war, entered into the British army. He was long an officer's servant; and had in that capacity travelled over the greater part of Great Britain and Ireland. Besides the trades which he had learnt in youth, he understood caulking, was



a tolerable sailor, a good servant, an excellent hairdresser, and an admirable cook. Moreover, he was Beaver's chief interpreter, and of the greatest service to him in procuring grumetas. But with all his good qualities he was a great rascal, and to that part of his character, no doubt, it was owing, that he had exchanged the comfortable life of a gentleman's servant in England for that of a free labourer at Bissao, whither he had found his way from Sierra Leone. At Bissao he had been often in prison, was much in debt, and had been obliged to fly from the place. But in his case, as in that of Peter Hayles, knowing him to be a rascal was 'getting over all difficulties;' and a man who could turn his hand to anything was, as Beaver said, invaluable to him in his situation. He kept him in irons five days; and then finding him very humble and penitent, lectured him well, liberated him, and trusted him as before: he wished, indeed, to do everything that could attach this man to him, especially after the unquestionable proof of generous feeling which had been manifested in this occurrence; but about three months afterwards, when Beaver had set him up for a trader, by fitting him up a boat, which he was to pay him for at some future time, and lending him two hundred barrs' worth of goods for his first trading voyage, instead of returning according to his promise, he made away with boat and goods, and the last that was heard of him was, that he was in prison at Bissao,—a proper reward for his ingratitude. It was, perhaps, well for Beaver that he thus absconded; for it came afterwards to light, that one Moore, the captain of an American vessel, had advised this Johnson and Peter Hayles, as they were both Americans, and both sailors, to get some of the grumetas on board the cutter, and run away with her; sell the grumetas to any slave-ship upon the coast; then go to America and sell the cutter, where nobody would know anything about it, and their fortunes would be made. These fellows asked Watson, the black servant, to join them in the scheme, and his refusal seems to have withheld them from carrying it into effect. And thus the desire which Peter Hayles had shown to receive orders for shooting Johnson was explained; for, by so doing, he would have got rid of one who might, in some repentant and better mood, have informed Beaver of his treachery.

Death had by this time nearly done its work among the Europeans of the colony; some went away in the American ship; and then, of two hundred and seventy-five persons who had sailed from England eleven months before, there remained only three white and two black men, with two boys, and Scott the midshipman, Peter Hayles, and the American deserter in the cutter—this being the whole strength of the colony. For such

such a power,' said Beaver, 'we have work enough before us.' But the great work was done; a stronghold had been erected; shelter was provided for the reinforcement of colonists which he expected; and he had acquired a character among the negroes for probity as well as resolution, such as no white man had ever before him obtained upon that coast. Belchore at this time paid him another visit, with twenty-eight men. Beaver, who was now strong enough to stand in no fear of this treacherous tribe, intended at first to reproach him with his intended villainy, then flog him, and turn him out of the island; but further consideration, and the sense of present security, made him change his mind, and give him a friendly reception, as if he was ignorant of what had passed. Some six-pounders were fired, not more with the intention of amusing him, than of confirming him in his opinion that 'all white man witch!' an exclamation which he frequently repeated. He astonished them with his theodolite, with his telescope, and with his quadrant, bringing down the sun upon one of the Bi-juga's head, to the amazement of all his countrymen; and, without intending, he impressed them with a stronger persuasion of his miraculous powers than even this exhibition could have produced, by happening to be seated upon a cannon when a boy fired it. Some Biafaras visited him, one of whom served him excellently well as a hunter, and the others worked as well as his hired grumetas. Whatever was necessary for shelter and security having been provided, everything that was now undertaken was for convenience and future comfort: fields, accordingly, were inclosed as well as cleared, a garden made, and huts built for the grumetas. Perhaps Beaver was never happier than at this time, when looking forward in hope, and thoroughly satisfied with the effect of his own perseverance. He says, indeed, that so far as related to himself, the time which he spent upon the island of Bulama (independent of the motives which led him thither or kept him there) was the best spent part of his life, so completely was he thrown upon himself, and so completely, in consequence, were all his resources of mind called into action. 'For one year of that time,' says he, 'I had not an individual to converse with, and lived almost as much the life of a hermit as if there had not been another human being on the island. It is true that I set everybody to work, and directed them what to do, but there our intercourse ceased. Their work done, the grumetas retired to their houses, the settlers to their rooms.' He had never before had a tool of any kind in his hand, yet he practised the various trades of—  
1. carpenter in all its branches, from that of making a broomstick to that of building a house; 2. joiner; 3. sawyer, which he found the most difficult of the whole; 4. brickmaker; 5. tanner, for he



tanned a number of goat-skins for the bottoms of a set of chairs; 6. thatcher; 7. tallow-chandler; 8. rope-maker; 9. sail-maker; 10. caulker; 11. plasterer; 12. carcase-butcher, it having fallen to his lot more than once to skin and cut up a bullock, which had been killed for the colonists. And among those occupations which are dignified with the name of professions, he practised as—1. engineer; 2. architect; 3. surveyor; and 4. apothecary, 'with this difference in practice,' said he, 'that I never made a bill. Some of the employments were not very dignified; however, to make amends, I was honoured with very fine, nay, magnificent, titles. The Portuguese always called me governor; the Bijugas, *capitão*; but all the other nations, king (*rey*).'

The island abounded with game: there was the hippopotamus in the river, and elephants were very numerous. A most afflicting account is given of killing a female and her young in the water. Beaver repented that he had attacked them, when in mercy he was compelled to finish the butchery that had been begun; and 'determined never again to attack any of these poor animals, unless he were provided with iron slugs; for to fire leaden balls at them exceeded,' he said, 'almost any thing in cruelty. The larger elephant grounded in three feet water; and, while Peter Hayles was cutting out its tusks with a broad axe, I,' says Beaver, 'sat on its upper side, with a long pike, to prick the sharks on the nose which surrounded it, and keep them from him; there were never less than seven or eight trying to nibble at it.' Nothing that came within reach of his observation seems ever to have escaped it; but he was not able to seek for information, owing to the lassitude occasioned by excessive labour under a vertical sun. Indeed, even his constitution was not acclimated by the repeated seasonings which it underwent; true as it may be in many cases, that *Pars sanitatis velle sanare fuit*, even the strong will could not fortify him against this deadly atmosphere, though it preserved him from the stupifying effect which was produced upon the few remaining colonists—whose minds, 'if ever they had any,' he says, 'were annihilated.'

Just twelve months after the departure of the *Calypso*, when he had written his Journal, and was sitting down to a boiled fowl for supper, his door opened, and two Englishmen came in. 'It is impossible,' he says, 'to express my astonishment, my joy, my feelings, at the sight. Their florid complexions, their appearance of health and vigour, were such a contrast to the yellow skins and shrivelled carcases which I had for a long time been accustomed only to see, that I gazed upon them the whole evening. I thought them the handsomest mortals I had ever beheld.' They were from a vessel bound to Sierra Leone, but charged with letters for him,

him, and some provisions for the colony. The letters were from the trustees, in reply to the despatches by the *Calypso* and the *Hankey*. They promised to send out, in about six weeks or two months, some six, eight, or ten settlers, with a fresh supply of useful articles; and if, in the interval, they should receive favourable accounts from him, or meet with the encouragement from government which they expected, they said that the shipment would probably be very considerable, and the settlers more numerous, as well as of a proper description; and they expressed the most earnest wish that he would not think of quitting the colony—at least during the present season—but exert himself to keep it up, and prevail on his associates to stand by him; so that his hard labours might not be rendered fruitless.

These letters informed him of the war with France; upon which he writes in his Journal, thus—as we might expect him to have written:—

“Although no earthly consideration would have induced me to have placed myself in my present situation, could I have foreseen, on our leaving England, that we were so near a war, or even that there was a distant probability of one; yet, being here, I cannot leave it. If I take every body with me, I abandon the colony when there is no necessity for so doing: I deceive those who placed themselves under my care; I betray the subscribers at home; I betray the interests of humanity. It is true, I am under no written obligation; I receive no pay—I receive no support—I have no master. True, but I feel that I ought to stay; and, therefore, be the consequences what they may, here will I remain. Should I go, and leave the colonists, they would all be killed: they could not exist without me. Should I not in that case, besides desertion, be guilty of murder? What do I get by remaining here? nothing. Yes, I do: the satisfaction of feeling that I act as I ought to do. I have therefore written to the Admiralty the following letter:—

“*Island of Bulama, July 24, 1793.*

“SIR,—I have to request that you will be pleased to inform their Lordships, that, by a vessel which arrived here on the 22d instant, I was informed that all half-pay officers have been ordered, through the medium of the Gazette, to return to England: also, to inform them that I have the direction of a small colony whose very existence depends upon my presence. If I disobey their Lordships’ order in the Gazette, I know that I am liable to lose my commission; and if I obey it, I never deserved one.

“I hope their Lordships will observe the peculiar difficulty of my situation, and give me credit when I aver that the king has not an officer more attached to him, his country, and constitution, than myself; that it is with the greatest regret I found myself obliged to be absent from the fleet in time of war; and that I shall embrace the first opportunity of joining my profession. I have the honour to be, &c.

“*To Philip Stephens, Esq., Secretary to the Admiralty.*”

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In the despatches, which he took this opportunity of sending to the trustees, he said, 'the good people of England need not be afraid of coming out. They will find a fort ready to protect them. They need not be much afraid of the climate: I think it a tolerably healthy one. They need not run the risk of clearing a spot of ground to build on: I have already as much cleared as a large town would cover,' &c. Fortunately for others, though fatally for the scheme in which he had so heartily engaged, his despatches never reached the trustees; the promised reinforcements never arrived; and he was left to work on with grumetas, who soon learned the secret of their own strength. The rains had now returned. 'All hands sick,' was the usual entry in the Journal; and when a grumeta was to be flogged for housebreaking, Beaver was obliged to make his own comrades punish him, for none of the colonists were able to perform that office. The loss of memory, from which the survivors seem partially to have recovered during the better season, returned; and, what with sickness, fear, and despondency, all of them became almost idiots. 'I have had sickness as well as others,' says Beaver, 'more bodily exertion than any other individual—and more mental exertion than all of them put together; and yet I am the only person in the colony whose memory is totally unimpaired. It is true I have never been afraid; while every other person has lived in fear and trembling for these last eleven months. Whether or not fear can produce such effects, I shall leave to the physician or philosopher to determine. The fact is as I state it.'

Shortly after this he found it necessary to disrate Peter Hayles, the pirate; and, for some forgotten provocation, assembled the colonists, and asked them if they were not all villains? This 'all' amounted only to seven men and one boy; and an exception from the charge of villainy was made in favour of Mr. Hood, who was now thoroughly stupified, but had always been a good, quiet, hard-working man, willing to do whatever was in his power. Of this little number, two ran off with the boat, for which he consoled himself by thinking there were now two mouths less to feed. Bennet, the one, had 'never done any thing but crawl about the block-house;' and Peter Hayles, the other, though he had been the most useful man in the whole set, had of late been 'not worth his salt.' He left the following letter behind him, asking leave to go, after he had run away:—

'To Mr. Beaver.—Sir, I hope that you will pardon me for riteing to you, which I know I am not worthy of, but I hope you will forgive me for all things past, for I am going to try to get a passage to the Cape deverds, and then for America. Sir, if you will be so good as to let me go, I shall be grately ab bleaght to you. Sir, I hope you will

will pardon me for running away. Sir, I am your most obedient  
unbidd servant,

PETER HAYLES.

‘ Sir, I do rite with Tears in my eyes.’

Gallows-bird as he was, it may be believed that he spoke truth in his postscript, and that in circumstances less desperate, he would have served Beaver to the last.

Bellchore now paid him another visit, and pressed him to return it, saying his women did nothing but cry to see him, and he must come and satisfy them or they would die. ‘ The cunning old rascal!’ says Beaver, ‘ he forgot that all white man witch.’ Knowing that he could do nothing by force, he wanted to get Beaver into his power, and then get rum, powder, tobacco, and arms, of which he thought the blockhouse was full, for his ransom. A friendly Papel trader sent him word to arm his grumetas, and beware of the Bijugas. But the grumetas were at this time the more dangerous of the two; and the four remaining colonists, stupified as in other respects they were, distinctly perceived their danger. At the end of October they presented to him what they entitled a humble petition, declaring their intention of departing by a vessel which was hourly expected. ‘ It is not out of disrespect to you, Sir,’ they said; ‘ far from it. We are all sorry to leave you; but we hope that you will value your life as we do ours, and leave a place which you cannot hold without risking your life every moment, both night and day.’ Beaver replied, that he could not prevent their deserting him, but that he would procure some Portuguese soldiers at Bissao to keep the place with them; and he only requested them not to let the grumetas know their intention till he could receive an answer from Bissao.

For a fortnight after this he went on with his works—making a pond, clearing up stumps, and finishing inclosures. The colonists then presented a second petition, to the same tenour as the first, but in a more determined tone; and Hood said, that sorry as he was to leave the island, and more so to leave Beaver alone on it, go he would, he and the rest having done their duty by remaining with him so long. If he would not go with them in the cutter, they would run away and leave him to his fate. Beaver represented to them the danger of going to sea in a cutter without ropes, sails, anchors, cables, chart of the channel on which any dependence could be placed, pilot, or any individual who knew any thing of the place; without sailors also, for there was but one among them, and he was lame, and had a fever whenever he was exposed to the air. Their danger he states forcibly; but their answer was, ‘ If we remain, death is certain; if we go, we have a chance.’ Further opposition would have been unavailing; and when the last argument which was addressed to their fears failed,  
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he yielded, but not till then did he discontinue clearing the ground of stumps. Most of the stores he sold to an agent of the Portuguese government, and to his friend Cardoso; the rest he shipped. 'I must confess,' says he, 'that in going out of the harbour, I feel a great reluctance at being obliged to abandon a spot which I have certainly very much improved, and to see all my exertions, my cares and anxieties for the success of this infant colony, entirely thrown away; but, at the same time, I do feel an honest consciousness that every thing that could be reasonably expected from me had been done to secure (though without success) its establishment.' When he was thus obliged to abandon the island, the trees of about fifty acres had been cut down and burnt, and thirteen of these acres cleared of the stumps, and inclosed in three inclosures; a garden of half an acre, and a cattle and poultry yard of twice as much more had been inclosed with pales. There was a blockhouse; two nests of grumetas' houses; a good broad road leading to each; a well in the blockhouse; and a pond for fresh water in the field. Almost all, except the blockhouse, had been done by the labour of free natives. Tropical fruits, esculent vegetables, and other trees, were thriving in the garden. The practicability, therefore, of cultivating such productions, and by means of free natives, Beaver, as he himself says, undoubtedly had proved. Shelter and protection were prepared for more settlers; and fields were ready for the plough. Beaver had done more than this. In a part of the world, where it was an opinion established as firmly as any point of faith, and warranted by all former experience, that 'all white man rogue,' he had obtained the confidence and respect of the people. Their first impressions were unfavourable, because he would not deal with them for slaves; but when it was seen that he was in earnest in this refusal, and would neither buy nor sell them, that he paid his grumetas fairly, and let them leave him whenever they thought good, among all the nations (and they were many, to whom these men belonged) it became a saying, that 'the white man of Bulama can't do bad.'

Upon reaching Sierra Leone he sold the cutter, disposed of four of his companions according to their own wishes, recovered of another fever, and of the jaundice which followed it, recruited his greatly exhausted strength, and then returned to England in one of the company's vessels, with Mr. Hood, the only surviving subscriber! On his arrival, the Bulama Association held a meeting at the Mansion House, passed a vote of thanks to him, and resolved that a gold medal should be presented to him in acknowledgment of his meritorious services: this vote, and this unperformed resolution were his only reward for two years of such

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unparalleled exertions—he having moreover lost his half-pay, not only for that time, but for the six months preceding.

Within two months after his return he was made first lieutenant of the *Stately*, sixty-four, in which ship he distinguished himself at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope. After a cruise off the Isle of France, that ship joined the squadron under Sir G. H. Elphinstone, with whom Beaver then commenced an acquaintance which ripened into a friendship that was only terminated by death. He was present at the capture of the Dutch squadron, and the admiral then removed him into his own flag-ship, the *Monarch*, the same in which he had commenced his maritime career. On the way home the *Monarch* was driven into Crookhaven, on the coast of Ireland, just when the French were off Bantry Bay, and near them it was obliged to remain some days at anchor. A large French frigate was wrecked about three miles off; there were on board three hundred seamen and two hundred and sixty soldiers: ‘on her striking the rocks, the former hoisted out the boats, and beat out the brains of all the latter who attempted to enter them. Neither would they admit any of the officers, through whose folly, they exclaimed, the ship was lost. While thus deliberately guilty of such atrocious murders, these wretches perished themselves, a dreadful instance of the savage depravity produced by a total want of order, discipline, and religious obligation.’ Seven, whom Beaver rescued from the wreck, were the only survivors!

A coolness between Lord Keith and the Admiralty is believed to have disappointed Beaver’s hopes of promotion at this time, which chagrined him the more, because he used to say, ‘he would not give a pin to be made an admiral after fifty.’ The mutiny soon followed, and he observes in his journal that hearty as his regard for British tars had always been, he should now like their character better than ever, for the decency and moderation with which, except in one ship, all hands had conducted themselves throughout that astounding transaction. Lord Keith, being appointed to the command in the Mediterranean, applied for him to resume his old situation on board the *Foudroyant*, for he had now become noted as the best first lieutenant in the service.

‘He found that ship in such a state of insubordination, that three days after joining her, he writes—“What confusion every where! one would suppose that we were manned from the *Glory*; last night we had all but lost the ship—this will never do.” Soon afterwards he exclaims, “Are the officers going to copy the men? We have here so many for promotion, that few are left for plain duty; we had just now nearly run over a brig, but where from, or whither bound, the Lord knows—a pretty look out for a smart ship.”

‘It should be here premised, that this captious tone might rise, in some



some measure, from the view which the writer, as a first lieutenant selected expressly to carry on all the detail duties, took of the state of the ship. Indeed, it must be candidly admitted, that with a zeal sometimes bordering upon heat, his rigidly exact notions did not always quadrate with those of his messmates. He took umbrage at an apparent levity not unusual in a flag-ship, where youths of powerful interest are brought together rather to accept than to earn commissions; and having determined to act up to what he considered the punctilio of service, he brought Lord Cochrane, despite of his influence with the commander-in-chief, to a court-martial, for failing in personal respect towards him. The frivolity of excessive nicety about scrubbing decks, squaring yards, burnishing arms, polishing stanchions, flying kites, and reefing to a second of time, he despised, and perhaps justly; but he deemed every breach of official decorum too dangerous an inroad upon our truly Spartan system of discipline, to be overlooked.

He followed Lord Keith to the Queen Charlotte, and his promotion soon took place to the Dolphin, 44;—but it was thought that the flag-ship would not have been destroyed if he had continued in her, because he never permitted hay to be pressed on board, to which cause her loss, by taking fire, was generally attributed. He now distinguished himself at the siege of Genoa, and being appointed to treat, on the part of the English, when that city capitulated, a French account remarks that ‘the English Captain Bivera answered *non, non*, to every thing; the Austrian general was more polite.’ In our own service it was too often found throughout the war that on such occasions soldiers were more polite than sailors. Massena was most urgent to retain some small craft, ‘for having taken all our ships,’ said he, ‘a few boats are beneath your notice.’ It seems that Lord Keith afterwards softened Capt. Beaver’s *no*, and that Massena used these very boats to smuggle away his plunder. Lord Keith thought to reward his services, which had been very great during the siege, by making him the bearer of the despatches; but the circuitous route which he was obliged to take gave time for news of the battle of Marengo to arrive before him; and when he reached the Admiralty, exhausted with fatigue, he found his despatches were of no importance, and returned without either his post commission or the gift usual on such occasions, neither of which ought to have been withheld. If the guns could not be fired for the capture of a place which the enemy had regained, there was no reason why an officer, who had performed his part zealously and well, should have been disappointed of his due reward. Confident, however, as he had a right to be, in his character and himself, he married at Gibraltar, on his way back, a lady to whom he had been previously engaged. Next he was heard of in the expedition before Cadiz,

Gadiz, where Morla, whose name has since become so peculiarly and everlastingly infamous, addressed that memorable letter to the British commanders, which made them, for the sake of humanity, and to their own and their country's honour, desist from the intended attack. Beaver was now appointed to command the flag-ship, with post rank; and in the expedition to Egypt, he it was who so diligently arranged the naval communications, as to draw from Sir Ralph Abercrombie the remark, that all his wants were anticipated as if by magic. His conduct, during that campaign, obtained for him, from the Porte, the medal of the order of the Crescent, a diamond box for himself, and a golden one for each of his lieutenants; but when the peace of Amiens was made he found 'that by a new government order, respecting freight money, he had lost eleven hundred pounds on which he had reckoned; his plate, and every thing necessary for housekeeping, which he had sent from England, disappeared at sea, and he was left poor indeed.' He was paid off on his arrival in England; a frigate was offered him, but he wisely declined it, because of his inability, in time of peace, to maintain a family at home, and support the expense of a table afloat: so he fixed himself at Watford, and there found his time fully occupied with his family, his books, his cottage, and his half-acre of garden. But his was too active and too ambitious a spirit for retirement; Bulama was still, to his imagination, a little paradise, (such, indeed, it might be for a race of civilized negroes, or for a mixed breed, uniting the European mind with the African constitution,) and the command of two or three vessels for African colonization appeared to be within his reach, when the renewal of war closed this scheme.

He was now appointed to command the *Sea Fencibles*, on the Essex coast; and it is said by his biographer that his strictures at that time 'are so clearly decisive on certain points of national impolicy, and, from disdaining to temporize, expressed so strongly, that it is not advisable to publish them.' To us it appears always advisable, when it can be done without danger, to expose any national impolicy, and that, too, in the strongest terms; for it is only by such exposure that we can hope to have it amended. He submitted to the Admiralty a plan for destroying the flotilla at Boulogne; and he published, upon the subject of the then threatened invasion, a letter in the *Courier* (reprinted in this volume), so clear and so convincing in its arguments, that it might have sufficed to dispel the fears of even the most timid; in that letter he spoke of the British army, 'with which,' said he, 'I have served in each quarter of the globe. I know its merits, I know its foibles; I know it well, and am as fully convinced as I am that I now write, that this army as far surpasses all others  
in



in bravery, as British seamen surpass all others in skill." At this time he found leisure to arrange and publish his *African Memo-randa*, a book\* which, though little noticed at the time, and still too little known, is perhaps the most extraordinary record of individual perseverance, exertion, and resolution, that ever issued from the press.

After frequent applications, he was at length appointed to the *Acasta*, a forty-gun frigate, and, having settled his wife and children at Swansea, sailed for the West Indies. Being sent to Halifax for repairs, the opinion which he formed of our then pendant disputes in America was thus expressed in a letter. "If either dignity or policy guided our councils, we should have been at war with these people, for our conciliatory system is viewed only as want of energy. Instead of strictly enforcing our orders in council, we enact ordinances one day, and the next issue licences in the teeth of them; thereby decidedly sacrificing our national to our commercial interest." Speaking then of the 'vulgarity, mendacity, and malignity of the American democratic press,' qualities in which it was not exceeded by our own, he says, 'with you in Europe, the public mind is too ardently occupied to pay that attention to trans-Atlantic politics which perhaps they merit: but the heads of departments here should detect and expose the misrepresentations and falsehoods which flow so profusely; what remains uncontradicted will generally be credited, for many read, while few think. If the editor of the Halifax Gazette cannot stem the effect of the poison which is disseminated in this province, and is withholden by disaffection, indolence, or fear, the sooner he sells his types and presses, and kicks his devils into hell, the better.'

It is proper in this place to relate something which is altogether unnoticed by Captain Beaver's biographer. In the summer of the year 1811, Mr. Brougham, as an instance of the oppression and cruelty practised in the British navy, brought forward a story in the House of Commons, to this effect:—

'A naval captain on the western station, about two years ago, acted with such severity to his crew, that to a man they expressed their discontent. One man, who had been flogged once or twice, said, "that if he were sentenced to be flogged again, he would leap over-board;" this being told the captain, he replied, "I will try the gentleman." Accordingly the man was again sentenced to be flogged, and actually leapt into the sea. At this time the vessel was under an easy press of sail, and there was a general cry of "Heave to, heave to; lower the boat." But the captain said, "No; if the gentleman

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\**London, 4to. 1805.* *prefers*

prefers that ship to this, he is welcome to sail in it." He would not permit any attempt to save him; and the man was drowned.

Upon this, the Secretary of the Admiralty called upon Mr. Brougham to state the name of the ship; he did so, but not in the course of the debate, nor till the day before the session closed, when of course it was not possible that inquiry could be made in time for refuting the misrepresentation, if such it should prove, as publicly as it had been made.

The Admiralty, however, immediately investigated the business; a lieutenant, who had at the time belonged to the ship, was found, and his deposition related the circumstances as they had really occurred. The sufferer was ordered to be flogged, not to try whether he would fulfil his intention of jumping overboard, (for no such intention had been expressed on his part, and still less had any such diabolical purpose of provoking him to effect it ever entered the heart of the captain,) but because he had been asleep below during his watch; an offence of which he had been repeatedly guilty. It was true that he jumped overboard; the lieutenant who made this deposition was at the time standing by the captain, where he heard, and could not but hear, every word which the captain spoke; it was false that the captain had used the words imputed to him, or any words of the like import; it was false that no efforts were made to save the man; the ship was put back, and the boat lowered; and it was equally false, and equally calumnious, that the crew to a man expressed their discontent against the captain for his habitual severity, for he was both beloved and respected by them. The captain, against whom this accusation of nothing less than wanton murder had been thus groundlessly thrown out, is one of the most able men and distinguished officers in the British service. But such is the system of these popular reformers:—like the stone lions of the state inquisition at Venice, they are ready to receive all accusations, however unsupported, and open-mouthed to repeat them, careless whom or what they injure, so they can but gain popularity.

This statement is copied here from a publication of that time; a copy of the deposition is in our possession, and it is just and proper not to withhold now, what was withheld then, that the *Acasta* was the ship named, and Philip Beaver the officer who was thus accused! No comment can be needed; but if the circumstance had found a place in Captain Smyth's volume, no better annotation could have accompanied it than the example which he has given of Beaver's regard for the lives and the well-being of the men under his command. Writing to a young friend who had just been appointed to a sloop of war, he bade him recollect—

that numbers of your people have been impressed, and are the unwilling victims of our temporal, though urgent interests. Such considerations, added to the tantalizing breaches of the ties of home, which



which the very nature of the service renders necessary, should make every good officer desirous of establishing the comfort of his crew. Temper discipline with kindness. Endeavour to grant some respite in port, if the tenour of your instructions will admit it. The refitting, stowing stores, squaring yards, working boats, and drying sails, with all the minor minutiae, leave but little leisure. And yet I know many smart gentlemen who torment themselves to find constant labour for their ships' companies; and who would be astonished to discover that it was not considered a proof of knowledge. Jack knows well enough what is necessary, and therefore does not relish a too frequent mustering of hammocks and bags, polishing of iron work, and other artificial modes of teasing the time.—pp. 171, 172.

Such were his feelings regarding the comfort of his crew; and, as respecting their lives—

‘*Remarking one day, in conversation, upon the dangers to which many, from a mistaken sense of courage, sometimes expose themselves and their crews, where no corresponding advantage could be gained,—he said he had sinned occasionally in that way himself, but was cured of the propensity by an incident, which, though trifling in itself, had made a strong impression upon his mind. He had stood close in under one of the batteries of Martinique, when a shot fired from it fell at the feet of a midshipman, whom he had received under the anxious solicitations of a parent, to be as careful of him as circumstances would permit. “I asked myself seriously whether I had fulfilled the entreaties of my friend? I had no business to be where I then was, for no object could be accomplished by it; and had this boy been killed, I should have considered his death to have lain at my door. The same feeling has influenced me since; and as, however I may risk my own life, I have no right, unnecessarily, to endanger that of others, I take care to avoid it.”*’

The truth is, that Beaver was beloved by his men, and not by his officers. Captain Smyth observes, that he could not understand, and found it difficult to excuse, either indifference or idleness in either. His discipline, in the early part of his career, was, like that in which he had himself been trained, severe; but he soon saw his error, acknowledged, and corrected it. It then became strict, but never tyrannical, never unjust, never capricious. ‘*Yet,*’ says his biographer, ‘*the pardonable weakness of forgiving a little more frequently would, perhaps, have brought the commander’s character nearer to perfection. But with him the punishment of slight transgressions could not be imputed to heat of temper, cloaked under the necessities of official discipline: it was what he considered a conscientious discharge of his duty.*’ Such the men knew it to be: they saw that he was exceedingly careful of their health; that he was sparing of their lives; and, what they would feel more than either, that he saved them from the annoyance

ance of unnecessary labour. They therefore loved, as well as respected and admired him. But with the officers he was not popular, except with those who were capable of appreciating his character: for, when he commanded, he rarely, if ever, consulted any one. 'There was a degree of moral as well as physical magnanimity about him, which rather sought than shrunk from responsibility.' He could as easily have lowered his stature, as have concealed his consciousness of superiority to most of those by whom he was surrounded; and, 'wherever incapacity was evident, he evinced contempt, even towards senior officers.' But he had no other pride than this, which he deemed requisite for his station and necessary in his profession. Both in his life and conversation he was a strictly moral man—rather, it should be said, a religious one; for his life bore testimony to the sincerity and efficacy of his belief. He read prayers regularly and solemnly to the ship's company, and set them the best example, in the regularity and temperance of his habits.

Beaver was not unsuccessful in the *Acasta*, but his agent at Barbadoes died insolvent; and he was thus defrauded of more than 3000*l.* prize-money. He bore a distinguished part in the capture of Martinique and of the Saintes,—having, at both places, the charge of conducting and landing the troops; opened a communication with the Caraccas, upon the commencement of the Spanish war against the French; and, in 1809, sailed for England in his crazy frigate, 'literally freighted with Frenchmen,' his crew being so weak, that he not only thought it prudent to sleep with loaded fire-arms himself, but recommended a captain and lieutenant, who were his passengers, to do the same. The *Acasta* was paid off, and he remained about six months unemployed, when Lord Mulgrave appointed him to the *Nisus*, a frigate just completed; and he took leave of his friends and family for ever, and sailed for the Cape. The disembarkation at the Isle of France was entirely managed by him; and it was one of the most perfect as well as most arduous operations of the kind. As a reward for his exertions, the admiral left him senior officer on the station. Being thus 'obliged frequently to have men of high rank with their staff on board, he entreated that he might be permitted to draw for the trifling allowance generally accompanying a broad pendant; this, although inadequate to his expenses, would have diminished the accumulation of debt, in which the very nature of his distinguished services necessarily involved him; but his request was unheeded.' Commodore Beaver's next service was the capture of the Seychelles: after which he sailed for Madras, for treasure, taking the degree and a half channel, in consequence of a manuscript chart which he obtained in his conquest, and thus



thus saving nearly a thousand miles of route. In the reduction of Java he bore a conspicuous part, as he had always done wherever his services were required.

The war in the East being thus concluded, he returned to the Isle of France, cruised afterwards in search of an expected enemy in the Southern Indian Ocean, and in 1812 examined the east coast of Africa. On that coast, at Johanna, and at Mozambique, he collected many particulars concerning Benyowski; and believing that he knew more of the betrayal, and consequent fate, of that remarkable adventurer than any other person in the world, he expressed a hope in his journal that he might, at some future day, in his half-pay cottage, relate that tragedy to the world, and 'expose the villainy of those, who, by the barbarous murder of an adventurous nobleman, had so deeply injured the cause of humanity in those benighted regions.' Beaver had a strong sympathy with Benyowski: to colonize in Africa, for the purpose of civilizing the Africans, was the first wish of his heart. His account of Quiloa is very curious; and his conduct there distinguished by the same promptitude and sense of justice which always characterized him. He returned to the Cape somewhat debilitated by a disorder contracted at Batavia by hard duty, and by exertions at Quiloa, which were deemed imprudent. Beginning now to think with some anxiety concerning the future, and being painfully desirous to rejoin his family, he heard with joy that his ship was ordered, toward the end of December, to St. Helena, to collect a convoy for England; but neglecting, in his habitual reliance upon a strong constitution, to employ any medical aid for an obstruction, which might easily have been removed, he did not apply to his surgeon till it was too late. An interesting account of his death is given by that surgeon, Mr. Prior, now well known as the biographer of Burke: it was such as might have been expected from the whole tenour of his life, composed and manly, in the confidence of one who had always endeavoured to do his duty to the utmost, and in Christian faith.

His last hours were cheered by a persuasion that a valuable American ship, which he had lately captured, would form a provision for his family; 'for he had no suspicion that the greater part of the cargo would be claimed and awarded as individual property.'

\* His family, at his death, consisted of Mrs. Beaver and six children; and as fortune had not favoured him in the acquisition of wealth, his widow was, through the kindness of Lord Viscount Melville, appointed matron of Greenwich Hospital School—a situation which she could have little contemplated, when her husband was so conspicuous in the high road to the brightest honours. This nomination, however, afforded

afforded a refuge from pecuniary distress; and procured her an unexpected source of consolation, in the eager desire with which the veteran sailors crowded her door, entreating to see the children, those interesting portraits of their late revered commander."—p. 308.

Captain Smyth has rendered a service to his profession and his country by publishing these Memoirs of his friend. Yet we wish that he may be induced to perform a further service to both, and a further justice to the dead, by giving us more of Beaver's papers, of his journals and his letters; for, if ever there was a man whose secret thoughts would bear exposure to the world, it was this. Were these remains collected and published, with his *African Memoranda*, in such a form as would put them within reach of that wider public, to whom such a work would be equally acceptable and useful, they ought to be put into the hands of every midshipman, and of every young soldier as well; and they would form for their author a more durable monument than could have been erected to him in Westminster-Abbey or St. Paul's.

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ART. VI.—*Reise Sr. Hoheit des Herzogs Bernard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach durch Nord America, in den Jahren 1825 und 1826. Herausgegeben von Heinrich Luden. Weimar. 1828.*

2. *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828.* By Captain Basil Hall, Royal Navy. 3 vols. 12mo. Edin. 1829.

**T**HOUGH a vast number of travellers have visited America of late years, and have communicated to the public a vast body of facts and observations, none of them have contrived to inspire any great confidence in the European public. None of their representations enable even the most attentive readers to trace in the existing condition of manners, education, civilization, and social progress, the actual effects of the system of government adopted in the United States. Most of the travellers have made only hasty flights through the republic; have steamed up the rivers or along the shores, from province to province; or in crowded speedy waggons, misnamed mails, have posted, without intermission, from the capital of one state to that of another—made a short residence in each; conversed at the public tables, or in the boarding-houses, with the persons who sat near them at the rapidly dispatched meals; and then fancied themselves qualified to impart to the European world some information respecting their descendants beyond the Atlantic. Such travellers commonly have had personal objects which engrossed the greater part of their attention. Many of them went out crammed with commercial or agri-



cultural projects ; and finding the natives quite as acute as themselves in every thing connected with profit and loss, have rather been disposed to come home and grumble over their own waste of time and of money, than to remain upon, or to draw up candid accounts of, the scene of their disappointments. Political fanatics, filled with fanciful notions of the purity of democratical institutions—warmed with ideas of the happiness to be enjoyed where men are freed from the wholesome restraints of civil, legal, and religious institutions—have surveyed the western continent only to discover that noisy patriots are not free on one side of the Atlantic, more than on the other, from venality ; that declamations about the glories of liberty are quite compatible with the practical exercise of tyranny ; and that the lustiest assertions of independence often come, all the world over, from the lips of the most eager aspirants after the power and emolument of *place*. A few naval and military officers have looked at the United States ; and, having seen what their profession rendered interesting, seem to have taken for granted that the public in Europe would attach as much importance as themselves to accurate sketches of dockyards, forts, and the like. Finally, the projectors of colonization, on lands in which they had speculated in the back woods, wanted the skill to conceal their artifices ; and the lucubrations of the Birkbecks, the Flowers, and others of that class, had no more effective operation on the general mind of England, than the wild fanaticism of Mr. Owen of Lanark.

Neither of the travellers, whose works we have placed at the head of this article, were induced to visit America by any low, sinister, or fanatical motives. Their chief inducement seems to have been to gratify the curiosity created by the representations, frequently made, of the necessary effect of the establishment of the so-called principles of freedom ; and to make their own observations on the experiment whose process has commenced in the western hemisphere. It is obvious that a predilection, at least, in favour of the success of this experiment existed in the minds of both ; that a disposition prevailed to discover a better order of things in the new state of society than existed under the more anciently formed governments of the European world. These notions seem to have been most ardently cherished by the duke, who, on his landing in Boston, says—

‘ It is impossible to describe the feeling with which I was impressed at this moment. Two former instants of my life had left most delightful recollections : the first, when, after the battle of Wagram, at seventeen years of age, I received (from the hand of Napoleon) the cross of the Legion of Honour ; and the second, on the birth of my son William. My first landing in America—in the country which it  
had

had been my warmest wish, from my earliest youth, to visit—will be a third delightful recollection, which will remain with me through the whole of my life.’

Captain Hall thus expresses himself :—

‘ Probably, there seldom was a traveller who visited a foreign land in a more kindly spirit. I was really desirous of seeing every thing, relating to the people, country, and institutions, in the most favourable light ; and was resolved to use my best endeavours to represent to my countrymen what was good, in colours which might incline them to think the Americans more worthy of regard and confidence, than they generally were esteemed in England. It was also part of my project, if possible, to convince the Americans themselves that the English were willing to think well of them, and were sincerely anxious to be on good terms, if they could only see just grounds for a change of sentiment. Such were the hopes and wishes with which I landed in America.’—*Hall*, vol. i. p. 3—5.

Whoever wishes to appreciate the description given of a country, a district, a city, a palace, or a cottage, must first ascertain the point of view from whence it is taken. In a journey through a foreign region, the traveller himself becomes in reality a sort of point of view. If his own country be more advanced in civilisation than the one he visits, he is too apt to treat with a proud contempt whatever meets his observation. If the journey be through a country advanced beyond that of his birth, every object that he meets impresses him in a far different manner : he is delighted wherever he turns his eyes. But above all, the traveller’s view of a foreign country will be much influenced by his education. We do not so much refer to the education acquired in his school or in his college, as to the course of observation and reflection induced by the subsequent tenour of his habitual pursuits, and the society in which it has been his fortune to move as a man. Duke Bernard, a cadet of the house of Saxe-Weimar, bears a name and title venerated by every Protestant who is acquainted with the history of that tremendous contest for religious freedom which, during thirty years, wasted almost every part of Germany, and was at length terminated by the treaty of Westphalia. At an early period of life he entered into the army—we believe, of the king of Saxony. In those days, the princes of the Rhine were compelled to place all their forces under the banner of Buonaparte ; and in the battle of Wagram, Duke Bernard was noticed by the conqueror. When the turbulent ambition of that chief disturbed Europe for a second time, the troops of Saxe-Weimar, joined by some other Germans, were led on to take part in common cause by this duke—who so distinguished himself at Waterloo as to gain the approbation and applause of our commander in



chief. He has visited most parts of Germany, France, the Netherlands, and Great Britain; and is now in the military service of the king of the Netherlands, with the rank of major-general, and the command of the garrison of Ghent. Our other traveller is already sufficiently known by his accounts of Loo Choo, and of the countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean;—works which, composed in a clear and lively style, gave evidence of high professional ardour, of considerable scientific attainments, and of no ordinary powers of observation and reflection.

The course followed by these two travellers was nearly the same: both first visited the northern and eastern states; then passed on to Canada; afterwards viewed the southern, or slave states, on the Atlantic side; from them crossed the new state of Alabama to Louisiana; proceeded up the Mississippi, through the newly-planted districts, to the westward of the Alleghany mountains;—and returned to England by way of New York. It was likely that two gentlemen of their character travelling so nearly by the same route would be thrown into the same connexions, and converse with the same individuals; and though, while the goodnatured Duke mentions the name of almost every person whom he visited or met, Captain Hall, with commendable delicacy, notices none by name,—we have no doubt, from the nature of the communications which the two authors have given, that they must, in a great measure, have been derived from the same sources. Both speak with equal warmth of the general attention and hospitality they received, and appear to have been highly gratified by the respect with which they were treated. In the objects which they respectively dwell on at the greatest length, and the character of their remarks on these, it is easy to trace the influence of their former habits. The Duke's previous travels had been chiefly confined to countries on the continent, where every thing that is grand or magnificent bears the stamp of antiquity. Scarcely a cathedral, a palace, a town hall, or any other public building on the continent, excites any great interest, except such as were constructed before even the existence of America was known in Europe. Scarcely a house is to be seen in the cities and towns that was not built before any dwelling beyond an Indian wigwam had been erected in North America. The rapidity of the progress made in the new settlements of that region must be more striking to one who compares them, as a traveller like the Duke would do, with the cities of Paris, Vienna, Cologne, Nuremberg, Breslau, Bruges, and others, than to a native of Great Britain, who would compare them with Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Nottingham, Derby, Glasgow, Paisley, and the other places in his own country, which have

have risen from small to large towns quite as rapidly as New York, and more so than Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Norfolk, Charlestown, New Orleans, or any other place in America. We may make the same remarks on the other objects in which the United States have been pursuing, though at a vast distance, our steps. Of canals, rail roads, highways, bridges, steam-engines, and other improvements, utterly unknown in some, and very imperfectly known in many, parts of the continent, we may affirm that the extension has been more than ten times as great, within one-fifth of the space, in Great Britain as in America. If we attend to the description of objects more minute, but composing much of the comfort of domestic and social life, great allowance must be made for the different views taken of them by a German and an Englishman. On the continent, the houses are scantily furnished, the furniture is old, both in substance and in fashion, and the shifts made to repair and preserve it are sometimes even ludicrous. Here, on the other hand, foreigners are surprised with the number of domestic utensils (of which they, perhaps, know neither the name nor the use), the condition in which they are maintained, the frequency with which they are renewed, and the character of indispensableness which we attach to them. In America, the inhabitants of British origin have followed the customs of the country from which they have emanated; and the people transplanted from other kingdoms have speedily imbibed the same habits. Thus over the United States, and British America, in the larger towns, and in the dwellings of the more prosperous inhabitants, the condition of the houses, and the accommodations they contain, if somewhat inferior to those of a similar class in England, are advanced a much greater step beyond what is commonly to be seen in France, Germany, Spain, or Italy, to say nothing of Russia and the eastern territories of Austria.

We have found, in the description of the same kind of things, some differences between our two authors, but certainly not greater than may be easily accounted for by the different tenours of their previous experiences and habits. An intelligent naval officer, whose life has been spent in visiting countries far removed from each other, varying in climate, in wealth, in forms of government, and at various stages in the progress of civilization, will commonly look rather at objects in masses, and upon a large scale, than examine minutely those of a less important nature. Bestowing careful attention on whatever more immediately relates to his own profession, he is likely, in the maturity of his life, to take a larger view than almost any other traveller of the institutions tending to accelerate or to check improvement, in any country he traverses;



tions. We have been assured by a competent judge, one who resided many years in that country, that a boy leaves college in America with about the same quantity of learning that is acquired in the academies near London—with the Greek alphabet, and Latin to translate a stray quotation. Almost every city has a college, as it is called, though in fact they are little better than our day-schools; yet degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts are bestowed by them on boys from twelve to fifteen years of age, and announced with more pomp and form in their public papers than those conferred at Oxford and Cambridge on competent scholars at from twenty to twenty-five years of age. The whole construction of society seems opposed to any other system of education than that of the most superficial kind.

There is (says Captain Hall) no want of talent in the country, nor of ability and honest zeal on the part of the professors and other teachers; but my inquiries in every part of the Union ended invariably in one and the same conclusion—that it was impossible, by means of any system of discipline, by fines, by punishments, by the stimulus of artificial rewards, by parental or state authority, to keep the young men long enough at those establishments, to imbue them with what in Europe would be called a tolerable portion of classical knowledge; or even to impart to them much taste for elegant letters, ancient or modern; still less, of course, to carry them into the regions of any abstract science. The reason of all this lies so completely interwoven with the whole texture of American society, that, were the efforts of those public-spirited persons, who struggle so manfully against this popular torrent, a thousandfold more strong than they are, their exertions would avail little. Every thing in America appears to be antedated—every thing, and every body is on the move—and the field is so wide and so fertile, that no man, whatever be his age, if he possess the slightest spark of energy, can fail to reap from the virgin soil an adequate harvest. Thus the great law of our nature, Be fruitful and multiply, having no check, supersedes every other, carrying before it classics, science, the fine arts, letters, taste, and refinements of every description, in one great deluge of population. \* \* \* A boy who hears and sees nothing all round him but independence, and individual license to do almost any thing, very soon becomes too wild for his father's house; and off he is sent to school. When there, he is restless himself, and the cause of restlessness in others; for he worries his parents till he accomplishes his purpose of going to college. This point gained, his object is to run through the required course as fast as possible, get his examination over, and take his degree, that he may be at liberty to follow the paths of his predecessors, and scamper away to the fertile regions of the West or South. \* \* \* This appears to be going on, with slight shades of difference, over the whole United States, and is, in truth, the inevitable consequence of their geographical and political situation. \* \* \* Many people are

are forced into active life long before the time they would probably have chosen to come forward, had the state of things been different—that is to say, had there been any steady demand in society for higher acquirements. In one word, there is abundant capacity, and abundant desire to learn in America, but by no means any adequate reward for learning. There are exceptions, no doubt; and instances might be quoted of men of literature and science whose exertions are well repaid, but the numbers are exceedingly small when the extent of the population is taken into account.—*Hall*, vol. ii. p. 175.

From the very thin population in the United States, and the consequent distance of one house and settlement from another, there must be a difficulty in forming schools for the rural inhabitants. In the towns there seems to be adequate provision for the elementary tuition of even the poorest classes. The inhabitants of all the towns form, however, but a small minority of the whole community; and, taking into account about two millions of negroes, who are wholly without instruction, we should probably find a much larger proportion of persons in America destitute of even the knowledge of reading and writing, than in any part of Europe, except Russia and Turkey: certainly a much larger proportion than in a country which of late years it has been the fashion, with persons who know nothing of its concerns, to cry down as hopeless and incurable—we mean Spain.

So much for Education—a subject which occupies a large part of both these works. Duke Bernard seems carefully to avoid all discussion connected with politics. This may arise, in part, from his being but imperfectly acquainted with the English language; it is, however, probable, that he has been in some degree restrained by considerations of a prudential nature. Engaged in the service of the Netherlands, a government where whatever can contribute to the prosperity of the people is protected and stimulated by the paternal spirit and enlightened councils of the monarch, he could feel little anxiety about indulging any remarks on the tendency of democratic rule. His work was, however, designed to circulate *‘wözu die Deutsche zunge klingt,’* and that language is spoken in certain districts where the circulation was not likely to be patronised, if the author had even pointed out the benefits which the Americans have derived from retaining the free institutions of the country of their ancestors. For disquisition on all subjects connected with the government and the administration of the law, then, we must look exclusively to Captain Hall; and fortunately the common-sense views he has taken of them, the penetration he has exhibited in sifting facts, and the powerful scrutiny he has exercised, give to his communications a very uncommon character, both of interest and importance. Duke

Bernard's



Bernard's pages are, however, of value even as regards the topics which he is most anxious to eschew—for they, in a hundred casual particulars, confirm the statements on which the British traveller grounds his expressed opinions.

One of the greatest defects of the American system of government, is, the absence of an effective executive head. As planned by the eminent man who framed the constitution, the power of the president was by far too weak; by various subsequent changes, that power has been still further lowered; and the increase of the democratic influence threatens to reduce it, if it is not already done, to a mere shadow. Captain Hall narrates the history of this process of diluting the executive power in his second volume, to which we must refer our readers, because it is scarcely susceptible of abridgment, without a great sacrifice of accuracy. He asserts, however, and with apparent justice, that

'the legislative and executive branches of the government are, in point of fact, absorbed by congress. In England there is a well known saying, that the king can do no wrong; in America, the maxim is nearly inverted, for it would seem as if the president could do no right. In England, the monarch is exempted from all responsibility, while his ministers, being available persons, bear the whole burden, under whatever nominal or real authority their measures may have been carried on. In America, the power of the chief magistrate—the constitutional executive of the country—has been gradually abridged, till his actual authority, either for good or for evil, has been almost annihilated. In that country, therefore, the executive is deprived almost entirely of the power of action, but still he is held responsible. In England, the executive virtually possesses great authority, but is nominally free from responsibility.'—vol. iii. pp. 19, 20.

The United States are so far removed from all the other regular governments of the civilized world, that an occasion of foreign war can scarcely arise, unless, as in the late contest with us, it should be generated by a faction, whose artifices and misrepresentations may succeed in exasperating the populace. But for this, the evil of which Captain Hall treats would hardly have gone on increasing as it has done. The natural consequences of a weak executive are at present experienced in a very slight degree, compared with what would happen if the States should hereafter be involved in a war of long duration with any of the naval powers of Europe, or with the descendants of Spain in America—if ever these should be formed into regular governments. But the evil would be felt still more formidably if any internal dissensions should terminate in a civil war.

Captain Hall attended the proceedings of the legislature of New York—the most populous, rich, and influential of all the sovereign states which compose the Union. His description of the

the mode in which public business is transacted by that body well deserves attention :—

‘ I was extremely curious to see how a legislature formed on such principles would proceed, and I visited the Capitol with the truest wish to be well pleased with all I saw and heard. The hall of the house of assembly was not unlike the interior of a church ; with a gallery for strangers, looking down upon a series of seats and writing-desks, ranged on the floor in concentric semicircles, the speaker’s chair being at the centre, and over his head, of course, the large well-known picture of General Washington, with his hand stretched out, in the same unvaried attitude in which we had already seen him represented in many hundreds, I might say thousands, of places, from the capitol at Albany to the embellishments on the coarsest blue china plate in the country. Each member of the house was placed in a seat numbered and assigned to him by lot on the first day of the session. \* \* \*

The arguments seemed to me so shallow, and were all so ambitiously, or rather wordily, expressed, that I was frequently at a loss for some minutes to think what the orators really meant, or if they meant any thing. The whole discussion, indeed, struck me as being rather juvenile. The matter was in the highest degree commonplace, and the manner of treating it still more so. The speeches, accordingly, were full of set phrases and rhetorical flourishes about their “ancestors having come out of the contest full of glory, and covered with scars—and their ears ringing with the din of battle.” This false-taste, waste of time—conclusions in which nothing was concluded—splitting of straws, and ingeniously elaborate objections, all about any thing or nothing in the world, appeared to me to arise from the entire absence of those habits of public business, which can be acquired only by long-continued and exclusive practice.

‘ These gentlemen were described to me as being chiefly farmers, shopkeepers, and country lawyers, and other persons quite unaccustomed to abstract reasoning, and therefore apt to be led away by the sound of their own voices, farther than their heads could follow. It is probable, too, that part of this wasteful, rambling kind of argumentation may be ascribed to the circumstance of most of the speakers being men, who, from not having made public business a regular profession or study, were ignorant of what had been done before—and had come to the legislature, straight from the plough—or from behind the counter—from chopping down trees—or from the bar, under the impression that they were at once to be converted into statesmen. Such were my opinions at this early stage of the journey, and I never afterwards saw much occasion to alter them ; indeed, the more I became acquainted with the practical operation of the democratical system, the more I became satisfied that the ends which it proposed to accomplish could not be obtained by such means. By bringing into these popular assemblies men who—disguise it as they may—cannot but feel themselves ignorant of public business, an ascendancy



is given to a few abler and more intriguing heads, which enables them to manage matters to suit their own purposes. And just as the members begin to get a slight degree of useful familiarity with the routine of affairs, a fresh election comes on, and out they all go; or at least a great majority go out, and thus, in each fresh legislature, there must be found a preponderance of unqualified, or, at all events, of ill-informed men, however patriotic or well-intentioned they may chance to be. On the same distrustful principle, all men in office are jealously kept out of Congress and the state legislatures; which seems altogether the most ingenious device ever hit upon for excluding from the national councils all those persons best fitted by their education, habits of business, knowledge, and advantageous situation of whatever sort, for performing, efficiently, the duties of statesmen: while, by the same device, the very best, because the most immediate and the most responsible sources of information are removed to a distance; and the men who possess the knowledge required for the purposes of deliberation, are placed out of sight, and on their guard, instead of being always at hand, and liable to sudden scrutiny, face to face, with the representatives of the nation.'—vol. ii. pp. 29—37.

According to our author's account, the proceedings of the two houses of congress themselves appear to be an admirable counterpart of those of the legislature of New York at Albany. He thus describes a sitting of the House of Representatives:—

'The motion which interested me most was brought forward by a member for one of the southern states, who, in disregard of the usual habit, came soon to his point, and spoke well upon it. The object was to direct one of the committees of the house, I forget which, to take measures for placing in a vacant niche, or compartment, in the rotunda or great hall of the Capitol, a painting of the battle of New Orleans, gained by General Jackson over the English. The motion seemed appropriate to the day, 8th of January, the anniversary of that victory; and there is no saying how far such a proposal might have been received, had it been left purely to its own merits. But this was not the course of any American debate which it was my fortune to hear. A gentleman who was standing by me asked what I thought of the suggestion; to which I answered, that there could be nothing more reasonable, and begged to ask in my turn, if he thought there could be any objection started in the house. "Wait a little while," said he, "and you'll see; for," he continued, "you know the whole depends upon the presidential politics of the house?" I said I did not know. "Surely," he replied, "you are aware that General Jackson is a candidate for the presidency;—now, if this motion succeeds, it will be what is called 'a sign of the times,' and, so far as the opinion of Congress goes, will help on one side the grand object of all men's thoughts at this moment. But you will see ere long, that the Adams party will, in some way or other, entangle this question, and prevent its getting through the house. They are in a minority, it is true; but you are

aware how much torment the weaker party can always give the stronger, if they set about it systematically. Indeed," he observed, "I should not be surprised if this little matter, which the good sense of the house, if it were fairly taken, would discuss and settle in ten minutes, should, under the fiery influence of party spirit, last as many days; for there is no knowing beforehand whether a debate with us is to last a day, or a week, or even a month. So I beg you to watch the progress of this one."

The proposer of the measure concluded his speech by saying, that as there could be no doubt of its adoption, he begged to propose Mr. Washington Alston, of Boston, as the artist who ought to execute the work, not only from his being the most skilful painter in the country, but from his being a native of the same state with General Jackson, namely, Tennessee. I had no notion that the debate would run off upon this point, because the gentleman named was, beyond all question, the best artist in America. Besides which, there was some address, I was told, in having pointed out an artist residing in the north, to perform the service; a degree of consideration which it was thought would conciliate the members from that quarter, who were mostly in favour of Mr. Adams. These small shot, however, failed to hit their mark, as will be seen by the following observations of a gentleman from one of the eastern states, which I extract from the debate, as given in the "National Intelligencer," chiefly to show their rambling style of discussion.

"He said he should not have risen, had not the resolution moved by the honourable gentleman from South Carolina designated the name of the artist to be employed. When it was recollected that Mr. Trumbull, the gentleman who had executed the paintings now in the rotunda, was a native of the state which he represented on that floor, he trusted his honourable friend would excuse him if he ventured to suggest, that no course ought to be pursued, in this stage of the business, which went to exclude the employment of that venerable and patriotic individual in executing any paintings that might be ordered. If the artist to whom the gentleman had alluded was a native of the same state with the hero of our second war, the artist he himself had named had been an actor in his own person in the war of the revolution. He had been a prisoner, and had suffered severely in that contest; and he must be permitted to say, that great injustice had been done him, from the manner in which his paintings had at first been displayed. They were placed in a small and obscure room, beneath our feet, and the artist had the mortification to know, that the most unkind and most unfeeling strictures had there been passed upon them, in consequence of this their disadvantageous location. His fame had suffered, his feelings had suffered, and all his friends who knew the circumstances, had suffered with him. It was with pride and pleasure, he said, that he had witnessed their removal to a situation more worthy of their excellence, and he had witnessed the tears of joy glistening in his venerable eyes, under the consciousness that, at last, justice had been



been done him. He admitted, very willingly, the high merit of Mr. Alston; but, if congress should conclude, in this matter, to depart from the class of our revolutionary worthies, there were other native artists, besides Mr. Alston, who would desire not to be precluded from a chance of employment. He therefore moved the following amendment,—to strike out the name of "Washington Alston," and to insert the words, "some suitable artist."

The debate for some time turned on the merits of this amendment, though it wandered every now and then into the presidential question, and its innumerable ramifications, many of which were nearly unintelligible to a stranger. At length another eastern state member rose, and cast amongst the disputants a new apple of discord, or rather a new sort of mystification and discursive eloquence. He said, "that while he did not refuse to do homage to the great and acknowledged merit of Mr. Alston, he wished to suggest a further amendment of the resolution, which was,—that it might be made to embrace the battles of Bunker's Hill, Monmouth, Prince Town, and the attack on Quebec."

This proposal, whether it were seriously intended for the consideration of the house or not, was followed by one obviously meant as a bitter jest against one of the parties in the house. In the state for which the member who spoke last was the representative, it appears there had been, during the late war with England, a disposition expressed by some persons for opening pacific negotiations with the enemy, or in some way thwarting the measures of government. A meeting, known by the name of the Hartford Convention, was accordingly assembled, at the very moment of the battle of New Orleans. The gentleman who now rose, therefore, proposed to amend the amended amendment, by moving, that "another painting be placed alongside that of the victory of New Orleans, representing this meeting, which was in full session at the same time." Several members now made speeches, and most of them so entirely wide of the mark, that, I venture to say, any one coming into the house, and listening for half an hour, would not have been able to form a probable conjecture as to the real nature of the topic under discussion. Things were at last getting very heavy, when a little more spirit was thrown into the debate, by some one making a proposal for a further extension of the honours proposed. "I have often thought," said one of the gentlemen who addressed the house, "that our naval victories were entitled to some notice, as well as the military exploits of the army, and that congress could not better occupy several of the vacant panels in the rotunda, than by filling them with some of the chivalrous triumphs of the navy, that had conferred so much honour and glory on the country. I hope, therefore, the navy will not be altogether forgotten on this occasion, and that the house will agree to adopt an amendment I shall offer, in the following words: That the resolution embrace such of the victories achieved by the navy of the United States, as in the opinion of congress should be selected for national

national commemoration." I naturally felt some professional interest in this part of the debate, and was therefore greatly disappointed when a member got up and proposed an adjournment, although it was only two o'clock. The motion was lost—Ayes 91; Noes 92. But the hour allotted for the consideration of resolutions having expired, it was necessary, before resuming the debate, to move that the rule restricting this time be for this day suspended. The question being taken, the Ayes were 122, the Noes 76; and as the majority did not amount to two-thirds, the motion was lost, and the house adjourned.

The same subject was taken up next day at noon, and discussed for four hours; during which time several new amendments were proposed, including all the important battles that had been fought in that country, and many of which I had never heard the names before. The object of the members on both sides seemed to be merely to thwart, by every means, the wishes of their political antagonists, and to wear one another out by persevering opposition. This tenacity of purpose on trifles, is a game which can be played by any one, and at all times, as there is never a want of opportunity for provocation. Indeed, every man who has had to transact real business, must have found that, even when both parties really wish to have a matter settled, there must generally be some compromise,—some mutual concession,—something of what is familiarly called "giving and taking," in order to smooth away the difficulties incident to the very nature of our being, and the boundless complication in our interests. But when a deliberative body come to discuss a question in a spirit of avowed misunderstanding, without the smallest wish to agree, the result, as far as actual work is concerned, may easily be conceived. Yet I defy any imagination, however active, to form a just conception of the rambling and irritating nature of a debate in congress, without actually attending the House of Representatives.

So much for annual parliaments—now for universal suffrage. The spirit of party—or rather of electioneering—seems to be constantly in action in all classes of the community—all of whom have votes, except indeed the slaves, who compose about one-fifth of the whole population.

The most striking peculiarity of this spirit, (says Captain Hall,) in contradistinction to what we see in England, is, that its efforts are directed more exclusively to the means, than to any useful end. The Americans, as it appears to me, are infinitely more occupied about bringing in a given candidate, than they are about the advancement of those measures of which he is conceived to be the supporter. They do occasionally advert to these prospective measures, in their canvassing arguments in defence of their own friends, or in attacks upon the other party; but always, as far as I could see, more as rhetorical flourishes, or as motives to excite the furious acrimony of party-spirit, than as distinct or sound anticipations of the line of policy which their candidate, or his antagonist



gonist, was likely to follow. The intrigues, the canvassings for votes, all the machinery of newspaper abuse and praise, the speeches and manœuvres in the legislature, at the bar, by the fire-side, and in every hole and corner of the country from end to end, without intermission, form integral parts of the business—apparently far more important than the candidate's wishes—his promises—or even than his character and fitness for the office. All these things, generally speaking, it would seem, are subordinate considerations; so completely are men's minds swallowed up in the technical details of the election. They discuss the chances of this or that state, town, or parish; or district, going with or against their friend. They overwhelm one another with that most disagreeable of all forms of argument—authorities. They analyze every sentence uttered by any man, dead or alive, who possesses, or ever did possess, influence; not, it must be observed, to come at any better knowledge of the candidate's pretensions as a public man, but merely to discover how far the weight of such testimony is likely to be thrown into their own scale, or that of the opposite party.

\* The election of the president, being one affecting the whole country, the respective candidates for that office were made the butts at which all political shafts were aimed, and to which every other election was rendered subservient, not indirectly, but by straight and obvious means. It was of no importance, apparently, whether the choice to be made, at any given election, were that of a governor, a member to congress, or to the legislature of the state—or whether it were that of a constable of the obscure ward of an obscure town—it was all the same. The candidates seldom, if ever, that I could see, even professed to take their chief ground as the fittest men for the vacant office—this was often hardly thought of—as they stood forward simply as Adams men or Jackson men. The candidates for office, instead of being the principals, were generally mere puppets—men of straw—abstract beings, serving the purpose of rallying points to the voters from whence they might carry on their main attack in the pursuit of an ulterior object, which, after all, was equally immaterial in itself, but which served, for the time being, to engross the attention of the people as completely as if it were of real consequence to them. In these respects, therefore, the presidential contests in America resemble those field-sports in which the capture of the game is entirely subordinate to the pleasures of its pursuit.

\* I do not deny that there is more or less of this spirit in the popular elections of England. I once assisted at a contest of this sort in Westminster, and well remember how completely the ultimate purpose was lost sight of by myself, and by many friends of the parties respectively, in our ardent desire to succeed, merely for the sake of succeeding. Such, I fully believe, is the necessary consequence of any thoroughly popular election; and, accordingly, while it lasts, it is sometimes not a bit less violent in Covent Garden than it is in America. But the essential difference between the cases lies in the frequency and in the duration of these vehement excitements.

Now,

'Now, with the knowledge we have of the commotion which even these comparatively rare, and always transient ebullitions produce, let us, if we can, imagine what would be the state of things in England, were the Westminster form of election to become general over the Island, and, instead of lasting a fortnight, were it made perpetual! *We should then have some idea of what is going on, in America at all times and seasons.*'—vol. ii., p. 59—63.

It has been well remarked by one of the most judicious practical statesmen in America—De Witt Clinton of New York—that the country has been more or less exposed to agitations and commotions for the last seven years. Party-spirit has entered into the recesses of retirement, violated the sanctity of female character, invaded the tranquillity of private life, and visited, with severe inflictions, the peace of families. Neither elevation nor humility have been spared—nor the charities of life, nor distinguished public services, nor the fireside, nor the altar, been free from attack; but a licentious and destroying spirit has gone forth, regardless of every thing but the gratification of malignant feelings and unworthy aspirations; and, till some adequate preventives and efficacious remedies are engrafted into the constitution, we must rarely expect a return of the same tranquillity which formerly shed its benign influence over the country.' Such, and so similar, are the results of all Captain Hall's observations on this head—and of the life-long experience of one of the few Americans whose names can be expected to carry weight in Europe! We have now to notice the operation of the democratic principle on the administration of justice in America.

The uncertainty of law is a subject of complaint in every country under the sun, and the complaint always grows louder as the nation advances towards a higher degree of civilization. The variations of circumstances, and the new combinations of interests that daily arise, require attention to some fixed principles to guide the decisions of those who fill high judicial stations; and adherence to such fixed general principles requires in the judges a degree of firmness of mind, of professional integrity, and of independence of all extraneous influence, as shall render them alike superior to the frowns of the elevated, and the clamours, censures, and abuse of the vulgar. Such qualities may be created and exist under an absolute monarchy—they are more naturally produced, and become more effective under a mixed and constitutional government, which has grown up with, and been constantly acted upon by the laws. But they can neither be created, nor gain, much less retain, influence, under a pure democracy. The will of the people, the popular voice, however called forth, or however exercised, is one of those



potent incantations against which neither the sanctity of long usages, nor their adaptation to the wants of the society can protect established institutions; nor the highest degree of knowledge, patriotism, and integrity, shelter individual magistrates. It is a charm powerful to destroy, but utterly incapable of creating or preserving whatever is essential to the progress and civilization of social man. The law of America, as well as the administration of it, was, at first, copied from that of England, and what little is left of the original practice, is the only part that is really beneficial. We speak of the *Supreme Federal Court*, the judges of which are appointed by the president and senate—with no popular election, and only removable for misconduct by impeachment. This court, which possesses extensive powers, has been hitherto maintained in its authority by the character of the chief justice, a man of education, talents, and integrity, educated under that *elder system*, of which but few traces now remain. Even this tribunal is, out of subserviency to popular power, compelled to pass by, as much as possible, questions which cannot be long kept from discussion, and which, if once agitated, (especially were Judge Marshall removed from the bench, as, in the course of nature, he must soon be,) would disperse its elements before democratic fury, or degrade them into its instruments of mischief. And, *de facto*, it does not, except in comparatively few instances, and those not immediately affecting the intercourse between individuals, influence the great mass of judicial decisions.

These are, for the most part, determined by the courts of the several states. By means of these numberless tribunals, the well-sounding principles of bringing justice home to every man's door, and of making the administration of it cheap, have had a full experiment in America, and 'greater practical curses,' says Captain Hall, 'were never inflicted on any country.'

The state of Pennsylvania will serve as a good example, because it is eminently democratic, and has been called, par excellence, the key-stone of the republican arch. There they have done away with nearly all the technicalities of the law—there are no stamps—no special pleadings—and scarcely any one is so poor that he cannot go to law. The consequence is, a scene of litigation from morning to night. Lawyers abound every where; no village, containing above two or three hundred inhabitants, is without one or more. No person, be his situation or conduct in life what it may, is free from the never ending pest of lawsuits. Servants, labourers, every one, in short, on the first occasion, hies off to the neighbouring lawyer or justice of the peace, to commence an action. No compromise or accommodation is ever dreamt of. The law must decide every thing! The life of persons in easy circumstances is thus rendered miserable; and the poor man, led on by the hope of gain—by an infectious

infectious spirit of litigation—or by revenge, is prevented from employing his time usefully to himself and to the community, and generally ends by being a loser. The lawyer's fees are fixed at a low rate, but the passion for litigating a point increases with indulgence to such a degree, that these victims of cheap justice—or rather of cheap law—seldom stop while they have a dollar left.

‘The operation of the much-vaunted principle, just alluded to, of bringing justice home to every man's door, is in most cases equally mischievous. It leads to the endless establishment of new courts, swarms of lawyers, and crowds of litigants. Thus, on a spot where the population increases, and it is found a hardship to go twenty or thirty miles for the pleasure of a lawsuit, a new county town must forthwith be erected more at hand, with all its accompaniments of judges, clerks of court, marshals, and so forth. I have heard of a bad road being used as an argument before the legislature, to obtain the establishment of a new county town. As the population increases further on, these towns must be again multiplied or removed, and thus continual expense, and the endless appointment of new judges goes on.

‘In a society composed of such loose materials as the active, roving population of America, it is almost impossible, except at the great cities, to find men of education and high character to fill these judicial situations. I may here remark, that with the exception of one state—Virginia—the justices of the peace are every where paid by fees from the clients. In fact, it would be impossible to get men in that country, where the property is so much divided—and where all men are so busy, to do this or any other duty gratis. One of the greatest and most substantial blessings of England, therefore—its unpaid magistracy—has no existence in America; neither can it be expected to exist there for a long time to come—never, indeed, unless some great changes be made in the structure of society in that country.

‘I have not been able to obtain any very exact returns of the number of judges in the United States, but it is certainly enormous in its extent. I was greatly astonished to hear, that in Pennsylvania alone there are upwards of a hundred judges who preside on the bench; besides several thousands of justices of the peace, who take cognizance of all suits not exceeding one hundred dollars in amount. *The number of persons, therefore, who administer justice in America, probably exceeds that of their army and navy!* And, upon the whole, I suspect justice will be found much dearer there than any where else in the world. At all events, nothing can possibly compensate for the boundless spirit of litigation, which, conjointly with that of electioneering, keeps the country in constant hot water from end to end.

‘The salaries of the judges, in consequence of their great number, are necessarily so small, that no first-rate lawyer can afford to take the appointment.’—vol. ii., p. 426—429.

‘It is a curious feature in the American judicial system, that in many of the states—Pennsylvania amongst others—the bench is composed of one judge who is a lawyer, and of two others who are not lawyers, called



called associate judges. These men are selected from the county in which they reside and hold their court. They are generally farmers—not, however, like the English gentleman-farmer, for such characters do not exist, and cannot exist, in any part of the United States—they are men who follow the plough. They seldom, as I am informed, say a word on the bench. This singular system has been adopted, because the people thought it was necessary there should be two persons, taken from among themselves, to control the president or law judge. These associate judges are paid two hundred dollars per annum, or about 45*l.*—p. 430.

We have seen other accounts of the most unimpeachable credit, which represent the condition of these state courts,—the courts, be it remarked, whose decisions are the most numerous and most influential—in a far more degraded light than Captain Hall has thought it prudent to represent. From these accounts we are satisfied, that the judicial character is rendered despicable far below what a European can easily comprehend. Eminent legal men cannot be induced to accept the office of a judge, the emoluments of which are only two thousand dollars, or 450*l.* yearly, whilst as barristers, or as attorneys, they may often make five times as much: and as to honour, none can be derived from an office which is commonly conferred by the governor on the most active and intemperate of his electioneering adherents; and who must depend, for their continuance in office, on their conduct in party politics, and their subserviency to the populace. We may allude, for example, to the recent case of Dr. Cooper, who is now president of Columbia College, South Carolina. This person, an Englishman, who left his country on account of his democratic principles, was received with open arms by the democrats of America, and appointed President Judge in Pennsylvania. In that office, we are assured, he was eminently useful—until he was removed by an address of the legislature, the assigned reason being, that *he had compelled a man to take off his hat in court.*

The law, which, in some parts of America, compels a judge to vacate his office at a certain period of life,—a period deemed in Europe not too late for commencing the judicial course—must have a tendency to degrade the whole class of judges. Chancellor Kent, one of the ablest men in America, filled that dignified office in the state of New York many years. Having attained the age of sixty, he was compelled by the law to resign; and having formed no accumulation in office, to resume his practice at the bar, and plead before his successor, against competitors who were, perhaps, in their nurses' arms when he first ascended the bench; and who had of course formed connexions with all that survived of his former clients. There is a something in every breast

breast that revolts against such things as these! The society which permits them may deserve commendation on isolated points: its general tone of feeling must be hard and unlovely.

The Americans are very wroth with the Chinese for calling them 'Englishmen of the second chop-stick;' but unless Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar and Captain Hall have treated us to nothing but cunningly devised fables, there is a considerable interval between the general tone of moral feeling in that country, and what has long been established in this. The eager, the universal desire of gain is unchecked by any classes of persons, or by any considerable number of individuals who are so easy in their circumstances as not to dwell constantly on subjects connected with profit or loss. This seems to produce an unhappy effect; it leads, with a great portion of the people, to a species of trickery and deceit, similar to what is found among the traffickers of the Hebrew nation scattered through Poland, Germany, Holland, and England. The speculations of land-jobbers, bankers, manufacturers, merchants, and dealers in funds, conduct operations to an extent, and influence a great part of the people in a degree far beyond any thing that can be conceived by those acquainted even with the most gambling marts of commerce in Europe. The laws favour this spirit by their leniency to insolvent debtors, and it is scarcely deemed any disgrace to undergo repeated bankruptcy. The possession or the appearance of wealth alone can give consequence to individuals who do not aim at public offices; and the only means of obtaining such offices are virulent abuse, inflated declamation, loud pretensions, and a spirit of eager, bustling, intriguing impudence. Steady principles of action can be rarely imbibed, beyond that prevalent selfishness, where the young people are accustomed to cast off so early the restraint of parental authority, and leave their homes to provide for themselves in other towns, or in the depths of their forests. It was remarked both by Duke Bernard and Captain Hall how little of what is the charm of European society (the cheerful and delicate intercourse between the sexes) is known in America. In their meetings at private houses, at balls, at races, and with those of lower stations at fairs and markets, the men and the women form distinct parties; and Captain Hall, after a variety of judicious observations on the fact, in which he is corroborated by the Duke, says,

I lost no fair opportunity, therefore, of conversing with intelligent persons on the subject, being naturally anxious to reach some explanation of so remarkable a distinction between America and any other Christian country I was acquainted with. The result of all my observations and enquiries is, that the women do not enjoy that station in society which has been allotted to them elsewhere; and consequently



sequently much of that important and habitual influence which, from the peculiarity of their nature, they alone can exercise over society in more fortunately arranged communities, seems to be lost.

'In touching upon so delicate a subject, it is right to state at once, and in the most explicit terms, that I never had, for one instant, the least reason to suppose that there was any wish on the part of the men to depress the other sex, or indeed any distinct knowledge of the fact. On the contrary, I conscientiously believe that there exists universally among the men a sincere and strong desire, not only to raise women up, but to maintain them on the fairest level with themselves. But I conceive that the political and moral circumstances now in full action in America are too strong to be counterbalanced even by these laudable endeavours.'—vol. ii. p. 153.

The circumstances to which this conduct is to be attributed appear to be the constant attention every man deems it right to pay to political or rather electioneering affairs—the endless litigations in which their cheap *justice* (so called) involves them—the complicated intrigues in all their local politics, and the eagerness for bargaining,—all of which matters the females of the family meddle very little with, because the want of servants compels them to exercise the common offices of the domestic establishment. The remarks Captain Hall makes on this subject are of so much importance to the right understanding of the difference between the state of European and American society, that nothing but want of sufficient space prevents us from extracting, for the gratification of our readers, the whole passage from page 151 to 162 in the second volume.

Another evil which seems naturally to arise from the same causes is too prevalent among all classes not to be noticed: we mean the excessive use of ardent spirits. From the unsocial nature of the meals in America, where parties appear at table and vanish with incredible expedition, there seems to be less of that drinking which arises from the spirit of good-fellowship, and which, within moderate bounds, inspires and nourishes kindly feeling, than is indulged in Europe; but an infinitely greater portion of that solitary and brutal dram-drinking which is known with us only among the rudest and most dissolute part of the vulgar. Dram-drinking has been quaintly called the natural child, and the boon companion of democracy; and is probably not less hurtful to health of body than that system of government appears to be to the intellectual powers of the mind. To this degrading habit the most judicious of the Americans attribute the vast increase of their paupers, the requisite extension of the hospitals, and the great number of deaths among the patients in them. The extent of distillation is surprising. In the proceedings of the American Temperance Society of November, 1827, now before

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us, it is affirmed, 'that half as many tons of domestic spirits are annually produced as of wheat and flour; that in the state of New York, in the year 1825, there were 2264 grist-mills, and 1129 distilleries for whisky.' In a communication to this society from Philadelphia, it is calculated, 'that out of 4151 deaths in that city in the year 1825, 335 may be referable solely to the abuse of ardent spirits.'

We are not so ridiculous as to doubt that there are to be found in America many individuals of excellent moral principles and habits, as well as many of respectable intellectual attainments; but such characters appear to exist in spite of the prevailing system, and to exert very little influence on the general tone either of opinion or feeling. Democracy administers no stimulus to produce such characters; and though the republican government may need, it will never use them, whilst all power shall depend on the fluctuating will, and coarse passions of an illiterate, conceited, encroaching, and sottish populace. The poet, Cowper, writing in 1783, says 'the great men of America are yet unborn.' The only American names that have as yet obtained European celebrity, were nevertheless in full vogue long before 1783; and this fact is one which we see no other method of accounting for but the adoption of Captain Hall's opinion: viz., that the whole of their revolutionary system has been and is hostile to the development, or public employment, of eminent qualities for anything but intrigue and bluster.

We purposely forbear any observations on the views our two authors have taken of Canada. The state of that interesting country ought not to be glanced at slightly; and though we highly approve of most of the opinions given by Captain Hall, we must defer to some future period a full examination of those two provinces, of their progress, their present state, and future prospects. We cannot, however, but rejoice at the favourable report, made by so accurate an observer, as to the condition of the settlers recently conveyed to that country under the auspices of government, and the careful arrangements made by Mr. Wilmot Horton. We are gratified at the opinion which Captain Hall, as a professional man, has given respecting the capability of defending itself against the United States which Canada possesses. We ourselves have never had a doubt on the subject, but we think the opinion of such an officer, supported by such reasons, may tend to check that eager desire for territorial conquest which led the United States into their last childish and injurious contest with this country. If the Captain's pages infuse moderate and pacific views among the Americans, he will have rendered them the most valuable of services; for it is only by maintaining peace that they have any chance



chance of preventing their country from exhibiting the same scenes of misery as are now displaying themselves in the sister democracies of Mexico, Peru, Columbia, and La Plata.\*

It will no doubt strike some persons who have visited America, or read much concerning the Americans in their own daily or weekly papers, that Captain Hall must have collected many curious instances of vulgarity, knavery, sottishness, and hypocrisy, which would have been both amusing and characteristic; and that, having omitted them, he has scarcely dealt fairly with his readers. Collections of anecdotes of even a scandalous nature are certainly attractive to some classes of readers, and are easily furnished by some classes of writers; but Captain Hall has, we venture to say, done himself honour with all whose good opinion he could value, by the course which he has adopted. If we may penetrate the motives of an author from his work, we should judge his design has been to render sundry topics intelligible and popular, which are not generally understood or relished by the bulk of the people, but to whom right views on those subjects are likely to be practically beneficial. He evidently wishes to show the advantages which flow from the distinctions of rank, and the folly of bringing people out of the lowest station to fill high offices. He tries to show that real freedom, in its valuable practical sense, includes a vast deal of restraint, some external and some internal—much self-denial from prudential motives—much heart-felt sacrifice of selfishness—much obedience to the laws and customs, not only of society in general, but of that particular class in which we are placed: in other words that mutual dependence is the soul of good order and of social happiness, as well as of national honour—and that the independence, of which the Americans, if they go on as at present, seem likely to obtain perfect fruition, is another term for downright selfishness. His book may very probably do good in America; we hope it will—but we are quite

\* Whilst speaking of British America, we are led to remark one oversight into which Captain Hall has fallen. In the small map prefixed to his work, evidently taken from an American one, he has copied, without correction, their boundary line; and thus thrown into the States a district which we claim as belonging to Great Britain. We do not think the modesty of any American negotiator would induce him to fortify the claims of his government to the disputed territory, by an appeal to such an authority as that of Messrs. Lea and Carey of Philadelphia. But the eye of an English officer should not have been so careless on such an occasion. Having made a remark on the negligence respecting the map, we ought, in justice to Captain Hall's industry, to notice a companion to his work, in a collection of etchings he has published from views taken with the camera lucida. We hope this mode of cheaply depicting objects in foreign countries will be adopted by other travellers, as it will accommodate the public at a cheap rate with views, which, when taken and engraved in the usual manner, raise the expense of publications to a rate beyond the means of most readers. We are satisfied, from our own experience, that a short practice with the valuable instrument we have named is sufficient to enable any one to take accurate outlines of the most interesting objects with great expedition.

sure it must do so here. It may furnish many well-disposed persons with arguments by which to defend the blessings they enjoy; it may decide the wavering, and confuse, if not silence, the turbulent, and the revolutionary—of whom we suppose no free country will ever be entirely devoid, though we certainly do not remember the period at which one heard less of them in England than at present.

Captain Hall spent but a few days at New Orleans, and passed with too much expedition through the New Western States to make many observations on the state of society there; whereas Duke Bernard remained nearly two months in Louisiana, and made several resting-places in some of the other States. He represents the city of New Orleans as a place necessarily of great commercial importance, on account of its being the only outlet to a vast extent of country. The situation, naturally unhealthy, is rendered miserably so by the filthiness and dissolute morals of a population in great part composed of slaves. In the winter months, which he passed there, it seemed to be the seat of every kind of dissipation and debauchery, though commercial distress was extensively experienced at the time, by the failure of cotton speculations in Europe.

As it was the Carnival, a season of greater or less dissipation in all Catholic countries, there were balls and masquerades every night. These the Duke visited, and has described. He says—

The admission to the masquerade was a dollar; but as many free tickets admitted guests, the assembly was of a very mixed description. The unmasked ladies of the better sort sat by themselves, in a bow window inclosed by a railing, on seats somewhat elevated. A few masks were in character, but none remarkable. Twice there were scuffles, which began by a blow on the face, and ended by a regular boxing-match on the floor, without any interference from the police. On the same evening there was a Quaderon ball. A Quaderon is the offspring of a white father and a mulatto mother. They are generally free; and as many of them have whiter complexions than most of the white Creoles, they are difficult to be distinguished. Though the females at this ball were all free, yet there prevails the greatest prejudice against them on the part of the white Creoles, on account of their black origin. Marriages between the white and coloured races are forbidden by the laws of the State. As the Quaderons look with disdain on the black and mulatto men, and will not mix with them, no other choice is left to them but to become mistresses to whites. Such engagements are considered as marriages by the coloured females, and are commonly subjects of formal contract with their families. Many of these females have inherited property from their fathers and enjoy good fortunes. Their situation is however most depressed. They must not ride in a carriage through the streets; and it is only at night that their protectors can take them in his carriage to a ball.

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They are not allowed to sit in the presence of a white female, nor enter their apartments without special permission. The whites have the power, for any crime proved by two witnesses, to inflict on these poor creatures the same punishment of flogging as is applied to the slaves. Many of them have a better education, and conduct themselves with more decency and morality, than most of the white Creoles, and make their protectors more happy than the others do their husbands; and yet the white females speak always of these unfortunate creatures with the utmost contempt and greatest bitterness. The coarsest language of the high nobility of the Old World is never so haughty, arrogant, or contemptuous towards the inferior classes as that which is heard in this boasted freest State of this Liberal Union, from the Creoles to the Quaderons. The comparison is, indeed, wonderfully striking to every observing and reflecting man. Many fathers, on account of these relations of classes, send their coloured daughters to France, where, with a correct education and a decent fortune, their black blood is no impediment to respectable matrimonial connexions. I found the ball much more decent than the masquerade. The coloured girls were under the eyes of their mothers, were elegantly dressed, and conducted themselves with decency and modesty. I did not remain long, but returned to the other assembly, and took care not to inform the white females where I had been.'

We have no doubt but the profligate contempt for morals, and the neglect of education, as well as of religion, which characterise the motley population of Louisiana will be gradually changed, and somewhat improved, when they shall have become more amalgamated with their fellow-citizens of the Anglo-American races. The French language is still predominant; manners are formed on the lowest standard of that nation; and the mixture of Spanish creoles gives to the whole a stamp of greater ferocity, and a character of more revengeful feeling, than the French, when not excited by revolutionary passions, have commonly exhibited. The Duke visited the courts of law and attended to their proceedings. In one instance, Counsellor Lloyd had grossly insulted Judge Turner in the street, and was tried for the offence by the judge. He was half drunk, but defended himself by the vilest abuse of the judge, who could not silence him. No jury was appealed to; but (we suppose for contempt of court) he was ordered to give security for one year's good behaviour, and, not procuring sufficient bail, was committed to prison.

Leaving New Orleans, our traveller ascended the magnificent river Mississippi by a steam-boat as far as St. Louis; and thence proceeded up the Ohio to a town recently established, and called (in compliment to the memory of General Washington) Mount Vernon. The Duke then visited the township of New Harmony, brought by Mr. Rapp into a flourishing condition between the  
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years 1814 and 1825, and in the latter year purchased by Mr. Owen, as a theatre for his philanthropic speculations. The estate consisted of about twenty-five thousand acres, for which, with the buildings, the agricultural implements, and the stock of cattle, Mr. Owen contracted to pay one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. He had been in possession of his purchase eleven months when the Duke arrived. His chimerical views, respecting the equality of man, the injurious effect of all religious belief, the propriety of divorces at will, the separation of children from their parents at two years of age, the eating at a common table, with many similar nostrums, had been begun to be reduced to practice; but in the opinion of Duke Bernard, with no prospect of anything but confusion, regret, and, finally, dispersion. A few fanatics like himself, of both sexes, and of different countries, have joined him,—one, an elderly man, a native of Philadelphia, learned, and, according to report, rich, had become a partner with Mr. Owen, and was commonly expected to leave his property to the institution. The others seem to have been brought to the establishment by necessity, or by views as whimsical as those of the founders. The fine ladies of the party complained of the cookery at the common table, the young and accomplished girls were annoyed by being called from their harps and their pianos to milk the cows. The young men of education had their soft hands filled with blisters from the hard handles of the axes and spades. The uniform suited the taste of neither the belles nor the beaux. The children seemed in the happiest state, as they worked but little, and learned but little, and were spectators of almost nightly balls and concerts. The Duke says,

'After the milking of the cows, during which operation some of the young ladies were trodden upon, and others fouled by the beasts, I made a water party with the young ladies and some of the young philosophers. The evening was fine and moonlight; the air mild. The beautiful Miss Virginia forgot the griefs of the cow-house, and cheered us with a charming song. Afterwards, we assembled in the new school-room, where all the young gentlemen and ladies (*comme il faut*) met together. In spite of the applauded equality, these would not mix with the common people; and I believe almost all those members who have been well brought up are disgusted, and will soon quit the society. The amusements of the evening were cotillions, reels, and waltzes. Several of the ladies were disposed to make objections to dancing, it being Sunday. It was maintained, however, that in this sanctuary of philosophy such prejudices must be abolished; and the arguments used, combined with the inclination of the fair, gained the victory.'

We are not disposed to join in the opinion given to the Duke by one of the leading members of the executive government of the state,



state, that Mr. Owen is insane ; but the intense interest he seems to take in his projects, the ease with which he overlooks every obstacle opposed to them, and the confidence which he places in the extensive and speedy effects of his proceedings, certainly warrant the suspicion of some most extraordinary aberration of mind.

'I had,' says Duke Bernard, 'a discussion with Mr. Owen on his system and his expectations. He looks to nothing less than completely to renovate the world, to extirpate all evil, to banish all punishments, to create like views and like wants, and to guard against all conflicts and hostilities. When his system of education is combined with the great improvements made, and to be made, in the mechanic arts, each man will provide for his own wants, and all trade will totally cease. I tried to show him the inapplicability of his system to the state of Europe, and even of the United States ; but he was too positively certain to admit of the least doubt of the results of it. It pained me to see a man so humane as he is, suffer himself to be led away by his passion of cosmopolitism, as to think and say he can renovate the world, especially as at this very moment almost every member of his society with whom I conversed alone, assured me, that he had been deceived in his expectations, that Mr. Owen had begun every thing on too extensive a scale, and had admitted too many members without proper care in the selection.'

The Duke visited, also, a settlement of the Shakers, a description of religionists, to whom some allusion has been made in our article on the Co-operatives. He describes the supper of this community, amounting to about six hundred individuals of both sexes, at which he was present :—

'There were,' he says, 'two long tables spread, each the whole length of both sides the hall, with benches, and in the middle of the room a table as a sideboard. At the sound of an horn, the males by the right-hand door, and the females by the left-hand door, marched into the room in double files, halted, and then fronted to the table. Those who were to wait upon them then drew up in a line in front. At a signal, each dropped on their knees, offered up a silent act of devotion, rose and took a seat at the table, and ate their meal in perfect silence. Then, after the very hasty meal was ended, in the same military kind of order, at quick time, the company retreated from the hall.'

This society is founded upon the principle of a community of property and an equality of rights. The peculiar dogma of the foundress, Ann Lee, that because God was to be praised by King David as well with the merry dance as with the voice and instruments of music, the same practice is indispensable for ever ; whilst it serves to keep them separate from other communities, does not remove or weaken any of those social or moral ties, upon the stability of which all such institutions must be founded. The firm-

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ness of their faith is secured as well by the military and monastic regulations as by the seclusion of the members from all intercourse with the rest of the world; and though they receive proselytes with hesitation, and only after a six months' probation, their numbers are kept up. Two of the brotherhood, a father and son, both Frenchmen, visited the Duke, and examined him. The son assumed all the humility of a monk, did not open his eyes, but explained the principles of the sect out of the Bible, and maintained that they were the only Christians who really lived in conformity to the spirit of the Gospel. It is obvious, as remarked by our author, that Mr. Owen has borrowed the laws of his new social system from the Shakers; only that they are kept together by the bond of religion, and the hope of another and better world, in which his plans are altogether deficient.

We can only afford room for one more extract from the Duke's book. It is one with which our readers will be gratified.

"I have in general remarked (says he), that in the greater part of the United States the good society either belong to the episcopal church, or at least give the preference to its mode of worship. It is here the *ton* to go to that church, whereas the methodist church is in general only attended by the lower classes. It is a luxury to have a pew in the episcopal church, and decidedly polite to offer to strangers a seat in it."

We have read both these works with pleasure, and our satisfaction has been heightened by observing that, in spite of democratical principles and degrading practices, the people of the United States have not wholly abandoned either the lessons or the examples of their ancestors. It is to these they are indebted for whatever of a humanized aspect they exhibit when compared to the emancipated colonies of other nations. However forgetful, or scornful, or even abusive, a son may become to a virtuous and intelligent father, that father can never forget the ties of nature; he may grieve for the follies his son displays—he may be slightly vexed by his scorn or abuse, but he will still feel a pride in everything good that may attend his progress. When he blames, it will be more in sorrow than in anger, and he will always have the gratifying reflection that his own principles have laid the foundation of his children's prosperity, and his own example and conduct secured to them a character and estimation in the world which cannot be easily forfeited. Notwithstanding all that Captain Hull may have said, we are satisfied that feelings such as these are commonly entertained in England towards America. We see nothing in that country to excite envy or jealousy; and little to excite our serious regret, except that the executive and judicial functions should be conferred by the voice of those least compe-

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tent to make a proper selection of persons for such duties—and that in consequence of the want of a church establishment, both bigotry and infidelity are making alarming progress.

### Note.

WE ventured to say, in the preceding article, that Captain Hall's book was calculated to do much good in America, provided the people of that country received the instruction it contains in the proper spirit; and our opinion that it would be so received in at least one extensive circle of American society, derives strong confirmation from a letter written by a gentleman of high standing in the United States, which is put into our hands as this sheet is passing through the press.

Captain Hall's *Travels*, says the writer, 'have, of course, been reprinted here, and are, by this time, in the hands of every man, woman, and child in the country. Their political cast is the cause that an impartial judgment can hardly be formed upon them, as party spirit has seized upon the book, and marked it for her own. That spirit must be allowed time to subside, before a cool judgment can be obtained. For my part, my mind is taken up with other subjects than politics, and I have long since adopted the opinion of the poet:—

"Aime l'Etat, tel que tu le vois être :

S'il est Royal, aime la Royauté ;

S'il est de peu, ou bien Communauté,

Aime le aussi, car Dieu l'y a fait naître."

There is much sense in these lines, and I find that Captain Hall *aime la Royauté* sufficiently; for my part it is natural I should be attached to la Communauté; but, after all, these things are relative, and I do not see why they should interrupt good humour between men. You recollect, no doubt, the answer of the great Frederick of Prussia to certain ministers of Neufchâtel, who wanted some of their brethren to be punished because they preached against the doctrine of eternal punishments—"Mes sujets de Neufchâtel ont le droit d'être damnés aussi long temps qu'il leur plait." And so we have a right to be mob-ruled, or priest-ruled, or king-ruled, as we think it most agreeable. You also know the answer which a wife gives, in one of Molière's plays, to one who wanted to prevent her husband from beating her—"Je veux être battue, moi!" But what is the best—to be beaten or not to be beaten? I say, ask the back. To be serious—the *permanency* of states, like the life of individuals, is, in my opinion, the first thing to be considered. The constitution of a state, like that of a man, after it is once formed, cannot, without danger—or, rather, cannot materially be changed—but by death. It must, therefore, after it has taken a certain root, at all events be allowed to remain. Some constitutions are more liable to disease than others; that is a great misfortune ;

misfortune; but all that is to be done is to cure the disease, or prevent it by an hygienic course. But the constitution is not to be tampered with. Nature will sometimes effect changes, but art cannot. The constitution of England is an example of this. Great changes have taken place in it; but always by the course of things—never by pre-meditated design. There are, no doubt, peccant humours in our constitution, as there are in others; nature will throw them off—(for the body is strong)—but in what manner it is impossible to foretell. Disturbances and revolutions are the diseases of states; we have no right to expect to be free from them, more than others—I hope they will not produce death.

‘But, be that as it may, *opinion* is a great and most powerful agent in political events, and it should have the greatest possible freedom. Therefore, far from putting to death, as the Athenians did, a foreigner who freely expresses his sentiments respecting our affairs, we ought to thank him, if it were only for making us *think* on these important subjects. That he should prefer his own form of government to ours is to be expected. He has a strong interest in the permanency of his own state, and, unless he be a disappointed or a discontented man, he loves what ensures safety to his person and property. The strength of this feeling is astonishing; I have known a Turkish subject, a native of Jerusalem, but a Christian, and, of course, a rayah or slave, who thought the Turkish form of government the best in the world.

“But,” said I to him, “a Turk may strike you and you cannot resent it.” “Oh,” answered he, “there’s our glorious privilege. If a Turk insults me, I complain to the judge; he sends for the Turk, and says to him—What! you rascal, do you dare to insult a woman? (for you must know, sir, that we have the prerogatives of women, as the priests have in Christian countries;) and the Turk is reprimanded or punished as the case may be.” I told him that I thought it was shocking they should cut off their sultans’ heads without ceremony. “Oh,” said he, “that’s beautiful! Look at France, how much blood it has cost them to get rid of *one* sultan! We, on the contrary, cut off the head of our own at once, and no more is said about it; the tranquillity of the state is not disturbed.”

“To every objection I made to him, he answered in the same manner; and at last concluded by saying—“I would rather live in Jerusalem upon bread and water, than in your country upon the best that the land affords!” . . . Thus, also, the Spaniard boasts that the Inquisition has saved his country from the miseries of religious wars. For my part, I love the government under which I live, and I honour those who love their own—I don’t except my poor Turk.’



- ART. VII.—1. *Narrative of a Journey from Constantinople to England.* By the Rev. R. Walsh, LL.D., M.R.I.A. 12mo. London. 1828.
2. *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine, in 1824, 1825, 1826, and 1827.* By R. R. Madden, Esq., M.R.C.S. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1829.
3. *Travels to and from Constantinople, in the Years 1827 and 1828: or Personal Narrative of a Journey from Vienna, through Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, Bulgaria, and Roumelia, to Constantinople; and from that City to the Capital of Austria, by the Dardanelles, Tenedos, the Plains of Troy, Smyrna, Napoli di Romania, Athens, Egina, Poros, Cyprus, Syria, Alexandria, Malta, Sicily, Italy, Istria, Carniola, and Styria.* By Captain Charles Colville Frankland, R.N. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1829.
4. *Révolutions de Constantinople en 1807 et 1808, précédées d'Observations générales sur l'Etat actuel de l'Empire Ottoman.* Par A. de Juchereau de Saint-Denys. Paris. 1819.

IN the state of tottering decay, towards which the Ottoman Empire has for some time past been progressing, and which, in the opinion of all men, is likely to terminate in a total dissolution, it is not surprising that a number of volumes treating on Turkish affairs should issue from the press; and among all that have fallen under our observation, we know not that we could pitch upon any one that contains a more clear, comprehensive, and, at the same time, concise description of the countries and people on which it treats, than the little unpretending *duodecimo* volume of Doctor Walsh. It is so perspicuously written that, even without the accompanying map, there would be no difficulty in following the author's footsteps; as little in comprehending his graphic descriptions; and we find no hesitation in acknowledging the justness of his observations, and in expressing our conviction of the correctness of his facts. A book like this is at all times valuable, and more particularly so at the present eventful period. His residence at Constantinople for several years as chaplain to the British embassy, and a journey from thence to England, afforded Dr. Walsh more favourable opportunities for collecting information with regard to the Turkish provinces, as well as some of the most important events which ever occurred in their capital, than fell to the lot of the other travellers, whose title-pages we have transcribed. These were merely casual visitors; with the exception, indeed, of the last on the list, who was resident in Constantinople at a most interesting period.

We do not feel that we could, with truth, pay a similar compliment to Mr. Madden's book. In it we at once perceive that the writer is ambitious to say smart things on trite occasions, and to convert every little incident into a perilous adventure; and these so frequently occur, that the reader, who expects a sober book of travels, will be apt to imagine that he has stumbled on a romance, full

of most disastrous chances,  
Of moving accidents by flood and field,  
Of hair-breadth 'scapes, &c.

For all this, indeed, he prepares us in his preface:—'It has been my fate,' says he, 'to have been taken for a spy in Syria—to have endangered my life in Candia, for refusing to administer poison—to have been shot at in Canea twice, and once on the Nile, by Turkish soldiers—to have been accused of changing the fragments of a broken statue into gold at Thebes—to have been charged with sorcery in Nubia, for showing an old woman her own frightful image in a pocket mirror—and to have been a captive with Greek pirates, for wearing a long beard, when taken in a vessel bearing Turkish property.' If this gentleman descends into a Tomb of the Kings, the candle is sure to go out, and he is in danger of being lost in the subterranean chambers; if he ventures into a pyramid, the Arabs roll stones against the mouth of the passage, and he is in danger of being suffocated: these are the sort of hair-breadth 'scapes which other travellers, some of them women and children even, have run the same risk of encountering, without danger or molestation. This gentleman has besides the bad taste, to say nothing more, to sneer at Herodotus; because his description of the pyramids of Egypt, made four hundred years before Christ, does not correspond with their appearance eighteen hundred years after Christ. He also charges Bruce with habitually sacrificing veracity to vanity. On this particular point we would just hint to Mr. Madden, that vanity is not at all events the chief characteristic of *Bruce's* work; moreover, that vanity makes her appearance under a variety of shapes; and that the full-length portrait of 'the author in his Syrian costume,' stuck in front of the title-page of his own book, in the act of feeling the pulse of something like a lady's hand, is, perhaps, as strong an instance of it, as any that could be pointed out in the Abyssinian. On the present occasion, however, the painter has happily supplied a corrective well calculated to chasten personal conceit.

The volumes of Captain Colville Frankland are just such as we should have been led to expect from the pen of a naval officer; containing, in the form to which seamen are most accustomed,



namely, that of a journal, plain matters of fact, told in plain language. It is nothing more, he tells us himself, 'than a simple relation of what he himself saw, heard, and felt.' His account of the defences of Constantinople, and particularly of the forts and castles of the Dardanelles, with the number and nature of their enormous pieces of ordnance, would have been interesting, if the Russians had not, by crossing the Balkan, rendered them useless for defence on the land side.

The work of Colonel A. de Juchereau de Saint-Denys contains a detailed account of the revolutions that took place in Constantinople, and of many of the horrors of which he was an eye-witness, in the years 1807 and 1808, when the most amiable, as far as a Turk can be amiable, and the best-intentioned of Turkish sultans, Selim, was deposed, and both he and his successors lost their lives. In this work will also be found some sensible observations on the state of Turkey, and its probable future destiny.

We have no intention of occupying the reader's time by a detailed description of the once splendid capital of the eastern empire, which has so often been described by travellers of all nations, and by none, perhaps, in more glowing colours and eloquent language, than by a modern Greek, as quoted by Gibbon. But, observes the historian, 'a sigh and a confession escape from the orator, that his wretched country was the shadow and sepulchre of its former self; that the works of ancient sculpture had been defaced by Christian zeal or barbaric violence; that the fairest structures were demolished; and the marbles of Paros or Numidia burnt for lime, or applied to the meanest uses. Of many a statue the place was marked by an empty pedestal; of many a column the size was determined by a broken capital; the tombs of the emperors were scattered on the ground; the stroke of time was accelerated by storms and earthquakes; and the vacant space was adorned, by vulgar tradition, with fabulous monuments of gold and silver.' He admits, however, that this fairest daughter of imperial Rome could not vie with the venerable beauties of the mother; that she could not say, '*matre pulchra filia pulchrior*;' but he expatiates, says Gibbon, 'with zeal and truth on the eternal advantages of nature, and the more transitory glories of art and dominion which adorned, or had adorned, the city of Constantine.'

Alas! the 'eternal advantages of nature' are now nearly all that remain. The turreted walls, with the towers, palaces, churches, statues, aqueducts, cisterns, columns, fountains, baths, and hippodromes, have long been mouldering into decay, and many of them have altogether perished. But the superlative beauty of the situation of Constantinople can never perish, which, to use the words of Aaron Hill, 'bespeaks it built upon  
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the loftiest columns of universal monarchy.' This imperial city stands, or is supposed to stand, like its mother Rome, on seven hills, which slope down in gentle descents to the western shore of the Bosphorus. This celebrated strait, which divides Europe from Asia, and whose waters flow in a smooth current, like a noble river, in a course of some twenty miles, and in a channel from one to three in width, connects the Euxine with the sea of Marmora, the Hellespont, and the archipelago of the Mediterranean. Two sides of the triangle on which the city is built are embraced by an arm of the Bosphorus, named the Golden Horn, and by the waters of Marmora. The third, or land side, stretching between the two waters, is enclosed by a wall, which has long been in ruins. The Golden Horn forms a noble and capacious harbour, possessing every possible convenience for building, securing, and equipping the most numerous fleets of ships of the largest class. The city itself, whether viewed from the land side or from the water, presents a most impressive and beautiful prospect\*; but, all lovely as it appears from without, the moment that the traveller finds himself within the old and crumbling walls with their dilapidated turrets, every idea of splendour or magnificence at once vanishes in gloom and melancholy. He finds nothing that can deserve the name of a street; the mosques with their domes and their minarets, which appeared so brilliant from a distance, are now seen to rise out of narrow, crooked, filthy lanes, almost impassable for stench and dirt, occasioned by dead dogs and other animals, putrid vegetables, and stinking offals of every description; and he may think himself fortunate if his eyes are not offended by the naked or mutilated carcase of some victim Turk or unfortunate Frank, which had not yet found its way

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\* The following exquisite sonnet 'To Constantinople,' on approaching the city about sunrise from the sea of Marmora, occurs in a very interesting little volume, published two or three years ago, under the name of 'Thoughts and Recollections, by One of the last Century:—

'A glorious form thy shining city wore,  
'Mid cypress thickets of perennial green,  
With minaret and golden dome between,  
While thy sea softly kiss'd its grassy shore,  
Darting across whose blue expanse was seen  
Of sculptured barques and galleys many a score;  
Whence noise was none save that of plashing ear;  
Nor word was spoke, to break the calm serene.  
Unheard is whisker'd boatman's hail or joke;  
Who, mute as Sinbad's man of copper, rows,  
And only interrupts the sturdy stroke  
When fearless gull too nigh his pinnacle goes.  
I, hardly conscious if I dream'd or woke,  
Mark'd that strange piece of action and repose.'



into the Bosphorus. These dark alleys are silent as the tombs as soon as night sets in, except, perhaps, when a fire happens, which is not unfrequently the case, burning down some hundred wooden houses or hovels, speedily to arise from their ashes precisely in their pristine shape. By day the countenances of the solitary passengers betray perpetual caution, amounting almost to fear, and their averted eyes bespeak their anxiety to avoid each other.

There certainly is not an ancient capital in all Europe that, at this day, possesses fewer objects to claim the attention of the traveller or the antiquary. The church, or mosque, of Saint Sophia, those of Solyman and Selim, the Atmeidan, (the ancient Hippodrome,) a fractured Egyptian obelisk, a brazen pillar, the seraglio, with its numerous fantastic buildings, and its garden studded with the sombre and formal cypress, the aqueduct of the Emperor Valens, and the five hundred gilded and painted fountains it supplies, are the principal objects that attract the eye above ground. The remains of the ancient cisterns beneath, to which this and some other aqueducts once conveyed water for supplying the city, are still curious in their ruins; but most of these are no longer used as cisterns. One of them, as described by Dr. Walsh, is a vast subterranean edifice, having an arched roof, supported by six hundred and seventy-two marble columns. It is now filled with earth and rubbish, except where some silk-twisters ply their trade in almost utter darkness; but Andreossi calculated it would once have held water enough to supply the whole city for sixty days. Another presents the appearance of a subterranean lake, which extends under several streets. Its roof is supported by three hundred and thirty-six magnificent marble pillars; and it is the only one of a vast number constructed by the Greek emperors which still exists as a cistern; but even of this the Turks take no care, and indeed scarcely know any thing about it; although, in the event of a siege, if the water, which is brought from a distance by aqueducts, should be cut off, their capital could not hold out for a week. The Ottomans have done nothing either to embellish or to keep in repair this imperial metropolis during the four hundred years they have held it. No stronger proof is wanting of their utter negligence, than the fact that the breach in the wall where the Turk entered, and in the ruins of which the last of the Paleologi was buried, remains a breach to this day.

This great city, of twelve or fourteen miles in circumference, densely studded with habitations, together with its suburbs of Pera, Galata, and Tophana, and a whole line of houses extending along the shore of the Bosphorus to Buyjukdere, near the point

point of its exit from the Black Sea, was supposed to reckon, some eighteen or twenty years ago, a population of from seven to eight hundred thousand; made up of Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Egyptians, Jews, and a few European merchants; but the number is now said to be reduced to about five hundred thousand; not less than from three to four hundred thousand having perished from the plague, the Russian war, the massacre of the Janissaries, and the Greek insurrection, since the year 1812. The modes and customs of the master caste are singularly at variance with those of Christendom.

Here the head is shaved, the beard unshorn; the men wear petticoats of cloth; the women trowsers of silk or cotton. Instead of a hat, a piece of muslin is twisted round the head; instead of a surtout, a blanket is thrown across the shoulders; a carpet serves for a bed; a wooden bowl for a service of plate; a pewter tray for a table-cloth; fingers do for forks, and swords for carving knives. A man salutes without stooping, sits down without a chair, he is silent without reflection, and serious without sagacity. If you inquire after the health of his wife, it is at the hazard of your head; if you praise the beauty of his children, he suspects you of the evil eye. The name of the prophet is in every man's mouth, and the fear of God in few men's hearts. The women hide their faces, and heed not the exhibition of their bosoms; they glory in the lascivious evolutions of the *Alme*, and blush at the immodesty of an English woman without a veil. One would almost think there was a purposed hostility to all the modes and customs of Christendom.—*Madden*, vol. i., pp. 307, 308.

From Dr. Walsh we have the following observations on the same subject. They are as striking as just, and were suggested on the occasion of his travelling Turk being under the hands of a barber.

The house next to the barber's shop was in progress of building, and there was a man writing down some inventory. All the persons I saw engaged were working in a manner opposite to our usage. The barber pushed the razor from him—ours draws it to him; the carpenter, on the contrary, drew the saw to him, for all the teeth were set in—ours pushes it from him, for all the teeth are set out; the mason sat while he laid the stones—ours always stands; the scribe wrote on his hand, and from right to left—ours always writes on a desk or table, and from left to right; but the most ridiculous difference existed in the manner of building the house. We begin at the bottom and finish to the top: this house was a frame of wood, which the Turks began at the top; and the upper rooms were finished, and inhabited, while all below was like a lantern. However absurd these minutiae may appear to you, they are traits of Turkish character, which form, with other things, a striking peculiarity. It is now more than four centuries since they



crossed the Hellespont, and transported themselves from Asia to Europe; during all that time they have been in constant contact with European habits and manners, and, at times, even penetrated as far as Vienna, and so occupied the very centre of Christendom. Yet, while all the people around them have been advancing in the march of improvement, in various ways, they have stood still; almost all the men who attempted to improve them have fallen victims to their temerity; the great body of them are, at this day, the same puerile, prejudiced, illiterate, intractable, stubborn race, that left the mountains of Asia; and so indisposed are they to amalgamate with us in any way, that they still preserve a marked distinction in the greatest as well as in the minutest things—not only in science and literature, but in the movement of a saw and a razor.’—*Walsh*, p. 167—9.

Captain Frankland has thus grouped, and very well distinguished, the varied population of Constantinople.

‘How describe the grave, majestic, and graceful Effendi Turk, with snow-white turban, jetty beard, sparkling and full eyes, long flowing caftan, scarlet trowsers, yellow boots, rich cashmere shawl round the waist, in which shone the glittering gilded handjar (dagger)—The light, gay, chattering, active, but cunning-looking Greek, distinguished by his shorn chin, black turban, enormously large but short trowsers, bare legs, and black shoes—The grave but respectful Armenian, with his calpac of black felt, swelling like a balloon upon his head; he too wears the long robe of the Turk, but in his girdle the silver ink-horn supplies the place of the handjar, and his feet are clothed in the crimson slipper or boot. Next comes the despised and humiliated Jew, whose sallow countenance, contracted eyebrow, sunken eye, and quivering lip, are the characteristics of his nation all over the world; his head, bent downwards, as if by the weight of tyranny and the everlasting sin of his tribe, is surmounted by a blue turban, and his slippers are of the same colour. With these are seen the high taper calpac of the Tartar, the melon-shaped head-piece of the Nizam Djedid, the grey felt conical cap of the Imaum and Dervish, and occasionally the ungraceful hat of the Frank, with its concomitant angular, rectilinear, bebuttoned and mean-looking costume of Europe.’—*Frankland*, vol. i., pp. 95, 96.

‘It has been a long disputed question,’ says Mr. Madden, ‘whether the Greeks or Turks are the best people; but the question should have been, which of them is the worst; for I would be inclined to say, from my own experience, that the Greeks, as a nation, are the least estimable people in the world, with the exception of the Turks, who are still less to be admired.’ This is a slashing way of settling a question of this sort. When this young man speaks of the Greeks ‘as a nation,’ he ought to have recollected that, for four centuries past, they have ceased to be a nation, and existed only as the oppressed slaves of most barbarous  
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and tyrannical masters. The Greeks, therefore, can hardly as yet be considered as having any *national* character; and the 'Turks', bad as that is, includes some qualities, which travellers of a higher order than this have thought not unworthy 'to be admired.' The fastidious Mr. Madden himself admits that the Turk is charitable to the poor, attentive to the sick, and kind to his domestics; but then, on the other hand, he describes him as perfidious to his friends, treacherous to his enemies, and thankless to his benefactors; the rulers are rapacious, the magistrates corrupt, and the people wretched: no less than eight cases of poisoning had fallen under his own observation; human life in Turkey is of the least value; and, of all roads to honour and ambition, murder is deemed the most secure. 'I sat,' says he, 'beside a Candiot Turk at dinner, who boasted of having killed eleven men in cold blood; and the society of this assassin was courted by the cousin of the reis essendi, at whose house I met him, because he was a man of courage.' Mr. Madden, we presume, speaks Arabic or Turkish: we make this observation, as we find him conversing glibly in every page with 'Turks and Arabs, who are wholly unacquainted with any other language than their own.

'The Turks (he says) are generally considered to be honest than the Greeks, and in point of fact they are, or at least appear so; they are certainly less mendacious, and are too clumsy to practise chicanery to advantage. Their probity, however, depends not on any moral repugnance to deceit, but solely on the want of talent to deceive. I never found a Turk who kept his word when it was his interest to break it; but then I never knew a Greek who was not unnecessarily and habitually a liar. He is subtle in spirit, insidious in discourse, plausible in his manner, and indefatigable in dishonesty; he is an accomplished scoundrel; and beside him, the Turk, with all the desire to defraud, is so *gauche* in knavery, that, to avoid detection, he is constrained to be honest.'—*Madden*, vol. i. pp. 31, 32.

We can tell him, however, that every British officer, who has had to do with a Turk, will bear testimony that, without 'constraint,' the word of a Turk is inviolable. But Mr. Madden writes for effect. The following is no bad specimen of that vein: it is a caricature, but at the same time characteristic of the two parties, and descriptive, pretty nearly, of what we know to have actually occurred in a particular battle of the Mahomedans and Greeks:—

'After the dreadful note of preparation had long been heard, he (the traveller) would find the two armies in the field, and at a convenient distance from each other; he would find the Greeks, who are the most religious people in the world, posted probably behind a church; he would observe the Ottomans, who are the best soldiers in the world for a siege, affording their lines the shelter of a wood, or perhaps of a wall; and  
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he would expect to hear the thunders of the artillery commence ; but would he hear them without a parley ? Oh, no ! the ground is classic, and, like the worthies of Homer, the hostile heroes must abuse one another first ; he would hear the noble Moslems magnanimously roaring, " Come on, ye uncircumcised giaours ! we have your mothers for our slaves. May the birds of heaven defile your fathers' heads ; come on, ye Caffres ! " Then would he hear the descendants of Themistocles, nowise intimidated, vociferating, " Approach, ye turbaned dogs ! Come and see us making wadding of your Koran ; look at us trampling on your faith, and giving pork to your daughters ! " Greatly edified with such a prelude to the horrors of the war, he would at last hear two or three hundred random shots, but he would look for the armies, and he would not see them ; he would observe stones flying, when the ammunition failed ; and at night, when the carnage ceased, he would hardly know whether to be astonished most at the cool intrepidity of the warlike Turks, or at the great discretion of the patriotic Greeks. And he would seek the returns of the killed and wounded ; and what with the bursting of guns, and some unlucky shots, he would find half a dozen killed on either side ; and he would see the classic Greeks wrangling over the bodies of their own people for the dead men's shirts ; and he would observe the amiable Turks cutting off the ears of their fallen countrymen, to send to Constantinople as trophies from the heads of their enemies. And, if he went to Napoli di Romania he would hear a Greek *Te Deum* chanted in thanksgiving for the victory over God's enemies ; or he would return by Constantinople, and hear the Prophet glorified from the mosque, for the overthrow of the infidels ; at all events, he would be sure, on his arrival in England, to read in *The Times* of " the great victory achieved by the struggling Greeks," and in *The Courier*, of the signal defeat the Grecian rebels had just sustained. And after the gentleman had wept or laughed at the follies of mankind, he would have leisure to contemplate the arrogance of the Turks, the effrontery of the Greeks, and the cowardice of both.—vol. i. p. 74—77.

We by no means agree with Mr. Madden, that such ' a spectacle,' as he has here described, warrants his conclusion that Turks can never become ' good citizens or good soldiers.' Men are what they are made by their rulers ; and if Mahmoud, and the mufti, and the oulemas, could by any possibility have agreed cordially to unite their efforts, it was at one time fully in their power to accomplish both. There can be no question, however, that of all the nations of the European world, the Turks are the least enlightened, and, as yet, have shown themselves the least capable of improvement, either in arts, sciences, religion, or morals. The Koran is the only book they read ; and by this they are supposed to regulate their civil, their moral, and their religious conduct ; but the purest of its precepts are either neglected, or perverted to the worst of purposes. The book itself is not very much in fault. There are  
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to be found in the Koran as sound precepts of morality, as sublime expressions of the power and the attributes of the Deity, as are to be met with in the Bible: indeed, its beauties, and these are not few, are plagiarisms from that sacred volume. The musti and the oulemas,—the high priest, and the administrators of the laws,—are its expounders; and they are entitled at least to the merit of enforcing those precepts of the Koran which regard duty to God and implicit obedience to the sovereign; but—what is not enjoined by the Koran—they are equally zealous in inculcating hatred, intolerance, and persecution of all who reject the faith of Mahomet: thus converting religion, which ought to be an affair between man and his Maker, into the cruellest instrument of vengeance and oppression.

Of countries making any pretensions to civilization, the two wherein the grossest ignorance besets the whole community, are China, and the empire of the Sublime Porte; and for this reason—neither of them allow their subjects, as far as they can prevent it, to acquire the least knowledge of any foreign language; and they can, therefore, have no intellectual intercourse or communion with nations more advanced than themselves. Hence, the Chinese says and believes, that, while he sees with both eyes, the rest of the world are blind, though he allows the Jesuits, who regulated his national calendar, to have had a glimmering with one eye. And hence the Turk, taught to despise all other nations as inferior, looks down with contempt on the rest of the world, and is ready to bestow a malediction on his own countrymen who should degrade themselves by attempting to learn any Christian tongue.

At one of the post-houses where Dr. Walsh halted, were some Turks smoking and drinking coffee. He had occasion to ask his driver, who spoke English, some question in that language; the man did not answer, and on his repeating it in a louder voice, left the room, evidently in extraordinary trepidation. He afterwards told his master that, had he uttered a word of any language but Turkish, he could not say to what violence it might have exposed them both.

This determined hostility to knowledge is, perhaps, the most extraordinary trait in the Turkish character. It is hardly possible to conceive a people priding themselves on being ignorant, and despising those who are not so. . . . The Turks, in their intercourse with foreign nations, are always obliged to use rayas as interpreters. The important function of dragoman to the Porte was always performed by Greeks till the late insurrection; and when the Turks thought they could no longer confide in them, there could not be found in the empire one of themselves capable or willing to hold a communication in  
a foreign



a foreign language, and they were obliged to confer the situation on a Jew. They have since that, however, established a seminary for the instruction of a few young Turks in different Frank languages, that they may be able to undertake and discharge a duty so important and confidential, and no longer depend on the suspicious fidelity of strangers. This tardy and reluctant adoption of a measure so indispensable is a strong proof of the pertinacity with which they adhere to ancient prejudices, which no one but a man of the energetic character of the present sultan could dare to oppose, or oppose with any effect.—*Walsh*, p. 151—153.

The insolence and contempt with which this haughty nation has been permitted to treat foreigners are strongly marked in the mode of reception by the sultan at the public audience given to an ambassador. This is well described by Madden, though we suspect, as usual, a little caricatured.

\* Nothing can exceed the ambition of the people of the embassy to attend the ambassador, in their laced coats, at his audience with the sultan; and nothing can equal the absurdity of that ceremony except its humiliation. The French have the priority in all public audiences. The ambassador proceeds with his credentials to the Porte, passes through a large square thronged with soldiers, then through a garden where it is arranged the soldiers should, at that time, receive their pillaw, to astonish the infidels with the vastness of the sultan's bounty. He next enters the divan, where a principal officer sits in great state on a splendid sofa, with a cadilesker on either side. Some cause here undergoes a mock trial, to prove to the unbelievers that his imperial highness is just, as well as generous; a number of money bags, containing paras (the fourth of farthings), are pompously displayed for the payment of the troops, to show the *giaours* the inexhaustible wealth of the *gratid* signior. The officer in waiting now writes a letter to the sultan, stating that "a *giaour*, an ambassador, comes to throw himself at his highness's feet;" and to this the sultan graciously replies, "Feed and clothe the infidel, and let him come." The infidel is accordingly fed, gets a good dinner, and during it, the sultan is peeping through a lattice at his guests, where his person is hardly visible. The infidel is next clothed with a caftan, as are also a portion of his followers, who proceed to the audience-chamber, where the arms of the ambassador are laid hold of by two assistants, and thus pinioned, he is led before the sultan, and his body as much bowed as the force of the officers holding him admits of. The sultan sits on a bed-shaped throne, ornamented with black velvet and precious stones; his dress has nothing peculiar to his station, but the diamond aigrette and feather in his turban, and the diamond girdle round his loins. The ambassador having bowed, remains covered, and makes his speech in French; the *drogueman* translates it; and then the principal officer of the sultan replies, and this reply is again given in French to the ambassador. During the ceremony, the sultan hardly deigns to look

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at the ambassador, or even to notice him on his retiring. The infidels are then forced out of the presence, with their faces to the throne. At the outer gate a richly caparisoned horse is presented to the ambassador; and the trappings, which are principally of silver, are, some time after, sold to an Armenian, who sells them again to the Porte for a future present. I saw the French ambassador's present thus disposed of. Such is the degradation which we suffer our ambassadors to undergo, being even stripped of their swords before they are admitted to the presence of the haughty sultan.—*Madden*, vol. i. p. 106—108.

The audience recently given to Sir Robert Gordon was, at any rate, very different from that which is here described.

From the same author we learn how a 'Turkish gentleman' conducts himself when he leaves his harem and goes abroad:—

'The grandee perambulates with an amber rosary dangling from his wrist; he looks neither to the right nor to the left; the corpse of a Rayah attracts not his attention; the head of a slaughtered Greek he passes by unnoticed; he causes the trembling Jew to retire at his approach; he only shuffles the unwary Frank who goes along, it is too troublesome to kick him! He reaches the coffeehouse before noon; an abject Christian salaams him to the earth, spreads the newest mat for the Effendi, presents the richest cup, and cringes by his side to kiss the hem of his garment, or, at least, his hand. The coffee peradventure is not good: the Effendi storms—the poor Armenian trembles; he swears by his father's beard he made the very best; in all probability he gets the cup at his head, and a score of maledictions, not on himself, but on his mother. A friend of the Effendi enters, and after ten minutes repose they salute, and exchange salaams. A most interesting conversation is carried on by monosyllables at half hour intervals. The grandee exhibits an English penknife; his friend examines it back and blade, smokes another pipe, and exclaims, "God is great." . . . Pistols are next produced, their value is an eternal theme, and no other discussion takes place till a grave old priest begins to expatiate on the temper of his sword. A learned Ulema, a theologian and a lawyer (for here chicanery and religion go hand in hand), at length talks of astronomy and politics, how the sun shines in the east and in the west, and everywhere he shines, how he beams on a land of Mussulmans; how all the Padishaws of Europe pay tribute to the sultan; and how the gisours of England are greater people than the infidels of France, because they make better penknives and finer pistols; how the Dey of Algiers made a prisoner of the English admiral, in the late engagement; and, after destroying his fleet, consented to release him, on condition of paying an annual tribute; and how the Christian ambassadors came, like dogs, to the footstool of the sultan, to feed on his imperial bounty. After this edifying piece of history, the Effendi takes his leave, with the pious ejaculation of "Mashalla," "How wonderful is God!" the waiter bows him out, overpowered with gratitude for the third part of an English farthing, and the proud Effendi returns



returns to his harem: he walks with becoming dignity along; perhaps a merryandrew, playing off his buffooneries, catches his eye, ~~the~~ looks, but his spirit smiles not; his gravity is invincible, ~~he~~ waddles onward, like a porpoise cast on shore: it is evident that nature intended him not for a pedestrian animal, and that he looks with contempt on his locomotive organs.'—vol. i. p. 20—22.

'The women are, if possible, more ignorant and more disposed to insult foreigners than the men. There is scarcely one of these amiable creatures, even of those belonging to the seraglio, who can either read or write. Whether wives or concubines, however, they are said to be faithful to their lords; owing, perhaps, in a certain degree, to the knowledge that the detection of a single imprudent act would lead inevitably to a sack and the Bosphorus. To their husbands, therefore, or their masters, they are most submissive; but God help the unlucky Christian who may happen to cross the path of a Turkish lady of condition as she goes with her retinue to the bath. 'I have had the honour,' says Mr. Madden, 'of being insulted by ladies of rank far more frequently than by any other women. The fanaticism of females is in a ratio with their quality; and hence it is from them chiefly a Frank passenger has to expect such gentle maledictions as "May the plague fall on your house!—May the foul birds defile your beardless chin!—May she who would marry you be childless!"' Captain Frankland tells us that, while he was employed with his pencil in sketching, some young Turkish girls came behind and tipped his hat off his head, then spat in his face, and concluded by assailing him with earth and stones. Some Greek ladies, who had seen what was passing, came up, and said to him, 'Ah, Signor! son cattiva gente, gente barbara, canaglia—non turbative, Signor, son maladetta gente, senza fede.' On another occasion, a party of Turkish women, on perceiving a Frank lady, with whom he was walking, wearing a green veil, abused her with the most insulting language. 'I am sorry to say,' the Captain observes, 'that I generally found the fair sex much more intractable than the other.'

The streets of Constantinople swarm with half-famished and masterless dogs, which are suffered to prowl about without any molestation on the part of the Turks. These barbarians are said, indeed, to derive amusement when any of these ferocious animals make an attack on the passing Franks, whom they seem to distinguish, and against whom they are as inveterate as the turbaned themselves. 'I can safely say,' says Madden, 'I have never once passed through the *bazaars* without having the dogs set on me by the men; without having stones pelted at me by boys; or being spit upon by the women, and being cursed as an infidel

infidel and a casire by all !” One fellow, he says, observed, when a dog worried him, ‘it was fitting that one dog should fatten on another.’

Next to the Turks, the Jews are represented as the fiercest and most fanatical race in Constantinople ; ‘persecution and suffering,’ says Dr. Walsh, ‘have not taught them moderation, and they pursue, even to death, any apostate from their own doctrines.’ Their repugnance to Christians, and more particularly to the Greeks, displays itself on all occasions. When the late venerable Patriarch was hanged by the Turks, the Jews volunteered their services to drag his corpse, by the cord with which he was strangled, through the streets to the sea. It was this that incensed the Greeks to revenge themselves on every Jew that fell in their way, at the commencement of their insurrection, with the most dreadful cruelties. The hatred of these two classes of unfortunate persons is mutual. The Greeks of Constantinople are firmly persuaded that the Jews are in the habit of purloining children and sacrificing them, as paschal lambs. The following story seems to carry us back to the days of the Prioress’s Tale, and

‘Yonge Hew of Lincoln, slain also

‘With cursed Jewes, as it is notable.’

‘I was one day (says Walsh) at Galata, when a great commotion was excited. The child of a Greek merchant had disappeared, and no one could give any account of it. It was a beautiful boy, and it was imagined it had been taken by a Turk or slave: after some time, however, the body was found in the Bosphorus; its legs and arms were bound, and certain wounds on its side indicated that it had been put to death in some extraordinary manner, and for some extraordinary purpose. Suspicion immediately fell upon the Jews; and as it was just after their paschal feast, suspicion, people said, was confirmed to a certainty. Nothing could be discovered to give a clue to the perpetrators, but the story was universally talked of, and generally believed, all over Pera.’—p. 13.

When the Jews were driven out of Spain, they received in different parts of the Ottoman empire that protection which Christians had denied them; and some forty or fifty thousand found an asylum in Constantinople, where they are favourably distinguished from the Greeks. The latter are denominated *Yeshir*, or slaves, as holding their lives on sufferance ever since they were forfeited at the taking of Constantinople; but the Jews are called *Mousaphir*, or visitors, because they voluntarily sought an asylum; and are treated, comparatively, with kindness and hospitality. Dr. Walsh mentions, as another promotive of good will, a certain assimilation between the religious opinions and observances of the

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the Hebrews and Moslem; their strict theism—their practice of circumcision—their abhorrence of swine's flesh—even their oriental reading from right to left. Hitherto, therefore, the Jews have been held by the Turks in a degree of consideration superior to what they meet with in any Christian country: but longer they cannot escape the rapacity of the government. Hitherto the Turkish population has chiefly subsisted on the industry of the Christian *rayahs*, or subjects; but, as Madden observes, that resource is rapidly failing them. The greater number and the most respectable of the Greeks of the Fanal have been massacred; the labouring classes have diminished all over the empire; the Franks are no longer that source of wealth they were formerly; the rich Greek merchant of Turkey no longer exists; the Armenian bankers have been plundered, and most of their countrymen sent into exile; the revenues of the Morea and the islands are irretrievably lost; and the pashas of the provinces send to the Porte complaints of the wretched condition of the people under their rule, instead of tribute. The Jews, therefore, alone remain to be plundered of the wealth which, by their industry, ingenuity, and, perhaps, a little extortion, they have accumulated through the ignorance and the indolence of the Turks. The present sultan Mahmoud has already set an example of what they may expect. On the execution of a great enemy of the late Ali Pasha of Albania, and a favourite minister of the sultan, named Halet Effendi, his property, as usual, was sequestered for the use of the state, and secured through the intervention of a Hebrew banker, of the name of Hazekiel, appointed for that purpose: by his account the produce was rendered in at five millions of piastres; 'but this,' says Mr. Walsh, 'was not deemed sufficient, and the wretched Jew was put to the torture; which was applied till he disgorged three millions more: the sum, therefore, acquired from the Jew, by the death of this favourite minister, amounted to eight millions of piastres, or about three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Insolent and contemptuous, as well as cruel and oppressive, as is the treatment which the Christians meet with, it is remarkable how tenaciously they cling to the capital, and with what reluctance they leave it even when death is staring them in the face. The fact is, the extreme indolence of the Turk has thrown almost the whole trade and manufactures, and money concerns, into the hands of foreigners. They know from dear experience that they are at all times subject to the rapacity of the grand signior and his ministers; but neither insults nor robberies, nor the bastinado, can induce them to quit a place where they are pretty sure, if let alone for a time, once more to recruit their finances.

During

'During the Greek revolution, the Rayahs in Constantinople, who escaped the first massacre, could not refrain from returning to the city that was yet reeking with the blood of their families. A friend of mine met two of the principal Greeks of the Fanal, walking with great composure in Pera, the evening of the day that their houses had been broken into to drag them to death; they had escaped through a window: and this gentleman offered to put them aboard an English vessel, disguised as sailors, and thus ensure their safety. They refused; they could not bring themselves to leave the shores of the Bosphorus: they were both beheaded next day. Others went away for a few days and then returned, owning it was impossible to live out of Constantinople, though they knew they had been denounced, and every one of them was taken and put to death. I had instances of this kind within my own experience.'—*Madden*, vol. i. pp. 160, 161.

The respectable Greeks, however, have nearly disappeared from Constantinople, and the most useful and, as would appear, unoffending Armenian community has been all but annihilated; in the winter of 1827 some eight or ten thousand were at once banished into Asia, by a capricious, and, Macfarlane says, a still inexplicable act of tyranny. There was a time when these people were considered so necessary a class, that they used to call them the camels of the Osmanlee state. Mr. Madden, who seems to consider all mankind as rogues or fools, is pleased to designate the Armenian as a 'designing knave.' 'In the language of the country,' he says, (but we have expressed our doubt of his knowledge of that language,) 'it requires one Copt, two Greeks, and three Jews to defraud an Armenian; he is as wily as the serpent, yet his cunning is but the supersubtle wisdom of a slave, who defeats rapacity by finesse, and violence by craft.' Captain Frankland found the Armenians in Turkey 'grave but respectful; and their females 'quiet and unobtrusive;' and we prefer taking their character at his hands rather than those of Mr. Madden. We have observed that the expulsion of the Armenians, the Greek insurrection, the murder and deportation of the Janissaries and their families, and the drain occasioned by the Russian war, have thinned the capital of its population; but it is not in Constantinople alone that are exhibited the melancholy memorials of the rapid decline of the Turkish empire; these are but too visible in the ruined towns and villages throughout the provinces, and in the almost total neglect of agriculture.

'We now entered the plain' (it is Mr. Walsh who speaks) 'that surrounds Constantinople, and passed the ancient Imperial Kiosk of Dand Pasha, where the armies generally assemble for any expedition against the Christians, and from whence they are dismissed by the sultan, who repairs here in person for the purpose. Near this place the eye could command an extensive view

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of the country on all sides. The first and most striking impression was the exceeding solitude that reigned everywhere around. We were within a few hundred yards of the walls of an immense metropolis, where seven hundred thousand people lived together; but if we were at the same distance only from the ruins of Palmyra, we could not have witnessed more silence and desolation. A single team of buffaloes, dragging an araba, or a solitary horseman scarcely visible on the horizon, were the only objects that indicated the existence of social life close by the great city.—pp. 103, 104.

The following statement from the pen of the same writer exhibits a condensed, and, we believe, a very accurate view.

‘I had now travelled more than three hundred miles through the Turkish dominions in Europe, from their capital to the last town of their empire. When I contemplated the extent of territory, the fertility of the soil, the cattle and corn it produced, and its interminable capability of producing more; the large cities of Adrianople, Shumla, Rutschuk, and the multitude of villages scattered over the country; when I considered the despotic government that had absolute power over all these resources, to direct them in whatever manner, and to whatever extent; and that this was but a small portion of the vast empire which extended over three parts of the globe;—it seemed as if the Turkish power was as a sleeping lion, which had only to rouse itself and crush its opponents. But when, on the other hand, I saw the actual state of this fine country,—its resources neglected, its fields lying waste, its towns in ruins, its population decaying, and not only the traces of human labour, but of human existence, every day becoming obliterated; in fine, when I saw all the people about them advancing in the arts of civilized life, while they alone were stationary, and the European Turk of this day differing little from his Asiatic ancestor, except only in having lost the fierce energy which then pushed him on;—when I considered this, I was led to conclude that the lion did not sleep, but was dying, and after a few violent convulsions would never rise again. . . . The circumstance most striking to a traveller passing through Turkey is its depopulation. Ruins, where villages had been built, and fallows where land had been cultivated, are frequently seen, with no living things near them.’—p. 221.

It is pretty much the same in all the provinces and pashalicks. Some of the most fertile regions of the globe, for such are Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Moldavia, are desolated by plague, pestilence, and foreign invasion, but mostly by the exactions and oppression of the worst government in existence. Among other instances of the total ignorance of the plainest principles of political economy, it may be mentioned that the enormous waste of life in the capital is systematically supplied, by compelling thousands of whole families to leave their homes and rural pur-  
suits

suits for that great den of wretchedness: which, after all, is in no danger of being overstocked; for, as Dr. Walsh has observed, the Turks, naturally of a robust and vigorous constitution, addict themselves to habits by no means favourable to population; 'their sedentary life, the practice of polygamy, the immoderate use of opium, and other indulgences, so impede the usual increase of families, that the births do little more than compensate the ordinary deaths, and are unable to supply the waste of casualties.' Thus are the blessings of a mild climate, a fertile soil, and a beautiful country, rendered nugatory, and both the capital and the provinces left in a state of decay and depopulation by the measures of a government as ignorant as tyrannical. The native peasantry of Moldavia, Wallachia and Bulgaria have, under all circumstances, been described as a quiet, unoffending, and industrious people. According to Mr. Walsh, a more striking contrast cannot well be conceived than that which is afforded between a Turkish and a native peasant, as they are found in the province of Bulgaria.

Of all the peasantry I have ever met with, the Bulgarians seem the most simple, kind, and affectionate; forming a striking contrast with the rude and brutal Turks, who are mixed among them, but distinguished by the strongest traits of character. On the roads we frequently met groups of both, always separate, but employed in the same avocations: the Turks were known by turbans, sashes, pistols, and yatigans; but still more by a ferocity of aspect, a rude assumption, of demeanour, and a careless kind of contempt, that at once repulsed and disgusted us. They never turned their buffaloes or arubas out of the way to let us pass, or showed the smallest wish to be civil or obliging; on the contrary, were pleased if they pushed us into a bog in the narrow road, or entangled us among trees or bushes. Any accommodation in houses was out of the question: if we approached one for a drink of milk or water, we ran the hazard of being stabbed or shot. The Bulgarians were distinguished by caps of brown sheep-skin; jackets of cloth, made of the wool, undyed, of dark brown sheep, which their wives spin and weave; white cloth trowsers, and sandals of raw leather, drawn under the sole, and laced with thongs over the instep; and they carried neither pistol nor yatigan, nor any other weapon of offence: but they were still more distinguished by their countenance and demeanour. The first is open, artless, and benevolent; and the second is so kind and cordial, that every one we met seemed to welcome us as friends. Whenever their buffaloes or arubas stopped up the way, they were prompt to turn them aside; and whenever they saw us embarrassed, or obliged to get out of the road, they were eager to show us it was not their fault. Their houses were always open to us, and our presence was a kind of jubilee to the family; the compensation we gave



scarcely deserved the name, and I am disposed to think, if not offered, would not be asked for.'—*Walsh*, pp. 200, 201.

'The Christian who has money among the Osmanlis, need seldom have any fear,' says Burckhardt in his quaint style,—'except of losing it.' Woe, then, to the poor *rayah*, i. e. Christian subject, or, as the term would seem to be understood by the Turks, slave. However circumspect in his conduct, he is never secure against extortion: if he leaves a door open at night; if his wife wears a veil like that used by a Turkish woman, or a pair of slippers of a different colour from those that are allowed; if he be seen talking to a Turkish woman after dark, or any of his family looking out of their window into the courtyard of a Turkish neighbour, and for many other imputed offences equally frivolous, he subjects himself to be torn out of his bed, carried before a *cadi*, and may think himself lucky if he escape the *bastinado* by the payment of a few hundred piastres. This punishment of the *bastinado* is inflicted on the soles of the feet, with the thong of a thick hide, and is sometimes carried to such an extent as to prove fatal. Among the many odd stories told by Aaron Hill, there is one of an English merchant being taken by a Turk before the *cadi* for indiscreetly saying something offensive to him in the Turkish language, who, having refused to disburse, was ordered immediately to be *bastinadoed*. The merchant pleaded gout, with which at the time he was sorely afflicted, but in vain; he was compelled to undergo the excruciating torment, which, he concluded, would bring on a mortification and end his days. Contrary, however, to his apprehensions, the gout left him, and never returned; and so grateful was he for this service, that ever afterwards his first toast after dinner was to the health of the doctor who cured him of the gout. Poison, decapitation, strangulation by the bowstring, breaking the neck by letting fall on it a beam of wood, are common modes of punishment among the Turks. Stabbing with the *yatigan* is also not uncommon, when the devoted victim is doomed to fall a sudden sacrifice to treachery.

There is unquestionably no nation in the world among whom human life is less regarded, and none where it is so frequently taken away by treachery under the mask of courtesy and friendship. Turkish history abounds with innumerable instances where perfidy and politeness may be considered as synonymous. Ali Pasha of Yanina had long warded off the fatal blow, which he knew was aimed at him by the Sublime Porte. An Albanian chief was one of the many who had been despatched with a firman for that purpose. Ali had reason to suspect, while courtesies and civilities

civilities were passing between them, that the fatal document was concealed in the sleeve of his pelisse. He praised the beauty and elegance of the garment worn by his guest, and, as a particular mark of friendship, insisted on a mutual exchange of robes, which could not be refused according to Turkish etiquette, and having thus got possession of the fatal instrument, forthwith turned the blow that was designed for himself against the intended executioner. Ali, however, at length met with his match in Mahomed Pasha, the governor of the Morea.

They held together a long conversation of a very confidential nature, and mutual attachment seemed to be established. . . . Mohamed rose to depart, with expressions of affectionate goodwill on both sides. As they were of the same rank, they rose at the same moment from the divan on which they were sitting, and the Pasha of the Morea, as he was retiring, made a low and ceremonial reverence: the Pasha of Yanina returned it with the same profound inclination of the body; but before he could recover himself again, Mohamed drew his yatigan from his girdle, and plunged it into the back of his host with such force, that it passed completely through his heart and out at his left breast. Ali fell dead at his feet, and his assassin immediately left the chamber with the bloody yatigan in his hand, and announced to those abroad that he had now ceased to exist. Some soldiers of Mohamed entered the apartment, severed the head from the body, and, bringing it outside, held it up to their own comrades and the soldiers of Ali, as the head of a traitor.—*Walsh*, p. 60—62.

Mr. Walsh states a curious fact with regard to this venerable head which was sent to Constantinople, and exhibited to the public on a dish. As the name of Ali had made a considerable noise in Europe, and more particularly in England, in consequence of his negotiations with Sir Thomas Maitland, and still more, perhaps, the stanzas in *Childe Harold*, a merchant of Constantinople thought it would be no bad speculation to purchase the head and dish, and send them to London for exhibition; but a former confidential agent obtained it from the public executioner for a higher price than the merchant had offered; and together with the heads of his three sons and grandson, who, according to custom, were all seized and decapitated, had them deposited near one of the city gates, with a tombstone and inscription.

Old Mahomet Ali of Egypt has probably had more emissaries despatched to effect his destruction than any pasha on record, but he has hitherto been crafty enough to escape. Two or three times he is said to have been marked out for death, on account of his reluctance to join in the Greek war; but he had his spies in Constantinople, and probably in the seraglio, by means of whom he baffled the attempts of the emissaries, taking



special care none of them should return to Constantinople to report their good or ill success. For a long time he contrived to keep out of the war, on the plea that his troops were employed in subduing the Wahabees, and repressing the rebellious Mamelukes, and the people of Dongala; and at the same time he endeavoured to soothe the sultan by large donations of money. On one occasion, his agent here purchased the Pitt or the Pigot diamond (we are not sure which) from Rundell and Bridge, for which were paid some thirty thousand pounds, and this valuable jewel was sent as a peace-offering to the sublime Sultan Mahmoud: one of our gallant admirals, about to proceed to the Mediterranean, carried it down to Portsmouth in his waistcoat pocket. The following story, which Captain Frankland was told by Lady Hester Stanhope, is quite in character, and worthy of the sagacity of the Egyptian pasha.

At length the Sultan Mahmoud resolved upon adopting a scheme, so cleverly devised, and involved in such impenetrable secrecy, that it was impossible it could fail of success. He had in the imperial harem a beautiful Georgian slave, whose innocence and beauty fitted her, in the sultan's eyes, for the atrocious act of perfidy of which she was to be the unsuspecting agent. The belief in talismans is still prevalent throughout the east; and perhaps even the enlightened Mahmoud himself is not superior to the rest of his nation in matters of traditionary superstition. He sent one day for the fair Georgian, and affecting a great love for her person, and desire to advance her interests, told her, that it was his imperial will to send her to Egypt, as a present to Mehmet Ali, whose power and riches were as unbounded as the regions over which he held the sway of a sovereign prince, second to no one in the universe but to himself, the great padisha. He observed to her, how much happiness would fall to her lot, if she could contrive to captivate the affections of the master for whom he designed her; that she would become, as it were, the queen of Egypt, and would reign over boundless empires. But, in order to ensure to her so desirable a consummation of his imperial wishes for her welfare and happiness, he would present her with a talisman, which he then placed upon her finger. "Watch," said he, "a favourable moment, when the pasha is lying on your bosom, to drop this ring into a glass of water, which, when he shall have drank, will give you the full possession of his affections, and render him your captive for ever." The unsuspecting Georgian eagerly accepted the lot which was offered to her, and, dazzled by its promised splendour, determined upon following the instructions of the sultan to the very letter. In the due course of time she arrived at Cairo, with a splendid suite, and many slaves, bearing rich presents. Mehmet Ali's spies had, however, contrived to put him on his guard. Such a splendid demonstration of esteem from his imperial master alarmed him for his safety. He would not suffer the fair Georgian to see the light of his countenance ;

tenance; but after some detention in Cairo, made a present of her to his *intimate friend*, Billel Aga, the governor of Alexandria, of whom, by the bye, the pasha had long been jealous. The poor Georgian having lost a pasha, thought she must do her best to captivate her aga, and administered to him the fatal draught, in the manner Sultan Mahmoud had designed for Mehmet Ali. The Aga fell dead upon the floor. The Georgian shrieked and clapped her hands: in rushed the eunuchs of the harem, and bore out the dead body of their master.—*Frankland*, vol. ii. p. 146—149.

It is not easy to conceive in what manner the Sultan contrived to carry on the war against Russia so long as he did. He is not, as is generally the case with other European powers, in a condition to borrow money, without which the most rigid and unrelenting despotism cannot long find the means of supporting large armies in the field. The *haratsch*, or poll-tax, and all the taxes and duties levied on his own subjects, with the *avania*, or forced contributions extorted from the rayahs, amount but to a mere trifle; and since the Greek insurrection, and the banishment of the Armenians, the levies on what used to be the most productive classes must have dwindled to a very inconsiderable sum. A very large portion of the revenue was drawn from the industry and ingenuity of the Christian subjects, from which the Turkish population of Constantinople might be said almost wholly to derive their subsistence. These and the Jews, in fact, carried on most of the branches of trade and commerce; the Turks contented themselves with exercising the petty crafts of tailors, shoemakers, pipemakers, and a few others of the same kind—rarely engaging in commercial pursuits or transactions—only too happy to lounge at home, to smoke their pipe, chew opium, or sip coffee, from morning till night, and insult those on whose industry they had to depend for their daily bread. The great decrease, we might almost say the annihilation, of these productive labourers, as described by Dr. Walsh, must be felt severely both by the people and the government. Not only, therefore, must the amount of the regular taxes be diminished, but, to a great extent, those extraordinary resources must also have failed, which were supplied from the impolitic practice of putting to death an official or other person supposed to be wealthy, in order to get at his property.

The provinces of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria, were nearly exhausted before the war, and must now be completely so. Even Roumelia, close to the capital, is, as we have already observed, reduced to a state of desolation. The pashas of Syria and Arabia can scarcely extort sufficient money from the wretched inhabitants to support their own beggarly state; and the *Wachabees* are again in force, and nothing to resist their progress. The holy



holy city sends nothing to the Porte but its grievances and complaints. The pasha of Egypt has taken advantage of the fallen condition of the Porte, has refused to send him either oxen or money, and has given him to understand pretty clearly what his condition is, by discharging every Turk from his army, and supplying their places with Copts and Arabs; that army is said to amount to sixty thousand men. The four Barbary states owe but a nominal allegiance, and we believe contribute nothing to the finances of Turkey. Asia Minor, that once populous and fertile territory, is now almost a desert, and its capital and the sea-coast are in the hands of the Russians. That part of Greece which was always the most productive is now free from the Turks; and Servia, Bosnia, and Albania, contribute very little, if any thing, but a few undisciplined soldiers,—which, as we have seen, could not be depended on. The islands are completely exhausted. Candia is still torn in pieces by the conflicting parties of Turks and Greeks, who, being nearly equally balanced, cannot be prevailed on to cease hostilities; the forests of olives (its chief resource) have been wantonly destroyed by both parties. That most lovely of islands, Scio, the delight and admiration of all who visited it, with its happy and interesting population,—happy and contented even under the Turks,—is now reduced from about one hundred thousand to fifteen thousand inhabitants. The enchanting picture drawn by Dr. Chandler of this lovely island—the beauty of its women; their gay and becoming dress; their frank and cheerful demeanour; the mountain slopes clothed with vines; the groves of orange, lemon, and citron trees, perfuming the air with the odour of their blossoms, and delighting the eye with their golden fruit; the myrtles and jasmines scattered among the palms, and the cypresses and the olive trees; the glittering white houses, and the industrious and contented inhabitants—are now wasted, faded, and gone, and the gay and brilliant picture changed to one of desolation.

If it be said that the Porte is not the only government which has treated its rebellious subjects with severity, it will at least be admitted that the Greeks were fully justified in their attempts to free themselves from that greatest and most galling of evils—a state of slavery. Insulted, plundered, murdered by their despotic masters, who have nothing in common with the rest of Europeans, and are destitute of every feeling of humanity, it is only surprising they should have quietly borne the yoke so long. In short, it must be admitted to be but too true, as Captain Frankland says, ‘that the Ottoman nation is the bitterest enemy to the human race, and the severest scourge that ever was sent by Providence to chastise mankind.’

‘From

‘From the banks of the Danube to the shores of the Propontis, the traveller will find abundant cause to reason in this manner. He will see fertile provinces lying waste, well inhabited cities of the dead, but desolate and ruined abodes of the living. He will see the remains of the arts, and the civilization of a former and a better age, and but few marks of the present era, save such as denote barbarism and decay. The few towns that he will meet with in his long and dreary journey, are rapidly falling into ruin, and the only road (the great means of civilization) now existing, and which can put in any claim to such an appellation, is either of the Roman age, or that of the great Sultan Solyman, but even this pavement is now almost worse than nothing. Wherever the Osmanli has trod, devastation and ruin mark his steps, civilization and the arts have fled, and made room for barbarism, and the silence of the desert and the tomb. “Where the sultan’s horse has trod, there grows no grass,” is a Turkish proverb and a fatal truth.’—*Frankland*, vol. i. pp. 187, 188.

Much, however, as we may lament the situation of the unfortunate Greeks, it is impossible not to be convinced that a great part of the misery they have experienced has been brought on themselves, and the other Christians, resident in Turkey and her provinces, chiefly by their thoughtless and unsteady conduct and a total want of concert. In the provinces, as hospodars, or vaivodes, their rapacity could hardly be exceeded by the most avaricious pashas.

‘As governors of the provinces,’ says Walsh, ‘they had, with a few exceptions, little to excite our sympathy or compassion; they obtained their situations by advancing large sums of money to the Porte; and they reimbursed themselves by arbitrary taxation on the natives, which was still further increased by the crowd of dependants they brought with them. The province of Wallachia is divided into twenty-two districts. Over each of these a deputy governor was appointed, and the new prince nominated his own; so that on every change, twenty-two ispravniks, or governors, were removed, and new ones appointed—generally Greeks—who accompanied the prince into the province. The taxes are limited to a nominal sum, but are, occasionally, raised by the prince to any amount, either to gratify the cupidity of the Turks or his own; and every ispravnik had to make his fortune out of the small district over which he was set, and during the short time he was to remain. The petty oppression of this system was so intolerable, that, on the departure of Caradja with his immense treasure, the boyars petitioned the sultan no longer to appoint Greeks; pledging themselves to pay any tribute immediately to the Divan that they should impose.’—pp. 288, 289.

The gallant and noble Ypsilanti experienced the unhappy result of this conduct: he received but little of the support which he had expected to find in the provinces; and even the men, who had voluntarily come forward, deserted him in the day of battle.

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An honourable exception must be made of about five hundred young men, the sons of respectable Greek families, who had left their universities in Italy, Russia, and Germany, to enrol themselves into a sacred band—*ἱερός λόχος*. These noble youths joined the army of Ypsilanti, and performed wonders in the battle of June 1821, in the plains of Dragesghan, which proved fatal to the Greeks. By want of concert, or by treachery, this chosen band, deserted by their countrymen, were left alone to resist the attacks of the Turkish cavalry, ten times their number. More than four hundred perished,' says Mr. Walsh, 'side by side; and of the few that escaped, almost all died of their wounds; so that hardly an individual of this admirable band, the pride and flower of the Greek nation, survived this dreadful day.' Since that time, almost every male of the ancient and noble Greek families has perished, and their survivors been plunged into hopeless misery. The following picture of what the Greek society of Constantinople was, not many years ago, cannot be contemplated without feelings of the deepest sadness:—

• About ten years ago, the Greeks of the Fanal were a very thriving and prosperous community, enjoying, generally speaking, the confidence and respect of the government under which they lived; acquiring, by their talents, an extraordinary degree of influence; selected as the exclusive organs of communication with all the powers of Europe, and governors of the richest provinces in the Turkish dominions. These advantages they have for ever forfeited. They are now excluded by law from holding the situations of either hospodar or dragoman; and whatever be the state of their countrymen in Greece, the Greeks of the capital under Turkish government are henceforth doomed to poverty and humiliation. How far they have merited this, by their own imprudence or misconduct, I do not presume to say; but they have left behind them such traces of intelligence and improvement in this oriental city, that one cannot but deeply regret them. They were men who still kept from extinction, in the Turkish capital, the habits and feelings of European cities; they cultivated literature and the elegant arts, indulged in the free and hospitable intercourse of social life, from which their females were not excluded; practised all the domestic duties and affections at home, and the courtesies of polished life abroad; and in their cordial families, and in theirs alone, a Frank felt that he was not an unwelcome intruder. The beautiful village of Therapia, on the Bosphorus, was no less distinguished for its healthy situation, as its name implies, than for the manners of its inhabitants. They were entirely Greeks; and the gay, festive, cheerful habits of the people, enlivened by music, dancing, and social intercourse, formed the strongest contrast with the dull and repulsive aspect of every other village in the vicinity. This gay place, however, is now assimilated to the rest;—its inhabitants are dead, or fled; their elegant kiosks ruined or abandoned. One of them, that of the Prince Ypsilantes,

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was conferred upon the French, and is now the summer residence of the embassy. Another was offered to the English for the same purpose, but his excellency Lord Strangford thought it right to decline it. — *Walsh*, p. 286—288.

Throughout the whole struggle, the Greeks have betrayed a lamentable want of concert and unanimity; but there is nothing new in this. From the earliest periods of their conversion to Christianity, the Greek empire was distracted by dissensions and feuds, on account of some trifling difference of opinion on points of faith: this was the real cause of their first subjugation under the Turks, and unhappily the same mad folly still exists in the midst of all their humbled and miserable condition. The Sheas and the Sunnees of the Mahomedan faith entertain not a more cordial hatred to each other than do the members of the Greek and the Roman Catholic churches all over the Levant. Mr. Madden mentions a curious example of this inveterate hostility:—

“A young Greek, an only son of a respectable family, took it into his head to become a Mahometan. In a few days after this event, he was seen parading before his father's door, with his Koran slung across his shoulder, his yatican at his side, and his pistols in his bosom: all the miserable vanity of a Greek was gratified; he was as happy as his unfortunate father was miserable. The poor old man would receive no comfort; his friends preached patience and resignation to him in vain: his neighbours feared he would go mad; they sent the Papas to him to offer consolation; his reverence was a Spartan; he resolved to adopt a mode of consolation which no Greek could resist; “My good Christian,” said he to the unhappy father, “you are indeed afflicted, and have reason to be dejected at the first view of your misfortune: but, cheer up! though you grieve that your son has turned a Turk, how much more reason have you to rejoice that he has not become a Catholic!” The old man acknowledged he had reason to be thankful, and dried up his tears. I vouch not for the truth of the story; but I am sure most Greeks would have felt as the old man did; and most Levantine Catholics would have preferred to see their infants circumcised, rather than witness their baptism at the Greek altar.”—vol. i. pp. 149, 150.

If four centuries of abject slavery have not been sufficient to teach these people to relinquish their puerile disputes on little frivolous points of the same religion, and to act in concert against the common tyrant, on the other hand, four centuries have proved equally ineffectual to incorporate their barbarian masters in the social habits of the other nations of Europe; their pride and obstinacy having forbidden them to adopt the common laws, the customs, and courtesies of civilized life. Professing a religion which boldly pronounces hostility to all others, setting at naught all international law, and dead to every feeling of humanity towards those



those whom they denounce as infidels, and indeed towards their fellow-citizens, it is truly a matter of surprise that such a people should have so long been suffered to tyrannize over one of the fairest and most fertile portions of Europe. Their fate, however, appears now to be nearly decided; and the next generation, in all probability, will either see them once more plunderers of the deserts, or approaching, under the dictation of necessity, to the feelings and opinions of Christendom.

On the score of morality and humanity, the downfall of the Turkish empire will excite no sympathy; the subjects of the Sublime Porte will share no commiseration among those to whom they showed none. Inflexible as they have been to the last, in their pride and obstinacy, they seem to be fully aware by how fickle a tenure they have, for the last hundred years at least, held their seat of empire in Europe. That the Cross may once more supplant the Crescent is an event which they have long contemplated. Their extensive burying ground, whose dark cypress groves stretch for many miles along the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, and which has been so powerfully, we might almost say, so fearfully described by Mr. Thomas Hope in his *Anastasius*, is perhaps the most extensive receptacle of the dead that exists in the whole world. In the full persuasion that they will one day be compelled to retire to Asia, whence they originally came, the great majority of the Turks who die in Constantinople are conveyed to 'the ladder of the dead,' and thence transported by their friends across the Bosphorus, to be entombed in this vast and sombre cemetery.

Even during the existence of the Greek empire, there was an ancient prophecy that some northern people would one day get possession of the city of the seven hills. This prophecy it seems was handed over to the Turks when they conquered Constantinople; and the progress made by the Russians, since the time that Peter the Great captured Asoph, has been well calculated to keep it in the recollection of these fatalists. When Catharine laid the foundation of Cherson at the mouth of the Dnieper, she had an inscription placed over the western gate, which sufficiently indicated her ulterior object,—'This is the road to Byzantium.' In fact the prophecy is already fulfilled. The Turkish empire is virtually dissolved—the term of its lease nearly expired; and he who has got possession of the keys, may enter the premises whenever he finds it convenient to do so—unless the other great powers of Europe shall interfere.

A line of conduct more congenial with European customs and feelings might have secured to the Ottoman race that throne which they fairly obtained by conquest over an enfeebled and disunited people. One of their sultans at least aimed at the attainment of  
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this object, but being of a temper too feeble, of a disposition too mild, and of habits too indolent for a reformer, he forfeited his throne and his life by the attempt. The history of the unfortunate Selim, and of his successors, forms an episode which powerfully illustrates the abominations of a Mahomedan government.

This weak but well disposed man, desirous of gradually introducing the arts and sciences of western Europe, commenced by the establishment of a printing-press and a paper manufactory. For the use of the latter, he gave up an imperial kiosk, a summer residence of the sultans; and the printing-office was at Scutari. An attempt of the same kind had been made by Achmet III., so early as the year 1727: the oulemas gave their consent, but it was rendered nugatory, by excepting the Koran, for a reason, as Mr. Walsh observes, 'characteristic of the people—they said it would be an act of impiety if the word of God should be squeezed and pressed together; but the true cause was, that great numbers of themselves earned a considerable income by transcribing those books, which would be at once destroyed, if suffered to be printed.' As Turks read nothing else but the Koran, the printing-office was soon discontinued. Its renewal by Selim had no better success; it languished and declined on the death of its patron, 'who fell a victim to the rage of the Janissaries, for attempting to innovate upon their ancient and venerable ignorance.' Of the death of this unfortunate monarch, and the revolution that followed, a particular and interesting account is given by M. Juchereau, a Frenchman, who was in Constantinople at the time, and an eye-witness of what took place.

So early as the year 1796, General Aubert Dubayet, ambassador from the French republic to the Porte, introduced a reform in the *personel* and *materiel* of the Turkish artillery; organized a squadron of cavalry, and taught the infantry the European exercise, in which, however, the Janissaries obstinately refused to be instructed. The behaviour of some of these new troops, acting under Sir Sydney Smith, in his gallant defence of St. Jean d'Acre, so delighted the Sultan Selim, that on their return he created them a special and independent corps, increased their pay, built them a spacious barrack, and denominated them *Nizamgedittes*, or New Regulars. He attended their exercise and appeared to be delighted with their manœuvres. They were instructed by Europeans, who, however, were never admitted as officers in the corps, unless they previously renounced their faith.

The mufti, or high priest, the oulemas, sheiks, and imans, could not view the progress making in the military establishments, without jealousy and alarm. They secretly denounced this new order of things, which they represented as contrary to the laws  
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and religion of the empire, and soon succeeded in exciting the Janissaries to rebel. The Nizam-gedittes were attacked, their barracks set on fire, and those who escaped death fled into the provinces and were dispersed. All the ministers of the Porte who had sanctioned the new levies were barbarously massacred, and the terrified Sultan issued a *hatti-sheriff*, by which the corps of Nizam-gedittes was for ever suppressed, which completed the triumph of the priesthood, the lawyers, and the Janissaries; and at the same time sealed the fate of Selim, who, with the approbation of the crafty and ungrateful mufti, and the oulemas, was deposed, and his cousin Mustapha proclaimed in his stead.

The ministers and adherents of Selim, with the women of the harem, were, of course, put to death. Mustapha, however, soon found himself seated on an uneasy throne. His chief support was one Cabakchy-Oglou, who had under his special command a corps of turbulent men known by the name of *Yamacs*, mostly Albanians and other mountaineers, who acted as assistants or labourers in the forts and batteries. To avenge the death of Selim, Mustapha Bairactar, the pasha of Rudshuk, who remained faithful to his deposed sovereign, a rare instance in Turkey, was determined to get rid of this Oglou, and for this purpose employed a desperado of the name of Hadji Ali, who, going to his house with four soldiers, burst into his harem and plunged a dagger in his breast. The grand vizier was now brought over to the views of Bairactar, who assembled a large army, and marched towards the capital, with the intention, as they let the sultan know, of delivering their sovereign and the inhabitants of the capital from the insolence of the *Yamacs*, demanding their suppression, the punishment of their officers, and the dismissal of the mufti. Mustapha, like Selim, consented to these demands, and for a short time all was tranquil in the capital. But Bairactar had laid his plans for the restoration of Selim. He resolved to wait for the first of those days on which the sultan should go in state to one of his kiosks on the banks of the Bosphorus. This soon happened, when Bairactar, with a chosen troop, forced the seraglio, and demanded the person of the deposed prince. Mustapha, informed of what was going on, got privately into the palace, and sent a black eunuch to Bairactar, to say that Selim should immediately be delivered up, at the same time ordering another of those harbingers of death to strangle him forthwith. Mustapha, however, was seized, and condemned to the same prison in which he had kept Selim, and his brother Mahmoud, whom he also held a prisoner, and had intended to put to death, was brought forward and proclaimed emperor in his stead.

Bairactar now became grand vizier, and, according to Juchereau,  
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on the day of his installation, thirty-three heads fell by the sword of the executioner, to grace the gate of the seraglio; the assassins of Selim, and the favourites of Mustapha, all the officers of the corps of Yamacs, were strangled and thrown into the Bosphorus; all the women of the seraglio attached to Mustapha were sewed in sacks and cast into the sea near the tower of Leander—'and,' adds Juchereau, 'the people applauded these numerous executions, and praised the severe justice of the new sovereign and of his prime minister.'

Bairactar, with the consent of the pashas of the empire, the mufti, and the oulemas, set about certain reforms, and, among others, constituted a special corps in the army, mostly composed of Janissaries, under the name of *Seymens*. In a short time, he became so haughty and tyrannical, that he was hated by the people, and viewed with an eye of jealousy by the very sovereign whom he had elevated. Among other things, he was accused of favouring the views of a descendant of Gengis-Khan towards the throne of Constantinople. One night, the whole neighbourhood of Bairactar's house burst out in flames, in which his palace was enveloped. The Janissaries, whom he had displeased by the formation of his select corps of *Seymens*, surrounded the burning palace, and put to death all who issued from it; but no Bairactar made his appearance. It was afterwards found, so Juchereau says, that this unhappy man, having got together his valuable jewels, and several bags of gold, shut himself up with one of his favourite mistresses, and a black eunuch, in a stone tower, in the hope of escaping the devouring element and the sword of his enemies. On digging out the ruins, the bodies were discovered, with the treasure lying by them; they had been suffocated—'Ils avoient été asphyxiés.' Other accounts state, however, that Bairactar blew himself up; thus, like another Sardanapalus, with his Myrrha too, choosing rather to

—————'be borne abroad upon  
The winds of heaven, and scatter'd into air,  
Than be polluted more by human hands  
Of slaves and traitors.'

An attempt was now made by the Janissaries to re-establish Mustapha; but the friends of Mahmoud were on their guard. Cadi Pasha, at the head of about four thousand men, and several pieces of cannon, swept the streets of Constantinople, and massacred without remorse all who attempted to oppose him. The barracks of the Janissaries were burnt down, and fires broke out in all the quarters of the capital. Men, women, and children fell a sacrifice to the flames. The people called out for vengeance; Mahmoud, being satisfied that the object of the Janissaries was to



to reinstate his brother Mustapha, ordered him to be put to death; the Janissaries, misinformed as to the fate of Bairactar, who, as they supposed, had escaped, sent deputies to the Sultan Mahmoud to assure him of their attachment, and to ask pardon for their last revolt; and the mufti, at the head of the principal oulemas, congratulated the sovereign on this new triumph of religion and the ancient laws. The old order of things was completely re-established; the Janissaries and the oulemas resumed their political influence; and an anathema was denounced against any one who should be hardy enough to speak even of the military system of the Franks, which had been the cause of so many evils.

Mahmoud, however, had seen enough of the vicious system of the Turkish armies, and the insolence of the Janissaries, to determine him to effect a radical reform. The Greek insurrection made such a measure the more necessary. One Halet Effendi, some time ambassador at the court of France, had returned home, bringing with him some tincture of the literature and feelings of civilized Europe. This man gained great ascendancy over the sultan's mind, and, for several years, was considered as the mainspring that moved the whole machine of government. The Janissaries, and those who held public situations, were jealous and offended at Halet's secret influence. The haughty soldiery held frequent meetings; at one of which they drew up a petition to the sultan, or rather a demand, for the dismissal of those of his ministers who were most offensive to them. No answer being returned, their aga was charged to demand an explanation. It is the duty of this officer to hold the sultan's stirrup while he dismounts from his horse, and he took that opportunity to inquire into the result of their petition. The sultan expressed his surprise and entire ignorance of any such petition. Inquiries were made, and it was found in the bureau of one of those ministers whose dismissal was demanded. Mahmoud, like his predecessor Haroun Alraschid, alarmed at the state of affairs, is said to have proceeded frequently in disguise through the streets and into the coffeehouses of Constantinople, and formed his opinion from the conversation of those with whom he mixed. The result was, the breaking up of the ministry, and the exile of four of its members to Asia Minor. A report also was spread that Halet Effendi had been strangled to appease the resentment of the Janissaries; but, as Dr. Walsh observes, 'he was reserved to exhibit another extraordinary proof of Turkish faith in their transactions with one another.'

'The sultan was strongly attached to Halet, and on his dismissal assured him of his personal safety; and, to confirm his word, he had given him a written protection under his own hand. He further told him,

him, that he meant to recall him when the present excitement should subside; and in the mean time directed him to retire to Brusa, as the pleasantest place of exile he could appoint. Halet set out with perfect confidence, being allowed to take with him a retinue of forty horse as a guard of honour, and having his written protection in his bosom. On his way, however, he found his place of exile changed to Konia, which he considered as further proof of the sultan's good-will. To ingratiate himself, it is supposed, with the Janissaries, he had formerly become a member of a college of dervishes; at Konia there was a large establishment of them, among whom he intended to retire for the present, and live in perfect security under the protection of their sanctity. He advanced leisurely, by easy stages, and was treated with distinguished respect by the constituted authorities wherever he rested.

'When he arrived near the village of Bola-Vashee, where he intended to pass the night, he was overtaken by a chouash, attended by an escort of twenty horse, who passed him rapidly on the road. This man had been despatched after Halet, and had in his bosom another firman from the sultan to bring back his head. He arrived first at Bola-Vashee, apprized the Muzzellim, or governor, of the object of his mission, and that his victim was following immediately after him. It was then agreed between them, that Halet should not be permitted to proceed to Konia, lest the influence of the dervishes should throw any obstacle in the way of his execution: so, having arranged everything, the Muzzellim and his attendants met Halet at the gate with the usual show of attention and respect, introduced him to an apartment in his house, and after the refreshment of coffee, they sat on the divan, smoking their pipes in friendly conversation; one having no suspicion, and the other not giving the slightest intimation of what was to follow.

'The executioner now entered the room, and immediately produced from his bosom the sultan's firman for Halet's death. Halet, in reply, coolly put his hand also into his bosom, and produced the sultan's firman for his safety. The Muzzellim calmly examined them, found that his death-warrant was that which was last dated, and gave it as his opinion that it was that which must now be executed. Halet then proposed to proceed to Konia, and write back by the chouash a letter to the sultan, to rectify what he affirmed was all a mistake; but the executioner would consent to no delay; he therefore produced his bowstring, and at once put an end to all discussion, by strangling him on the divan where he sat.'—pp. 75—77.

Halet, among other acts of munificence, and in accordance with those ideas which he had adopted from Christian company, had built a fine library at the college of Dancing Dervishes, and had annexed to it a mausoleum in which his body was to be deposited after his decease: his wife purchased his head for two thousand piastres, and placed it in this splendid tomb. 'The inveteracy of



of the Janissaries, however, was not to be appeased by his death; they insisted that the head should be thrown into the sea; and, notwithstanding all opposition, it was actually disinterred, brought to the seraglio point, and cast into the Bosphorus.

The death of Halet, though not the immediate, may be said to have been the remote cause of the extinction of the Janissaries. Mahmoud saw the absolute necessity of introducing European discipline among these troops. 'Like Peter the Great, he found the domineering of his Prætorian guards no longer tolerable; and as Peter rid himself of his Strelitz, so Mahmoud determined to dispose of his Janissaries.' Unlike the unfortunate Selim, Mahmoud possessed energy enough to adopt, and a relentless rigour to execute, any purpose. By promises, menaces, and executions, he brought over a majority of the Janissary officers to acquiesce in his plan. They agreed to furnish one hundred and fifty men from each regiment, and Egyptian officers were sent for to drill and discipline the new corps; but as Turks, like most ignorant people, annex more importance to words than things, and hate the very sound of anything like an innovation on ancient usage, the ill-omened name of Nizam-geddite, or New Regulars, was laid aside, and the same thing, now named Nizam-attic, or the old regulars, satisfied the troops.

The 15th June, 1822, was appointed for a grand field-day of the new troops, on the Etmeidan, at which the sultan, the oufemas, and the ministers, were to be present. On the day preceding, the different corps assembled to practise together, that they might be more expert in their evolutions, and they now discovered, for the first time, that they were practising the very thing they had all determined to resist: 'Why this is very like Russian manoeuvring,' says one—'It is much worse,' exclaims another. To stifle this rising discontent, the aga of the Janissaries severely reprimanded the one, while the other was imprudently struck in the face by an Egyptian officer. Instantly all discipline was abandoned, the assembled corps were thrown into commotion; they turned into the streets; robbed and insulted all they met; proceeded to the house of their aga, who had made himself obnoxious by promoting the new plan, and not finding him at home, assassinated his lieutenant, destroyed everything they found in the building, and even went so far, says Dr. Walsh, 'as to violate those observances which a Turk holds in the highest respect—they entered his harem, and abused his women.' They tore off their uniforms, and trampled them in the streets; and being joined by an immense rabble, proceeded to the Porte, carried off what valuables they could lay their hands on, and destroyed the archives. The

<sup>1</sup> The janissaries now displayed a spirit of determination, which they never manifest but in extreme cases. The first thing that struck me, on my arrival, as odd and singular in the streets of Constantinople, was an extraordinary greasy-looking fellow dressed in a leather jacket, covered over with ornaments of tin, bearing in his hand a lash of several leather thongs; he was followed by two men, also fantastically dressed, supporting a pole on their shoulders, from which hung a large copper kettle. They walked through the main streets with an air of great authority, and all the people hastily got out of the way. This, I found on inquiry, was the soup kettle of a corps of janissaries, and always held in high respect; indeed, so distinguishing a characteristic of this body is their soup, that their colonel is called *Tchorbadgé*, or the distributor of soup. Their kettle, therefore, is, in fact, their standard; and whenever that is brought forward, it is the signal of some desperate enterprise. These kettles were now solemnly displayed in the *Étmeidan*, inverted in the middle of the area, and in a short time twenty thousand men rallied round them.—*Walsh*, pp. 84, 85.

The crisis was now arrived. The sultan ordered such troops as he could depend on, and the artillery, to hold themselves in readiness; summoned a council, declared his intention of either ruling without the control of the Janissaries, or of passing over to Asia, and abandoning Constantinople and European Turkey to their mercy! and submitted, as a measure of immediate expediency, to raise the *Sandjâc Sheriff*, or Sacred Standard of Mahomet, that all good Mussulmans might rally round it. This last proposal met with unanimous applause. The holy banner, which is said to have been made out of the capacious nether garment of the Prophet, and which it is forbidden to all but Moslems to look upon, is never produced but on the most solemn occasions, and had not been seen in Constantinople since the year 1769; when the Austrian ambassador, his wife, his daughters, and a numerous suite of distinguished Europeans, having permitted themselves to view it from the window of a house in Constantinople, as it passed, were insulted and ill treated by the fanatical populace. The ambassador complained to the *Porte*, and, as an expiation of the offence, a few individuals (who had been guilty of other crimes) were strangled. The Court of Vienna, however, had the good sense to recall its ambassador, for disregarding the local customs and the religious feelings of the country in which he was residing.

No sooner came the important news of the sacred relic being brought forth, on the present occasion, than thousands rushed from their houses in all directions, and joined the procession with the fiercest enthusiasm. The mufti planted the standard on the pulpit of the magnificent mosque of *St. Sophia*, and the sultan



pronounced an anathema against all who refused to range themselves under it. Four officers were despatched to the Etmeidan to offer pardon to the janissaries if they would acknowledge their errors and immediately disperse; but this was rejected with scorn, and they on the instant put to death the four officers who had dared to propose submission. Mahmoud now saw that nothing was left for him but to decree the total destruction of this insolent corps: desirous, however, to cover the deed he contemplated with the sanction of the mufti, and thus enlist on his side the authority of the priesthood, he demanded whether it was lawful to put down his rebellious subjects by force; the sheik replied that it was: 'Then,' says the sultan, 'give me your *felva* to slay if resistance be offered;' which was accordingly done, and the fate of the janissaries was sealed.

'The Aga Pasha had by this time collected a force of sixty thousand men, on whom he could entirely depend; and he received immediate orders to put the janissaries down by force, which he lost no time in executing. He surrounded the Etmeidan, where they were all tumultuously assembled in a dense crowd, and having no apprehension of such a measure; and the first intimation many of them had of their situation was a murderous discharge of grape-shot from the cannon of the Topghees. Vast numbers were killed on the spot, and the survivors retired to their kisas, or barrack, which was close by: here they shut themselves up; and, in order to dislodge them, it was necessary to set the kisas on fire, as they refused all terms of surrender. The flames were soon seen from Pera, bursting out in different places; and that none might escape, the barracks were surrounded, like the Etmeidan, with cannon, and the discharges continued without intermission. It is not possible, perhaps, to conceive any situation more horrible than that in which the janissaries now found themselves; the houses in flames over their heads, and the walls battered down about them, torn to pieces with grape-shot, and overwhelmed with ruins and burning fragments. As it was determined to exterminate them utterly, no quarter was any longer offered or given, and the conflagration and discharge of artillery continued for the remainder of the day. The janissaries, notwithstanding the surprise and comparatively unprepared state in which they were taken, defended themselves with a desperate fierceness and intrepidity. The Aga Pasha was wounded, and had four horses killed under him, and his troops suffered severely. At length, however, opposition ceased, when there was no longer anything left alive to make it. The firing slackened and silenced—the flames were extinguished of themselves; and the next morning presented a frightful scene,—burning ruins slaked in blood—a huge mass of mangled flesh and smoking ashes.'—*Walsh*, pp. 88, 89.

For three whole days the gates of the city were closed, during which those who had not perished in the barracks were hunted and put

put to death, so that the streets were everywhere covered with corpses. The Franks in Pera, and even those in the English ambassador's palace, directly opposite the janissaries' barracks, scarcely knew what was going forward, except hearing occasional firing of artillery, and seeing blazes of fire and smoke, than which nothing is more common in Constantinople.

The number of janissaries destroyed on this occasion is variously reported: besides those who perished at the Etmeidan, barracks, and in the public streets, multitudes were caught and privately strangled in the houses where they were found, or brought to appointed places where they were beheaded together. These slaughter-houses, as represented by eye-witnesses, were very horrible. None of the large body assembled were supposed to have escaped. All the officers, with the exception of a few of high rank who had joined the sultan's party, were known to have perished; and the general opinion is, that twenty thousand were sacrificed on the occasion. Arubas and other machines were employed for several days in dragging down the mangled bodies and casting them into the harbour and Bosphorus. Here they lay, till becoming buoyant by corruption, they again rose to the top, and were floated into the sea of Marmora, where the eddies frequently carried them into still water; covering the surface with large putrid masses, in which boats and ships were sometimes entangled and delayed; exhibiting, in nearly the same place the reality of that which the poet only feigned of the vessel of Xerxes impeded by the bodies of his own soldiers—

“Cruentis

Fluctibus, ac tarda per densa cadavera prora.” —

Walsh, pp. 91, 92.

Those belonging to the corps who, by concealing themselves, had survived the dreadful massacre, were banished from Constantinople, to the amount, it is said, of twenty or thirty thousand; but as, according to Dr. Walsh, ‘they had suffered before from wounds, privations, and anxiety of mind, numbers sunk under debility, and died on the road; so that it is supposed not half of them ever reached their own country.’ Thus perished for ever that formidable corps which kept the sovereign despot in awe, and which, in fact, may be said to have governed the empire. Out of its ashes arose the present (unless we should rather say the *late*) nizamatlic, or *tacticos*, as some of our authors are pleased to call them, and which, with the organized cavalry, formed out of the Spahis, made, in the first campaign, so formidable a stand against the Russian army. These troops wore an uniform—which none of the old Turkish soldiers had ever done, with the exception of the janissaries—tight caps instead of turbans, and European shoes for boots or slippers with turned-up toes. Their petticoats had disappeared; they wore uniform jackets and cross belts, and muskets with



screwed bayonets; and they might be seen every day, says Dr. Walsh, 'not moving in tumultuous and irregular masses, as before, but marching, drilling, and mounting guard, with all the regularity of European troops.' The recruits thus trained, generally young men and boys from the mountains of Asia Minor, were awkward and ill-featured beings, but from all accounts they were brought into tolerable order and discipline in a very short space of time.

Many persons, however, are of opinion that the arm of Turkish power was considerably weakened by the adoption of the new system, and the subsequent destruction of the janissaries, and the reform introduced among the spahis. Valentini observes, that 'an enlightened sovereign, far from attempting to introduce among them anything of European practice, would rather seek to develop those peculiar qualities, of which the germ evidently exists in these extraordinary people.' There is something in this; but after all, there is no efficient force like that of a regular army. The spahis, like the cossacks, were wild and disorderly in their attacks, spreading themselves in small bodies, among the rocks and bushes, dashing down narrow passes, and, through places apparently impracticable, appearing suddenly and unexpectedly on the flank or rear of an enemy. 'Two or three men,' says an experienced witness, 'will advance and look about them; then you will see all at once five or six hundred, and woe to the battalion which marches without precaution, or which is seized with a panic.' The new system put an end to the wild assaults of these native guerrillas; and Mahmoud was thus left with a half-formed army, easily thrown into a complete state of disorganization. Having destroyed one species of effective force, and been hurried into the field before there was time to consolidate another, the sultan must have required iron nerves to contemplate his situation—and such nerves he had. That his troops, such as they were, behaved well till the fatal result of the battle of Prevali, cannot be denied; but since that event they have scarcely ventured to face a Russian force, however small. The result has been that the Russians crossed the Balkan, marched to Adrianople, and dictated terms of peace under the walls of Constantinople, without meeting with any opposition; while Mahmoud with his small force was paralysed and surrounded with treachery, disaffection, and cowardice.

The reforms we have been mentioning will not, however, account for all this. It is not to be doubted that the whole Turkish nation had lost, ere these miseries begun, much of that fierce and enthusiastic zeal for the propagation of the Mahomedan religion, which at one time made their very name formidable to all Europe. In their successive wars with the  
house

house of Austria, in order to secure the possession of Hungary, and thus open the road to Western Europe, they twice succeeded in reaching the gates of Vienna; and it required the united efforts of the German princes and of the Poles to drive them back within their own territories. The feeling which the power of the Turks then inspired may be gathered from Busbequius, who was for some years ambassador from Ferdinand to Solymán the Great. 'When I compare,' says this author, 'the difference between their soldiers and ours, I stand amazed to think what will be the event; for certainly their soldiers must needs conquer, and ours must needs be vanquished; both cannot stand prosperously together; for on their side there is a mighty, strong, and wealthy empire, great armies, experience in war, a veteran soldiery, a long series of victories, patience in toil, concord, order, discipline, frugality, and vigilance. On our side, there is public want, private luxury, strength weakened, minds discouraged, an unaccustomedness to labour or arms, soldiers refractory, commanders covetous, a contempt of discipline, licentiousness, rashness, drunkenness, gluttony, and, what is worst of all, *they* used to conquer, *we* to be conquered! Can any man doubt in this case what the event will be?' (HIST. III. 10. 3291)

When such apprehensions were entertained by an old and able diplomatist, we may form some judgment as to the then defective state of European armies, which since that period have made such signal improvements in *materiel*, tactics, and discipline; while the Turks, improving in nothing, have lost, particularly since the destruction of the janissaries, that fiery spirit which led them on to conquest, and seem, indeed, to have lost all confidence in their rulers. The atrocious deed of Mahmoud has, like similar acts of a Buonaparte and a Miguel, found its apologists. It was 'an act of state necessity;' its perpetrator is 'one actuated solely by a desire to regenerate his country;' his views 'are not confined to military improvements alone, but extend to the encouragement of European arts and literature.' He is undoubtedly less tainted with national prejudices than most of his predecessors; and we are told that he had succeeded in reforming several abuses in the administration of justice, and in passing laws to secure the regular and hereditary descent of property: nay, with a view to encourage the new military system, 'he had recourse,' says Mr. Macfarlane, 'to a measure extraordinary in an oriental despotism; he addressed public opinion!' This was done in a work called the 'Basis of Victory,' said to be a repetition and extension of a similar work, caused to be printed by the unfortunate Selim. But the only effect it produced was to make the multi and the oulema his bitter enemies; and by these, there is little doubt, should



and general style of government the inhabitants could have no reason to be dissatisfied. At all events, it would have been more satisfactory that Austria should have held these provinces as a guarantee for the payment of the stipulated indemnity by the Turk. The amount, however, of that indemnity, stipulated by General Diebitsch, makes it clear enough that a *pecuniary* liquidation of the claim is out of the question—if, indeed, such liquidation was not the last thing the General's government wished to obtain. The payment of the exorbitant demand is utterly impracticable—there is no Rothschild to advance money to the Turks, and the whole revenue of three years would scarcely suffice to wipe out this heavy score.

But the indemnities required by the treaty are by no means the most grievous and unreasonable part of it. The seventh article lays the foundation for a state of immediate and constant hostility. Its provisions are repugnant to every principle and practice of international law; in fact, they establish an *imperium in imperio*. By this article, Russian subjects are to live throughout the whole Ottoman empire, under the exclusive jurisdiction of the ministers and consuls of Russia. The Turkish authorities are to exercise no control whatever over Russian merchants, seamen, ships, or merchandize; they may ship, or trans-ship, or land, goods without giving any notice to, far less asking permission of, the local authorities; and, if any of the stipulations should be infringed, and the reclamation of the Russian minister should not obtain a full and prompt satisfaction, the Sublime Porte recognizes, beforehand, the right in the imperial court of Russia to consider such an infraction an act of hostility, and *immediately* to retaliate on the Ottoman empire. This we confess does appear to us to be monstrous. By the established law of nations, the civilised powers of Europe agree that their subjects, residing in a foreign country, shall be amenable to the laws of that country; but Russia exacts from her fallen enemy the degrading submission, that her subjects shall bid defiance to the laws and usages of the Ottoman state, and if interfered with, that immediate retaliation shall follow. A Russian, for instance, violates the sanctity of a Turkish harem, and gets a yatagan through his body; the Russian minister is unable to obtain satisfaction, and an *immediate* declaration of war ensues. This is certainly a pretty specimen of 'moderation.'

We pretend not to divine what steps the great powers of Europe may judge it necessary to be taken on the present emergency; but the aggrandisement of the Russian dominions cannot, we should suppose, be contemplated with complacency. In casting an eye over the map of the old world, and seeing how her territories stretch from the frozen ocean to the Mediterranean,

nean, with her broad shoulders resting on Europe and Asia, and her gigantic body pushing its limbs on all sides into the comparatively small chequered patches which form the several states of the two continents, the difference of their magnitudes reminds us of a whale in the midst of a shoal of porpoises. When we consider that this overgrown power is keeping up something like a million of men in arms, we confess that, without a sincere and honest confederation of civilized nations, it is no chimerical apprehension that western Europe may once more be deluged by the slavish barbarians of the north. However well disposed the Emperor Nicholas may be to cultivate the arts of peace, and exercise the virtues of moderation, which however he appears to have failed to do, with regard to Turkey, in breach even of a solemn declaration, it should be remembered that the good effects of his personal disposition are contingent on his life; and that it is impossible to say what line of conduct his autocratical successor might determine to pursue. Let Austria, in particular, look to this contingency, and endeavour to provide for it.

Austria, above all other states, is deeply interested in the treaty made with Turkey. By leaving the two great provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia in the occupation of Russia, with Servia ready to throw herself into the arms of this power, she is virtually surrounded and made vulnerable on three of her sides; open to an invasion at any moment, into Gallicia, Transylvania, Sclavonia, and, in fact, into all Hungary. If there be any faith to be placed in the word of Nicholas, when he disclaimed all aggrandizement of territory, he cannot in honour hold those provinces which the treaty has virtually given him in perpetuity; for being pledged for indemnity which the Turk can never pay,—being garrisoned by Russian troops,—and governed by hospodars appointed by Russia,—it looks very like a preconcerted scheme to obtain perpetual possession. If this be not meant, and if the Czar be desirous of putting his boasted moderation to the test, let him consent to their being placed under the protection of Austria, in the same manner as the Ionian Islands are under that of Great Britain. The Christian inhabitants would be rejoiced if altogether transferred to this power; and for such a boon it would be wise on her part, if so required, to abandon the north of Italy, where her very name is held in abhorrence. In every point of view, morally and politically, such an arrangement would appear to be desirable. To Austria it would lay open a line of coast on the Black Sea, extending about a hundred miles between the Dniester and the southern branch of the Danube, and thus restore something like a balance of power on that side between her and Russia; and it would prevent Turkey from ever interfering with the territories situated



situated on the northern side of the Danube;—but these are points, among many others of equal importance, which we apprehend it may be necessary to arrange by a congress of the great powers of Europe.

The Greek question, it would appear, is left to be reconsidered in London, not only as to the boundaries, but, we trust, also as to the future government of the emancipated districts. The man who by intrigue, by bribery, and by menace, has succeeded in placing himself at the head of the Greek government, is a political adventurer, and a mere tool in the hands of Russia. We say this advisedly. When Russia was required by the allied powers to give up the Ionian Islands, to be placed under the protection of Great Britain, she felt exceedingly sore at this arrangement. At that time the family of Capo d'Istrias had great influence in these islands, and Count John, the present president of Greece, was one of the Russian ministers at Petersburg. The old count and his family, resident in Corfu, with all their adherents, were in open and violent opposition to every measure of the British government; all its views and intentions were misrepresented, and their unfounded grievances and calumnies were advocated in the British parliament by Mr. Henry Grey Bennett, and Mr. Joseph Hume; and in Petersburg by Count John Capo d'Istrias, to whom the old father wrote that, among other barbarities committed by the English, they had designedly imported the plague into Corfu, with the view of reducing the people to such a state of despondency and entire submission, as to allow the Lord High Commissioner to avoid the fulfilment of such parts of the treaty as were not exactly to his liking. This letter from the father to the son was intercepted, read, and forwarded; but the Emperor Alexander knew the English too well to take any public notice of the absurd story of this silly old Ionian.

On this ground alone, we do not think that either England, France, or Austria ought to consider Count John Capo d'Istrias as a fit person to be placed at the head of the Greek government. It is, in fact, neither more nor less than throwing Greece into the hands of Russia, between which and Servia, the province of Albania only is interposed. To talk of the independence of Greece under such a man as Capo d'Istrias is a farce. Let us see what has been his conduct since his arrival.

At the national assembly of the Greek deputies, for the choice of a ruler, held in June last at Argos, he had the indecency to appear in a full dress Russian uniform, decorated with Russian orders; and to protect his august person against any retaliation on the part of some of the deputies whom he had insulted, and to intimidate the assembly, he surrounded himself with Colocotroni's  
troops,

troops, which also bivouacked on the steps of the building in which the assembly was held: thus circumstanced, he had everything in his own way; he made long speeches, but not one deputy ventured to utter a single word. He is accused, how justly we know not, of expending the money sent by Russia and France, in bribes to the electors and deputies; and, in order to secure a majority for himself, he had the unparalleled audacity to bring forward Greek deputies from Candia, Scio, Samos, Negropont, and other islands and places still in the possession of the Turks, and not included within the line of demarcation drawn by the allied powers for the boundaries of future Greece; but these arrangements he privately affects to despise, and talks of his conquests and the determination of the Greeks to extend the boundaries beyond the line proposed by the allies. *His* conquests, indeed! Had it not been for that impolitic attack, to give it no harsher name, on the Turkish fleet in Navarin, planned, as it would now seem, by a Russian admiral and for Russian objects—had we not compelled Ibrahim Pasha to withdraw his troops, and the remains of the Egyptian fleet to move homewards,—and had not a large French force landed on the Morea,—it is clear, almost to demonstration, that the Russian army would never have crossed the Balkan, the Greek question would probably have been settled by the ambassadors then negotiating in Constantinople, and the whole state of the Russian war materially altered. Then might Count John Capo d'Istrias, with his brother, a man still more generally obnoxious to the Greeks than himself, have taken their departure for Russia, without the assistance and éclat of an English line of battle ship, which afforded them a conveyance from Ancona to the Morea; and in return for which piece of service, as well as civility, the said count cannot conceal the bitterness and animosity which he harbours against the English government, and to which he is said to give utterance in his conversation, to a degree of indecency and irritation that is quite laughable. That gallant officer, General Church, to whom singly the Greeks are more indebted than to any other individual, has retired in disgust, declaring, that 'the actual system of the government of Greece is not in harmony with his opinions or conscience.' If, therefore, it be meant to give to the fickle, and by no means united, Greeks a steady and independent government, we are morally certain that this object will never be accomplished under the administration of Count John Capo d'Istrias.

We should be very happy to hear confirmed the rumour of a congress, to be held for the settlement of these important questions. It is time, if the peace of Europe is to be preserved.



- ART. VIII.—1. *Fourth Report of the Select Committee of the Public Income and Expenditure of the United Kingdom. Revenue, Expenditure, Debt.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 10 July, 1828.
2. *Histoire Financière de la France depuis l'Origine de la Monarchie jusqu'à l'Année 1828.* Par Jacques Brisson. 2 tom. Paris. 1829.
3. *Essay on the Sinking Fund.* By Lord Grenville. 1829.
4. *The Nature and Tendency of a Sinking Fund; in three Letters to the Duke of Wellington.* By the Earl of Lauderdale. 1829.
5. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into and to state the Mode of keeping the Official Accounts in the principal Departments connected with the Receipts and the Expenditure for the Public Service.* 1829.

THE system of defraying the public services by borrowed money, and of pledging the future taxes for payment of the interest, took its rise in Genoa and Venice, was matured in Holland, and was thence introduced into England by King William. That prince found here a debt of little more than one million, the interest on which had for some time ceased to be paid; but a series of campaigns, then new to this country, required new expenses, and these occasioned loans which, at the peace of Ryswick, had amounted to more than twenty millions sterling. This money had been raised chiefly in eight per cent. stock, on the security of specific taxes, which were considered sufficient within a few years to pay off the capital, as well as to meet the accruing interest. Accordingly, five of these twenty millions were replaced before the subsequent war of Queen Anne. But the honours of Marlborough could not be won without treasure; and thirty-five millions being raised at six and at eight per cent., peace found us with a debt of fifty-two millions, entailing an annual charge of 3,351,000*l.* This small yearly claim drew very deeply from our great grandfathers' pockets,—the country gentlemen saw bankruptcy at their elbows,—and the peaceful reign of George I. was passed by Sir Robert Walpole in measures of financial arrangement. The taxes pledged to the public creditor were collected into three funds, the joint surplus of which formed, in 1716, the first Sinking Fund. This new machinery was long the nation's hope; but in 1732 it was sacrificed by Sir Robert to his desire of relieving the country party from the weight of the land-tax. Still the peace did, as usual, lower profits, and the interest of the debt was reduced, at first to five, and later to four per cent.: so that although, after twenty-three years of repose, its capital was diminished by

four millions only, the annual charge no longer amounted to more than two. The fears which even this amount was able to awaken are recorded by George, Lord Lyttleton, in a period, the dignity of which is for our ears somewhat impaired by the arithmetical proportions of its object. 'Our well equipt fleets and well drest troops,' writes that excellent nobleman, 'give to be sure an air of magnificence; but then, it is well known that we owe *almost fifty millions*, and have been forced to apply the sinking fund not to discharge that debt but to furnish out these shows; while in most parts of England, gentlemen's rents are so ill paid, and the weight of taxes lies so heavy upon them, that those who have nothing from the court can scarce support their families.' If country gentlemen find their rents light and taxes heavy, they do not now seek a remedy from the court, which, indeed, it happily can no longer afford.

During the first war of George II., money was borrowed in three per cent. stock at par, until the Scottish rebellion enhanced the terms. 'Our parliamentary aids,' writes Lord Bolingbroke, circumstantially, after the renewal of peace, 'from the year 1740 exclusively, to the year 1748 inclusively, amount to 55,522,159*l.*, a sum that will appear incredible to future generations, and is so almost to the present.' The single year of Waterloo has seen this incredible expenditure doubled. Mr. Pelham, availing himself of the peace, reduced to the lowest rate of known interest the greater part of the public securities, which he united in a fund thence called the Three per cent. Reduced Annuities. Those debts which already bore no heavier rate, were in like manner consolidated, and henceforth bore the familiar name of Three per cent. Consols. The amount of the debt may be learnt from these forebodings of a contemporary:—'It has been a generally received notion among political arithmeticians! (economists, they now delight to be called) that we may increase our national debt to *one hundred millions*, but they acknowledge that it must then cease by the debtor becoming bankrupt. *But it is very difficult to comprehend, if we do not stop at seventy-five millions, where we shall stop.*'

The question so long since stated has not been yet solved. Speedily did those numerical philosophers see their received notions refuted: to this debt of seventy-four millions, the war of Frederic added another sixty-four, nearly an equal amount: our debt, indeed, has increased, not by an arithmetical ratio; each war of equal extent has not entailed an equal addition of charge, but it has grown with a geometrical impulse; the new load of each contest has nearly equalled the united burthen of all which preceded it.

Scarcely, however, had the American war broken forth, when the old anticipations received Dr. Price's sanction. 'We are now,' he



indeed, by his experience in banking, infused a delusive vigour into the public securities. For a time he raised money with ease, but the dividends were paid with borrowed coin; and when every rash resource was exhausted, the minister was obliged to confess a considerable deficiency in the revenue. Yet the annual charge of debt did not exceed ten millions sterling, in great part annuities, sold for the worst of all lives—those of thoughtless Parisians; and the whole amount raised by taxation was, according to Camus, only twenty-two millions.

These sums are not large, but public credit had been forfeited, and the distress of the treasury threw the government into the States-General's hands. Thus did long financial negligence undermine throne and altar. But when dogs lick the blood of the fair, the noble, and the good, who shall speak of gold? The issue of lying assignats is a venial error of days when the democrat seasoned barbarity with bestial outrage. We must not, however, omit that in 1796 two-thirds of the yet remaining securities were cancelled by the issue of another fictitious paper. One-third only was inscribed on the great book of the treasury, and became the nucleus of the present debt, under the title of *tiers consolidé*. About this time, a loan was proposed to be raised for the invasion of this country. It was accompanied by a lottery, the winners in which were promised one-fourth of the booty, and the contributions that should be realized by the victorious army of England. The interest of the *tiers consolidé* was forty millions of francs, or sixteen hundred thousand pounds sterling; and Napoleon added no more than about 240,000*l.* per annum to this charge. That conqueror's stock-exchange was his neighbour's rifled treasury, as the stores of murdered peasants were the magazines of his army; and when military contributions failed, it was an easy resource to forge notes of the Austrian bank at the head-quarters of the invading army.

The *rentes publiques*, when the Bourbons returned, were not more than two and a half millions sterling, but the payment of these moderate dividends had been for some time suspended, and there were large arrears in every branch of expenditure. France was moreover engaged by treaty to furnish, within five years, to the allies, twenty-eight millions sterling, in war contributions, and twenty-seven for the support of the occupying armies. The government attempted to meet these demands with money raised on loan, but no proposal of theirs was acceptable to the French capitalists. The Duke of Richelieu then placed in the hands of the allies, as a first payment, thirty millions of *rentes*, that is, about twenty-four millions sterling, of five per cent. stock, which were disposed of by them to foreign houses,

at the ruinous price of fifty-three pounds for each nominal hundred, so that the money was obtained at the interest of nearly nine and a half per cent. When the next loan came out, the French bankers, who had before been really deterred by a regard for their characters, joined in the biddings. The government soon acquired strength, and learnt from our own treasury that national credit rests on punctuality and on publicity. A large sinking fund was put in motion. In each departmental capital there was established a register, called a *Petit Grand Livre*, on which the inhabitants of the neighbourhood might acquire and transfer investments in public securities. So well did the new system work, that already, in 1824, the five per cents. were above par, and only the interested clamour of Paris prevented that able financier, the Comte de Villèle, from converting the whole of the existing debt into a four per cent. stock. A partial reduction has since been effected; and, on the other hand, forty millions sterling of three per cent. stock have been subsequently granted, in compensation for the claims of the emigrants. Yet, in last August, the French three per cents. sold at eighty-one, when our own bore no higher price than eighty-nine. The total amount of French taxation is about nine hundred and fifty millions of francs, or thirty-eight millions of pounds; the charge of their debt about seven millions sterling; so that its weight has been nearly trebled since the late peace. We suspect that our neighbours, having once found the means of borrowing, will not be slow to avail themselves largely of that easy resource.

Before the revolutionary war the Seven United Provinces alone, on the continent, possessed good public credit: without this, they could scarcely have freed themselves from Spain,—this it was that for more than a century preserved them from France. Subdued at last, and cut off from their patrimonial commerce, they struggled faithfully to pay their dividends (three and a half millions sterling), until Louis Buonaparte, drawing a precedent from his brother's dominions, annulled, by an edict, two-thirds of this annual charge; which the present king, however, has in some degree restored. At the restoration the cancelled portion was placed on a peculiar footing. It was declared to be a 'deferred' debt,—certain amounts thereof are each year drawn by lot, and replace equal amounts of 'actual' debt, redeemed by the sinking fund. Now that the Seven Provinces have made common purse with the Austrian Netherlands, their annual charge of debt may be stated at sixteen hundred thousand pounds, and their revenue at about six millions and a half.

The finances of their ancient mistress present a different scene. The council of her second Bourbon king, less punctilious than the Duke of Orleans' advisers, pronounced that a monarch is



not bound by his predecessor's pecuniary engagements. So worthy of this decision has been the subsequent conduct of Spanish financiers, that when the Cortes of 1820 attempted a revision of the national debt, their first official calculation laid it at one hundred and forty millions, which amount, such was the state of the accounts, their latest estimate reduced to forty-eight millions. The securities which that ephemeral body issued, being disallowed by Ferdinand, are now quoted at the price of nine for the nominal hundred. It is an error to suppose that their republican origin was the cause of their condemnation, for no interest has been paid by the present government on any part of the previous debt. The management of the subsequent loan is by no means clear from suspicion. Since the loss of America, the Spanish revenue has been reduced to about five millions sterling. We have been assured, by a financial friend who had long watched their *sinking fund*, that it was at last entirely absorbed in a journey of the court from Madrid to St. Ildefonso. But we have elsewhere expressed sufficiently our belief that, ere long, some appearances of revival, in this country so favoured by nature, will force themselves on general notice.

The three eastern powers, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, had little debt or none before the revolution, made large issues of government paper, which was depreciated during the war, and since the peace have restored their finances by loans conducted on our principles, and mainly effected in our market. The five per cent. stocks of the three powers bore lately one price, about ninety-eight, while those of France were at one hundred and ten. Since the faith of the Tuileries is not preferred to that of Potsdam or of Schönbrunn, the greater worth of the French bond can only be ascribed to the surety of a representative chamber. Assuredly this warranty alone is wanting to place Prussian credit in the rank which is due to an upright, frugal, and improving government.

If the engagements of many European governments have been precarious, the fungous republics which have sprung from the rottenness of Spanish America, have observed the parent state's financial punctilio. The computation of their debts is the estimate of English credulity. Nor have the payments of our younger brother beyond the Atlantic always been punctual. The House of Representatives in 1790, the year of their first session, annulled during ten years the interest on one-third of the debt, the whole capital of which did not exceed fifty-four millions of dollars, and did not, therefore, reach twelve millions sterling. This latter amount had been reduced by redemption to less than ten millions, when the war of 1812 was declared; yet already in the second year of that contest, the treasury failed to obtain even three of the five

five millions which it purposed to raise by loan, although it was willing to accept the very low price of eighty for one hundred of six per cent. stock. War must always, we think, embarrass the finances of the American Union. The population is too much scattered, and the government at Washington is too feeble for a vigorous effort by immediate taxation, while the frail connexion of the states, the rapid absorption of capital in the clearance of land, and the loose local notions of pecuniary honour, must always excite in the mind of the capitalist doubts that can only be allayed by certain additional dollars per cent.

Thus it appears that the incumbrances of all other states in Christendom do not equal the burden with which our own country is singly charged. Have they, then, governments more free than our own? The reverse is the truth. Or have they been ruled by more provident ministers? Their treasuries would fain have borrowed, but they could find no lender. Was, then, our security so much more ample than theirs? They have broader lands, and some of them count more numerous citizens—but their mortgage was insufficient, because the bond of their word had been broken: our resources have not always been large, but our pledge has been ever sacred.

We now come to our own public expenditure and to the labours of the Finance Committee. That body (which comprised the financial talent of each section of the House of Commons) first directed their attention to the form of accounts in which the income of the public and the disbursements are registered. But the inquiry they soon found unsuited to their number; and, at their suggestion, the Treasury appointed a small commission 'to inquire into and state the manner in which the accounts are kept in the principal departments of income and of payments, with a view to render the system more uniform as well as more capable of affording ready and satisfactory information on the nature and amount of expenditure.' The authority granted to the commission was full. Their report, comprising the army, navy, and ordnance, we think able and honest. It states that the correct application of funds has been, in these departments, fully attained by the gradual introduction of new registers, such as the increasing wants of each office from time to time demanded; but that the want of system, resulting from these incidental arrangements, tends to embarrass the general statements of the accounts, and to shut out the public from a due acquaintance with the details of the expenditure.

This defect of arrangement, which is not confined to a single office, the commission proposes to correct by establishing throughout the departments a new general system of accounts, founded on the mercantile system of book-keeping.

Passing from the form of our accounts to their contents, we  
2 K 2 will



will assume, as the basis of our inquiry, the last annual balance-sheet laid on the table of the Commons.

| RECEIPTS.   |  |                    |            |
|---|--|--------------------|------------|
| Ordinary Revenue, excluding Repayments, &c., but including Charges of Collection. |  |                    |            |
|   |  | £.                 |            |
| Customs   |  | 19,417,184         |            |
| Excise  |  | 22,810,595         |            |
| Stamps  |  | 7,317,609          |            |
| Assessed Taxes, &c.   |  | 5,162,878          |            |
| Post Office   |  | 2,207,098          |            |
| Crown Lands   |  | 448,792            |            |
| Other sources   |  | 217,779            |            |
|   |  | <u>57,032,833</u>  |            |
| Deduct Increase of Balances and Bills outstanding                                 |  | 131,163            |            |
| Total Ordinary Revenue  |  | <u>£56,951,669</u> |            |
| PAYMENTS.   |  |                    |            |
|   |  | £.                 | £.         |
| Repayments, Drawbacks, &c.  |  | 4,057,900          |            |
| Charges of Collection   |  | 3,890,151          |            |
| Other payments  |  | 1,396,440          | 5,286,392  |
| Dividends, Interest, and Management of Funded Debt                                |  | 27,146,076         |            |
| Interest on Exchequer Bills   |  | 949,429            |            |
| Debt. *Dead Weight Annuity to Bank of England, expiring A. D. 1860                |  | 585,740            |            |
| *Life Annuities on Sinking Fund   |  | 643,017            | 29,324,263 |
| Civil List  |  | 1,057,000          |            |
| Pensions charged by Act of Parliament, &c.  |  | 370,867            |            |
| Permanent Salaries and Allowances   |  | 78,204             |            |
| Civil Courts of Justice   |  | 150,365            |            |
| Mint  |  | 16,813             |            |
| Bounties  |  | 2,956              |            |
| Miscellaneous   |  | 327,867            |            |
| Miscellaneous in Ireland  |  | 800,959            | 2,204,553  |
| Purchase of Duke of Athol's interest in Isle of Man                               |  |                    | 132,944    |
| Army  |  | 9,084,042          |            |
| Annual Navy   |  | 5,667,969          |            |
| Votes. Ordnance   |  | 1,446,972          |            |
| Miscellaneous   |  | 2,012,115          | 17,211,100 |
|   |  | <u>£54,159,453</u> |            |

\* These two items are not included in the original document.

**This**

This statement of our expenditure is certainly very open to the censure which the commissioners have passed on our form of accounts. Neighbouring governments, which have copied our financial system, may, in this one respect, be our teachers. In their yearly financial statements, the expenses are classed under their natural heads, or, which should come to the same thing, under the several departments of office. The items of our balance-sheet are not arranged according to the object of outlay, nor yet to the importance of the amount. They were framed, in fact, for the inspection, not of the public, but of that tribunal to which our constitution refers their control. The form of accounts was established by the Commons committees, for the use of the Commons, and the selection of the items rests simply on the various parliamentary warrants under which the payments are respectively issued.

The three charges which stand first in the column of public expenditure, and which in the last year amounted to more than nine millions, are deducted from the gross receipts in their passage to the Exchequer. This amount has, in popular mis-statements of our finances, been often represented as so much waste charge added to the direct claims on our resources. Of the nine millions, however, four cannot even be said to have once belonged to the Treasury, though they pass through the hands of its officers, for the following reason. Goods of British manufacture are upon their exportation exempt from the duty which attaches to their domestic consumption. The exemption arises from a fear lest the foreigner, rather than contribute his money to our public burthens, should supply himself elsewhere with an inferior but untaxed commodity. Although, therefore, the duty is demanded from the manufacturer, the whole amount is repaid to the exporter, so soon as those goods are placed on board ship. More than fourteen hundred thousand pounds were thus in the last year drawn back upon cotton goods only, nine hundred thousand on refined sugar, nearly four upon glass. Some accidental over-payments restored complete the deduction which is thus made from our revenue. This large sum, therefore, is a mere deposit; and does no more constitute a part of the national income, than do the wine, the silk, or the cotton, which are warehoused in the London Docks. Four then of the calumniated nine millions are fully accounted for. Mr. Cobbett, however, is content to assert that the collection of our revenue stands us in between five and six millions yearly; he, therefore, has not quite exceeded the truth by one-half of his estimate. The charges of collection are stated in the account for the last year at 3,890,000*l.*; but, in that amount, there are included 663,000*l.* for the Post-office. Now, this charge regards



regards a service which must be performed, whether revenue be derived from its execution or not; nor probably does the excess of receipts obtained by the government in any considerable degree augment the needful expense of the establishment. Separating, then, this item from the real costs of collection, we find that, instead of five or six millions, their amount is little more than three millions. Even this charge is swollen beyond its proportion by the heavy costs of Irish revenue. If we look to British income only we shall find that a clear receipt of 47,764,000*l.* (the receipts of the Post-office excluded, as well as its payments) was, in the last year, secured for the very small additional charge of 2,669,000*l.* The rate of collection, therefore, did not exceed five pounds twelve shillings per hundred.

Our next head, entitled 'other payments,' comprises disbursements for various national purposes, which are discharged out of the revenue in the course of collection, with a view to spare the double remittance to and from the Exchequer. These 'other payments' are, indeed, a miscellaneous mass: they consist chiefly of military and naval half-pay in Ireland, fishery and linen bounties, expenses in securing woods and forests, &c., salaries in Scotch courts of judicature, quarantine and warehousing establishments. That constant reference to the manner of payment, which overlooks the objects of the expense, has here brought together Scotch judges and cavalry officers, groves and herrings. It has realised the monster of Horace—

'Humano capiti, cervicem pictor equinam  
Jungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas  
Undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum  
Desinat in piscem.'

The combination is the more unfortunate, because many of the collected members have been unnaturally severed from their proper bodies. Thus the *humanum caput*, the northern judicature, is set down for 187,000*l.* amongst 'other payments;' while the English courts of justice unfairly occupy the entire judicial post in our general table, although they are rated at 150,000*l.* only; and a few items lower the 'miscellaneous payments in Ireland' involve 147,000*l.* for the laughter-loving bar of that country: adding some smaller-issues, as salaries to bankrupts, and to slave commissioners, &c. it would be easy to show a general charge for our judicial expenditure exceeding half a million. Now, the Treasury can have been led by no motives of interest to fritter this necessary charge amongst a suspicious array of anonymous items. A faulty principle of distribution has alone caused this derangement. The same principle is curiously exemplified in the statement

statement of bounties. Who would imagine, that while a dwarfish amount of 3000*l.* exclusively assumes that title on the national balance-sheet, no less than 270,000*l.* paid within the year for linen and fishery bounties, pass incognito among 'other payments,' merely because the payment is sanctioned by a different act of the legislature? We should mention, that this large disbursement is under process of reduction.

Passing by for a moment the most vital drain on our resources, the Debt, we arrive at that part of our civil expenditure, the issue of which from the Exchequer is permanently sanctioned by Parliament. Its foremost item, the Civil List, has been not seldom the theme of radical rhetoric. Less innocent than the Scottish damsel who expected to find the Second George walking in the gardens of Hampton Court with his crown upon his head, the sons of sedition yet affect to believe that this round million does pass through the pockets of his great grandson, our present gracious sovereign. Now, the plain truth is this:—The English Civil List was, by Mr. Burke, distributed into eight classes, and the first of these only, the privy-purse, containing 60,000*l.*, was placed at the King's private disposal. Its remaining items stand as follows in the estimate of 1816, the last period of its arrangement:—II. To the judges of the realm 32,000*l.*—III. To our ministers abroad, and to consuls, 226,000*l.*—IV. The fourth class consists of the bills of his Majesty's tradesmen in the five great departments of the household, and stands in the estimate at 209,000*l.*; while, in the fifth class, we have the salaries of the great officers, and the wages of attendants and servants stated at 140,000*l.* Now, be it observed, that in these two latter classes and in the first consists the whole amount which can at all be considered as bearing any personal reference to the Sovereign. If then the royal income be somewhat more than 400,000*l.* its amount does not perhaps exceed, in a duplicate ratio, the receipts of some opulent subjects; and may be advantageously compared with the French King's revenue, a civil list of about one million sterling, free from diplomatic, from judicial, and, we believe, from all other extraneous charges.

In viewing the whole amount it should not be forgotten, that our late excellent king's regard for economy led him, in the early part of his reign, to approve a new arrangement of the civil list expenditure, by which he accepted of a fixed revenue in lieu of those improvable funds which had formerly been appropriated to the crown. On the revision of the civil list in 1816 it appeared, that had George the Third conducted the entire branch of expenditure with those funds which had been provided for his predecessors,



cessors, there would at that period have remained to the crown a total surplus of 6,300,000*l.*, which sum the public had gained by the change of provision.

The next item on the general balance-sheet bears the suspicious designation of pensions; but two-third parts of the charge might have been more properly termed a provision for the branches of the royal family. The rest are pensions for the most part voted by Parliament, nor need they shrink from inspection. If 248,000*l.* were last year apportioned to thirteen members of our blood royal, their average income will appear modest indeed, contrasted with the splendid apanages of the Bourbon race; nor probably does their aggregate import outweigh the domains of that French prince, part of whose honourable exile was passed in the school-room of Zurich. The other names on this national list are marked by public desert; many of them are stars of our history, and when merit shoots upwards from the bosom of the people, a moderate tribute may well be appended to the hard won titles of Rodney, Nelson, or Abercrombie.

We are now come to the four great heads of current expenditure, the Army, Navy, Ordnance, and Miscellaneous Services. The charges of these, as is well known, are not permanently provided for, even under the uniform tenour of peace. The jealousy of our constitution allows them to be voted for the current year only; so that, if within twelvemonths parliament were not again summoned, these great establishments would be altogether brought to a stand, by the sudden failure of their supplies. While these four heads of expense are the title-deeds of the Commons' annual sessions, the secondary advantage is gained, that they are thus subjected to yearly consideration. For each there is prepared a separate detailed estimate of the expense proposed to be incurred during the year; this estimate is laid before the House by a member of the government connected with the department concerned; the items are by him severally proposed for its approbation; the honourable member for Aberdeen or for Abingdon rises as each article is named, examines the official mover, often provokes a debate, and sometimes demands a division. Thus do the discussions on these estimates form an essential part of each session's standing business. The Finance Committee has inserted in its report a return of the amounts lately expended under these heads in each year. Since a tabular view presents, in a little space, arithmetical facts which many pages might fail to convey, we give the following abstract of the most important particulars:—

*Estimate*

|                | Estimate of Finance Committee in 1817. | Sums voted in 1818. | Sums voted 1827. | Sums voted 1828. |
|----------------|--|---------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Army. ....     | 8,500,000                              | 9,061,883           | 8,194,504        | 8,049,939        |
| Ordnance ..    | 1,150,000                              | 1,245,600           | 1,649,972        | 1,597,196        |
|                | 9,650,000                              | 10,218,483          | 9,844,476        | 9,647,735*       |
| Navy. ....     | 6,000,000                              | 6,456,809           | 6,125,850        | 5,995,965        |
| Vote of credit |  |                     | 500,000          |                  |
| Total. ....    | 15,650,000                             | 16,764,292          | 16,470,326       | 15,643,100       |
| Miscellaneous  | 1,700,000                              | 2,206,667           | 2,275,034        | 2,184,941        |
|                | 17,350,000                             | 18,970,959          | 18,745,360       | 17,828,041       |

Our expenditure, as is well known, was thoroughly examined by the Finance Committee which sat in 1817. Their estimates, amounting for the three defensive services, to fifteen millions and a-half, were exceeded in each of the four succeeding years by more than a million. In 1822, the voted expenditure fell below the determined level; it was swollen beyond it by the expedition to Portugal; and in last year had returned within a few thousands to the original standard. The ordnance was made by the Finance Committee the subject of a massive Report, but the reductions recommended bore a small proportion to the bulk of the volume. Indeed, the chief feature of retrenchment was the lieutenant-governor's salary, a proposal in which the house did not see fit to acquiesce; and Mr. Hume himself has since made the candid admission, that "much time had been expended in examining the ordnance estimates, and *very little progress made to warrant any reduction whatever.*" Indeed the low expenditure of this department arose in the last year from a peremptory order to reduce, experimentally, 75,000*l.* on the total amount; but the abatement proved to be a mistaken economy, and has been abandoned. On the whole, the safety of the empire is, then, entrusted to one hundred and thirty thousand men. Now France, we believe, maintains about two hundred thousand soldiers. The forces of Austria and Prussia have always been on a much higher footing than ours. Even the late king of Bavaria kept, we know not how, seventy thousand men under arms. Indeed Old England is by nothing more happily distinguished from her neighbours than by the silence of the trumpet and drum. At this moment, moreover, the due level of our peace establishment is but an object of speculative research. No man who looks to the plains of Roumelia, or whose vision reaches even to the palace of Elysée Bourbon, would consent that this country should lose the aid of a single right arm.

But although the number of our forces is moderate indeed, the

\* These two services have been added together, because there has been a transfer of expenditure from the Army to the Ordnance department.



charges of the three services are very large amounts. These gross numbers, however, but ill show the nature of our defensive expenditure, which consists of two very different elements, the effective payments and the non-effective. They are stated separately, for the first time we believe, in the following return of the votes for the year ending 5th January, 1829 :—

|            | Effective Estab.<br>£. | Half-pay, &c.<br>£. | Total.<br>£. |
|------------|------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Army . .   | 5,226,771              | 2,967,733           | 8,194,504    |
| Ordnance . | 1,272,266              | 377,706             | 1,649,972    |
| Navy . .   | 4,578,491              | 1,547,359           | 6,125,850    |
|            | 11,077,528             | 4,922,798           | 15,970,326   |

We here see that out of sixteen millions expended within the year on the three services, about five millions, or nearly one-third, were absorbed in payments to persons not engaged in active service. This latter sum constitutes the bulk of the charge popularly termed the Dead Weight, which is, we must observe, no further connected with the advance lately made by the Bank to the government, than inasmuch as the diminishing amount of this annual loan was calculated on the decrease erroneously expected to arise in this class of claimants. That a twenty years' war should have multiplied the claims of the country's old servants is natural, nor is it surprising if national gratitude has done in some cases more than enough. Though the sum total be large, it is some comfort to think that this money is not absorbed by the rich or the idle, but is diffused in numberless minute payments amongst persons who all have claims for past service, and most of them no other resource. For our parts, we never see a veteran's red coat and three-cornered hat without satisfaction, and we are glad that the stateliest pile in this kingdom welcomes the mariner on the shore of Greenwich. Nor has our old enemy's gratitude been much less fruitful than ours. The beacon of their capital is the gilded dome of the Invalides; and it should be known that their dead-weight at this moment passes four millions sterling. Indeed a gallant admiral had much reason in repelling this new term as too cavalier, and in protesting against the old couplet—

'When sailors are wanting, we'll give them bread and beer,  
But when the French are beaten, there's nothing more to fear.'

Still, in these matters, it must be always remembered, that if the claims on our bounty are strong, our means are limited, and if our old servants are poor, many of their tax-paying masters are not much richer. The Finance Committee have accordingly made this branch of outgoings the subject of a special report, in which they insert detailed accounts of the whole.

On

On the half-pay, amounting for the three services, with some similar allowances, to more than two millions, the committee report that they have no suggestion to offer as to the existing rates, but that they must express the strongest objection to the recent changes in the regulations under which it is received. Until the year 1820, no half-pay was payable to any officer holding any office or employment, civil or military, under the crown; but in that year, parliament, contrary to the wish of the government, repealed the regulation. 'This,' says the report, 'was an ill-advised measure, only to be accounted for by a strong sense of recent services.' Its effect has been an increase of 73,000*l.* in the joint annual charge of the army and navy.

The next item, a charge for Naval and Military Out-Pensioners, and for disabled men in the Ordnance, amounts to the most serious sum of 1,820,765*l.* During the first years of the century, threatened invasion fixed public attention on the means of increasing our military force. The demand for the militia clogged the recruiting of the regular army, and the bounties on enlistment rose to a ruinous height. In 1806, when the death of Mr. Pitt allowed to the Whigs a short occupation of office, Mr. Wyndham, who had taken up the question strongly from the benches of opposition, was appointed to the war department. Enlistment had hitherto pledged the recruit without limitation of time; but, in practice, a discharge was scarcely refused to three or four and twenty years service, and good conduct would, probably, be crowned with a pension. The new secretary's bill limited to seven years the military engagement, and when that bond had been twice renewed, gave the mature soldier, for his twenty-one years of service, the legal claim of a permanent daily shilling. On the latter part of the arrangement which has alone been retained, the committee deliver the following judgment:—

'It appears, however, to the committee, that no time ought to be lost in reverting to the principle of enlistment which existed in the army before the expensive regulations of 1806; which would leave it in the power of the crown, with the sanction of parliament, to regulate from time to time, unfettered by positive engagements, the scale of pensions to be granted to soldiers when discharged after such a period of service as would give them a just claim upon the liberality of the country.'

This recommendation has received the attention of government, and the terms of the contract will, in future enlistments, be wholly revised. But the public faith is plighted on the present footing to two large bodies of men. Eighty-two thousand veterans, at this moment, receive the promised pension from Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals; and since the charge can only drop with



with their lives, their country cannot desire its cessation. The numerical force of the army stands at ninety thousand in the votes of the year. Now a compulsory reduction of these men's reversions would be a breach of engagements; but the secretary at war proposes to offer them the choice of immediate, and therefore, more certain advantages. These are a free discharge after fifteen years of service; and after sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen, a gratuity of one-half, of one, or of two years' pay, as well as an allotment of ground, to those who are quartered in colonies where there is land to be settled. Sir Henry Hardinge appeared to suppose that four thousand men may accept the proposed terms, and to estimate at 300,000*l.* the eventual annual saving. Another considerable ingredient of the non-effective charge is, the head of pensions to officers' widows. On these the committee reports:—

'The old restrictive regulations were all abrogated by the interference of parliament in the years 1818 and 1819; the effect of which has been to entail on the public, according to the accounts of the last year, an additional annual charge, for the three services, of 74,471*l.*'

It is really curious that the benevolent intervention of the House of Commons, twice unfortunate in military finance, has not been more happy in the civil departments, as the following report of its selected members testifies. After premising that, in 1821, the Treasury had made a minute that steps ought to be taken with a view to diminish the allowances of civil superannuation, their report subjoins these remarkable particulars:—

'In the session of 1822, his Majesty's ministers brought in a bill, founded on this minute, which was passed into a law. The two chief objects of that statute, were,—1. To reduce the rates of the superannuation allowances. 2. To impose upon all persons entitled to the benefit of the act, the obligation of contributing a yearly sum, bearing reference to the amount of their salaries, towards a fund, appropriated to defray the charge of the superannuation allowances.—These were salutary regulations, and having once been established, the committee cannot but express their regret that parliament was prevailed upon, *in opposition to the declared wishes and disposition of the government*, to repeal, in the year 1824, the clauses relating to the contribution fund.'

But during the last session the Chancellor of the Exchequer made the following declaration:—'Since the Committee of Finance recommended to our consideration a bill upon superannuations, I have felt it my duty to enter into a strict inquiry on the subject; and I have found a considerable saving likely to be the result.—I am deeply impressed with the importance of investigating the Dead Weight, and I am convinced that it is in that branch that

*the*

*the most important relief can be afforded to the public.'* Accordingly, the system of civil self-insurance has been restored, and thus has official prudence at last prevailed over parliamentary bounty. These are not the sole instances in which the Commons have defeated the saving rules of a minister; yet there are blind guides, who impute all our incumbrances to the want of a democratic chamber. All history gives them the lie. The mob of Athens applied to the stage the revenues which should have defeated Philip, and death was the doom of the patriot who attempted to restore their use. It was not till republican hypocrites had dethroned the king, and unhoused the lords, that the excise-officer stepped over the Englishman's threshold. Indeed the funding system, as we have seen, took its rise in republics, and came over in the ship that brought us the third William. Even if history were silent, we know that three great nations of Christendom, England, France, and the Netherlands, are governed on the representative system, and burthened with national debt, while its three eastern powers, severally bound by one man's will, are subject, each of them, to a very moderate rent-charge. The causes of the distinction are also well known. The treasurer of an unlimited monarch stands alone opposed to a nation, and must answer for the discontents which his demands may occasion, while a representative is a comparatively irresponsible body, whose constituents defray more readily expenses to which the exercise of their franchises has given a previous sanction. As for the respective credits of a single and of a mixed government, Messrs. Hope or Rothchild's preference for the stock of the latter rests on the simple mercantile principle, that the safety of a bill grows with the number of its acceptors.

We have now followed the Finance Committee through the principal elements of our current expenditure, and there only remains to be considered the charge of our National Debt. These arithmetical details, which, when they regard private affairs, or the dealings of a trading company, offer scanty fare to a liberal mind, acquire a higher interest when the being of an empire depends upon the just movement of their revolving millions. We have seen that, since the constitutional era of 1681, six wars raised the debt to an amount nominally exceeding eight hundred millions. But it was the last contest which created the mass of our debt. This was not waged for the hairbreadth balance of power, but for our firesides, our monarchy, and our church. National defence did indeed grow into the deliverance of Europe, but the treasure was not unproductively sunk which was bestowed on the later contest between right and wrong, religion and atheism, spirit and matter; and from that gold, fertilized by gallant blood,



this country has reaped incorruptible honour. Even now that the heavy costs are reckoned up, if the question of peace or war could be laid before our countrymen anew, we are persuaded that they would fight the good fight once again. Had the war been unjust, impolitic, and inglorious, we should still have been bound to the costs, unless we had been willing to bear such byewords as attach to the defaulting broker, or to the fugitive gamester. Least of all can we, who have carried off the prize, now speak of drawing the stakes. They, too, who have entrusted their means to our honour, are our fellow-subjects, and consequently do not withhold from equal contribution to the public necessities the annual fruits which they receive from our hands. Moreover, though the aggregate of their rights is exceedingly large, their individual shares are by no means exorbitant. There were lately two hundred and eighty-four thousand holders of the several stocks, and twenty-eight millions sterling of dividends. Now we may fairly reckon for each fundowner at least two members of his family dependent on his resources. On this calculation the twenty-eight millions will have been divided into eight hundred and fifty-two thousand average portions of three and thirty pounds each; but, as some who stand in the above list of creditors may have owned at once two descriptions of stock, and have been therefore doubly enumerated, it may be safer to assume the medium share at forty pounds yearly. The stockholder's claim on our honesty gives him then only a moderate command of necessities and comforts, but its loss would be heavy indeed, because in most cases that small fortune is all.

Let us now borrow for a moment the light which the Committee has reflected on the retrograde movement of our debt during this period of peace. The following extract from one of their tables, shews the permanent amount of its annual charge for the years 1816 and 1828.

| <i>Permanent Annual Charge of the Public Debt.</i>               |                  |                  |                  |
|--|------------------|------------------|------------------|
|  | 5th Jan. 1816.   | 5th Jan. 1828.   | Diminution.      |
| Interest of the funded debt, including management . . . .        | £28,563,592      | 25,769,689       |                  |
| Terminable annuities, in equivalent perpetual annuities . . . .  | <u>1,353,615</u> | <u>1,842,881</u> |                  |
| Total interest of funded debt and annuities . . . .              | 29,917,207       | 27,612,570       | 2,304,637        |
| Interest of unfunded debt outstanding and unprovided for . . . . | <u>1,998,937</u> | <u>807,814</u>   | <u>1,191,123</u> |
|  | 31,916,144       | 28,420,384       | 3,495,760        |
|  |                  |                  | This             |

This reduction of 3½ millions effected in the fourteen years of the peace, the Committee states to be somewhat more than fifteen per cent. on the debt contracted in the preceding war. We were led to inquire what proportion of this decrease had been brought about by the sinking fund, and we found in the report some curious calculations by which this question is set at rest. The diminution of charge was effected

|  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| By reduction of interest on funded debt now existing | 1,604,035         |
| By ditto ditto on unfunded debt now existing         | 466,053           |
| Total reduction of charge by fall of interest        | 2,092,078         |
| By annuities expired, land-tax, &c.                  | 214,262           |
| By application of surplus and balance                | 1,189,420         |
|  | <u>£3,495,760</u> |

Nearly two-thirds, then, of the total diminution have followed the reduction of interest, one-third has been worked out by the redemption of capital. On this point, however, the Committee remarks—

‘ That the above diminution of the debt has been effected while a reduction in the rates of taxation, equivalent to a remission of 27,000,000*l.* a year has taken place, and also while advances out of the public revenue were made for the promotion of public works and the employment of the poor, to the extent of 4,797,443*l.* beyond the sums repaid.’

This reduction, however, falls far indeed below the promise of the sinking fund, which, even on its new basis of 1823, had been nominally endowed with five annual millions, as also with the growing interest of the stock, purchased by its commissioners. During the five years since elapsed, twenty-seven millions had been paid over according to law; but there had been effected no corresponding reduction of debt; and, indeed, in the last two accounts, our income had scarcely appeared equal to our current expenditure. The poise, therefore, of these five years’ financial balance, became an object of the Committee’s inquiry; and they have stated it for each year as follows\* :—

|      | Income.     | Expenditure including charges of collection. | Surplus.  |
|------|-------------|--|-----------|
| 1823 | £58,317,093 | 53,434,858                                   | 4,882,225 |
| 1824 | 59,749,973  | 54,844,449                                   | 4,905,524 |
| 1825 | 57,657,257  | 53,759,047                                   | 3,898,210 |
| 1826 | 55,454,856  | 55,122,702                                   | 332,154   |
| 1827 | 55,401,611  | 55,159,123                                   | 242,488   |
| 1828 | 57,532,399  | 52,888,695†                                  | 4,643,704 |

\* This Table is the same as that contained in the Report; but the drawbacks, &c. have been subtracted from both income and expenditure. Since the same sum is deducted from both sides, the balance is of course unchanged.

† 42,000*l.* advanced per 7 Geo. IV. has been deducted.

Thus,



Thus, during the five years which preceded the labours of the Committee, had circumstances gradually raised our expenditure, while our means varied also at the same rate, but unhappily in a contrary direction, so that the surplus is at last reduced on the table to the trifling amount of 242,488*l*. We have added, however, from the public accounts, the balance of the past year, which is most satisfactory; for in that our income increased by more than two millions, and the same sum was reduced in our expenditure.

Having measured the diminishing excess of our income, the Committee proceeded to investigate the causes of its decrease; but, before we enter upon the most interesting field of their survey, it may be well for a moment to examine the elements which constitute our enormous mass of receipts. These items, as they stood in last year's statement, we have brought together, and in some degree classified as follows:—

*Account of the Ordinary Revenues of the United Kingdom,  
including the Expenses of Collection.*

|                                   | £.           | £.         |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|------------|
| Spirits                           | 7,921,645    |            |
| Malt                              | 4,623,112    |            |
| Beer and Hops                     | 3,516,764    |            |
| Wine                              | 1,700,051    |            |
| <i>Spirituous Liquors</i>         |              | 17,761,572 |
| Sugar and Molasses                | 5,191,280    |            |
| Ten                               | 3,448,814    |            |
| Coffee                            | 425,389      | 9,065,483  |
| Tobacco and Snuff                 |              | 2,793,873  |
| <i>Total Stimulants</i>           |              | 20,620,928 |
| Butter and Cheese                 | 307,794      |            |
| Currants and Raisins              | 436,580      |            |
| Corn                              | 193,228      |            |
| <i>Food</i>                       |              | 937,602    |
| Cotton Wool and Sheep's, imported | 395,174      |            |
| Silks                             | 345,278      |            |
| Printed Goods                     | 657,741      |            |
| Hides and Skins                   | 451,944      |            |
| Paper                             | 723,497      |            |
| <i>Dress, &amp;c.</i>             |              | 2,573,634  |
| Soap                              | 1,210,754    |            |
| Candles and Tallow                | 665,758      |            |
| Coals, sea-borne                  | 895,085      |            |
| <i>Household Articles</i>         |              | 2,771,597  |
| Carried forward                   | £ 35,903,761 |            |
|                                   |              | Glass      |

|                                    |                    |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Brought up                         | £35,903,761        |
| Glass                              | 616,527            |
| Bricks, Tiles, and Slates          | 392,365            |
| Timber                             | 1,488,498          |
| Building, &c.                      | 2,497,390          |
| Auctions                           | 275,564            |
| Excise Licenses                    | 845,160            |
| Miscellaneous Excise and Customs   | 2,205,903          |
| <i>Total Excise and Customs</i>    | <i>41,727,778</i>  |
| Deeds, &c.                         | 1,686,315          |
| Legacies, Probates of Wills, &c.   | 2,043,268          |
| Insurances                         | 989,070            |
| Bills of Exchange, Bank Notes, &c. | 690,005            |
| Newspapers, Advertisements, &c.    | 581,526            |
| Stages and Post-horses             | 646,387            |
| Other Stamp Duties                 | 681,038            |
| <i>Total Stamp Duties</i>          | <i>7,317,609</i>   |
| Land Tax                           | 1,210,227          |
| Windows                            | 1,164,010          |
| Houses                             | 1,295,550          |
| Servants                           | 277,759            |
| Carriages                          | 352,478            |
| Horses                             | 400,676            |
| Other Assessed Taxes               | 462,969            |
| <i>Total Assessed and Land Tax</i> | <i>5,162,873</i>   |
| Post Office                        | 2,207,998          |
| Other Resources                    | 666,572            |
|                                    | <i>£57,082,830</i> |

Such were, in the last year, the main elements of our revenue; the foremost of which is also the most remarkable, being a receipt of nearly eight millions sterling on ardent spirits alone. Of this enormous consumption, a part was the source of moderate enjoyment—a large part of more doubtful indulgence—a very small portion was required for needful refreshment. It is clear, then, that nearly every man who had money to lay out on this superfluity was capable of contributing a part thereof to the wants of his country. But although we might be desirous, even if there existed no claims for public expenditure, that some such restriction should be imposed upon dram-drinking, we cannot but regret that the old English potation, malt liquor, should be subject to the payment of three and a half millions, whilst four and a half are also advanced upon malt by the brewer and the distiller conjointly. Wine, we see, brought in at the same time 1,700,000*l.*—a receipt which experience has shown to be hardly capable of increase by



any augmentation in the rate of the duty. The total sum, then, raised on spirituous liquors was, in the last year, no less than seventeen millions and three-quarters. Our next class consists of the milder stimulants, coffee and tea, with sugar their ally, whose produce of five millions being added to theirs, makes up another large sum of nine millions sterling. Last of all comes the dirty but seducing weed of the New World, which is able, besides its own original value, to draw from our countrymen's pockets two millions and three-quarters. Here, then, we have the astonishing aggregate sum of twenty-nine millions and a half, paid on the above means of excitement, of which only beer was once deemed a necessary by the labouring class, though, to beer, coffee and tea have been in our days happily added. Still here are about thirty millions, *i. e.* more than the half of our payments, raised upon means of enjoyment never strictly required—the acquisition of which does, or at least should, presuppose the previous provision for positive wants. The five largest amounts received upon articles of solid food do not, in this account, reach one million. On three of these, butter, cheese, and corn, the duties are protective of Irish or British interests; and it may be remarked that, in the last year, when our crops had fallen short, the charge on foreign corn became for the time little more than nominal.

Clothing, again, is almost entirely free from taxation; for the duties on foreign wool and on cotton are trifling, and a duty of threepence on printed goods can now scarcely be felt, since there has been lately a reduction, perhaps of one-half, in the manufacturing price of the commodities. The tax on leather is, however, supposed considerably to raise the cost of shoes to agricultural labourers; but a fall in the selling price is not always, in this trade, the consequence of an abatement of duty. The amount raised on the three necessities, soap, candles, and sea-borne coals, was about three millions. The coals, even charged with a moderate duty, still afford us a great advantage over other nations, consumers of wood; yet a reduction on any of these articles would certainly be most felt where it would be also most welcome. We have, lastly, two large items for building-materials—one million and a half for timber, protective of the vast navigation between this country and Canada; and about 400,000*l.* for brick, tiles, and slates. Under this head, about 600,000*l.* for glass may, perhaps, be properly classed. The duties on timber and bricks are chiefly felt by dwellers in towns, and among these, very much, we believe, by the house-owners. Since the rents of houses so situated are chiefly governed by their situation, an abatement would probably remain in the builder's or ground-landlord's pocket. The stamp-duties, again, which

which arise from the transfer of wealth, fall mainly on the rich; and it will be perceived that they are, in fact, a kind of irregular income-tax. The same may be said of the following class:—the land-tax is, in fact, a partial duty on property; nor do the taxes assessed on houses, windows, carriages, servants, and horses, much differ therefrom; especially now that dwellings of less rent than ten pounds, and with fewer windows than eight, are exempted from payment. A very small part then of the vast sum thus raised is obtained by direct taxation, and of this part only the assessed taxes by the collector's unwelcome annual call. The stamp-duties are incidental, rare, and often unseen. These assessed taxes, amounting to no more than four millions, have, perhaps, drawn forth more complaints than all the remainder. Indirect taxation, however, has something about its very principle that seems akin to British feelings; and in operation it at once reaches minute payments and salaries which no income- or property-tax could easily touch. It appears, indeed, that large direct claims from the government are in this country only admitted amid the efforts of a national struggle. We have seen that Sir Robert Walpole sacrificed at last to parliamentary dislike of the land-tax, his own creation, the Sinking Fund. That sacred fund, revived in our days by Mr. Pitt, and long cherished in war, fell with the duty on property at the renewal of peace. A nation, then, may well tax itself *indirectly*, as an honest man may, without cowardice, put out of his power the funds which should satisfy his creditor's claims.

But we must own that the amount of British income now spent abroad by voluntary absentees presents a new and a most serious feature. We have little doubt that this amount averages *five millions sterling*!—Nor are we at all prepared to say, that some measure, by which these eluders of their just contribution to the national purse might be reached, would not meet with the approbation both of the parliament and the public.

Such is at present the nature of our taxation. The net receipts of its four great branches, when the Committee first sat, had fallen, since 1823, from fifty-four to less than fifty-one millions; and this very large deficit, supposed by the public to indicate decay in our resources, was probably the main cause of that body's appointment. But their fourth report has shown the surprising fact, that this failure of three millions, the source of so much alarm, was in fact a *bona fide* increase of nearly six millions sterling: for in the three years of increased production which succeeded the distress of 1822, the assessed taxes, the spirit, coffee, wine, silk, coals, and some other duties, had been lightened by an aggregate amount estimated at no less than nine millions, according to the



quantity of those articles charged under the old rate in the respective years of repeal. Now, if there had ensued a decrease of the whole nine millions, it might have been said that the revenue had been injudiciously weakened; but it could not have been asserted that the consumption had dwindled. That gauge of the public enjoyment and means would have been stationary. It appears, however, that in the four years which preceded the Committee's sittings, not in the two first only, the period of rank speculation, but in the latter two also, the season of payment and penitence, there arose an increase of consumption which in the last year actually brought back to the Exchequer six of the nine surrendered millions. The details of this rapid growth will be best shown by the statement of the Committee.

The abatement of revenue by taxes remitted, would have been, in the year 1827 as compared with the year 1823, no less than 9,182,571*l.*; and it proved to be only 3,308,316*l.*, the difference being the above stated increase by consumption, of 5,874,255*l.*

An examination of the details of these accounts will, in like manner, prove, that throughout the period, notwithstanding the occurrence of extraordinary circumstances, the revenue has manifested, in each of its principal branches, striking evidence of undiminished productiveness, such as can only be ascribed to a state of general wealth and industry in the country. In the customs (from which department the returns have been rendered in the most perspicuous form) the progressive increase of duty and consumption in each of the articles enumerated is shown in the account referred to. It appears that of the whole increase of 2,732,000*l.* in the year 1827, about one-half arose upon articles whereon the duties had been reduced, and the remainder upon those which had been subject to no change,—the improvement in the former being 1,382,000*l.*, and on the others 1,350,000*l.*; among which last-mentioned is, however, included an increase of 775,801*l.* for corn duties.

The Committee cannot refrain from calling the attention of the House more particularly to the increased use of some articles of luxury between the year 1822 and the present time. The number of four-wheeled carriages of the 1st class charged with duty, has increased from 18,031 to 24,058, being an addition of one-third in that space. Those of the 2d class have increased from 7412 to 9475. The increase of two-wheeled carriages has been from 31,477 to 43,002:—All these augmentations being in about the same proportion of one-third.—In the number of male servants, horses, and dogs assessed with duty, it will appear by the schedule, that the increase has also been very considerable.

Well might the Committee assert, in the July of last year, that these and other similar documents afford irresistible evidence of the abundant resources of the country, even under trials of the severest description. The succeeding January has brought a net receipt,

receipt, increased by two millions sterling. That this further growth will, in the current year, be supported, we have indeed no right to expect. The present stagnation of our internal commerce must arise from a pause in consumption, on which our revenue mainly depends. This languor, the return of which is so common as to be almost periodical, has been ascribed jointly to the state of Portugal, the war in the East, the American tariff, the recall of the country pound-notes, and to the last year's deficient harvest. The latter we believe to have been a chief immediate cause of distress. The crops were even less favourable in France, and the pecuniary distress has been more severe. Yet foreign trade is to them of inferior importance, and their inland circulation can have been little affected by the contraction of ours. Still the cry of distress has been general on that side of the Channel. The wine-growers are in despair; the bottle of best wine has been lately sold on the Moselle for one halfpenny. The silk-weavers of Lyons have been for some time at half wages, and so have the cotton-weavers. In some departments it has been doubted whether the *contribution foncière*, and the property tax, could be paid up at all. Indeed, since the best is the home-market, there is no wonder if, when the farmer and the landlord lose much of their crop and their rent, and every consumer applies his means more largely to the purchase of bread, the tradesman and the manufacturer miss their accustomed demand. But though scarcity has lately pinched the industry of England and of France, neither that evil, nor the recall of pound-notes, nor the political clogs on British commerce, have hampered the American Union. Yet we have been assured by an eminent surveyor, recently returned from the service of one of those governments, that the wealth which he here unexpectedly found struck him as a forcible contrast to the general poverty which he had recently quitted. The state of business in the United States is also thus described in a letter from Boston, dated on the 7th of last July. 'The commercial world over the globe seems paralysed, and many manufactories on a large scale, with the proprietors and stockholders, have failed and are utterly ruined. All business is confined to the wants only of the day, teaching a necessary absolute economy, which men of business in times past have not been accustomed to.' These ruined American manufacturers, be it observed, are the very men who have lately received, from a party jealous of England, an increase of protecting duties. A larger cause of embarrassment must therefore be sought, and may be found, probably, in a general distrust, springing out of recent commercial credulity. From a yet higher point of view, we may also perceive, that during war commerce



commerce has dazzling prizes, which obscure the ruin of the less happy adventurers, at whose expense they are won; while the steady intercourse of peace, more wholesome but less exciting, discourages ardent minds by its equable distribution of moderate profits.

The very favourable conclusion at which the Committee arrived induced us to extend the inquiry over the former years of the peace. The result is shown by the following table, in the formation of which we have selected twelve articles,—six of daily enjoyment, tea, coffee, sugar, wine, foreign spirits, and tobacco; and five of household necessity, soap, starch, candles of wax and tallow, and bricks. To these silk has been added. Beer we have not inserted, because its late increase has outgrown, we understand, the progress in the consumption of malt. Leather is also excluded by an imperfection in the returns. The quantities given below are those of domestic consumption. An useless multiplication of figures has been avoided, by adopting one million as the unit, so that the decimal places are hundreds of thousands, &c. :—

| Candles. |      |       |         |         |        |      |         |       |         |        |       |
|----------|------|-------|---------|---------|--------|------|---------|-------|---------|--------|-------|
| Tall.    | Wax. | Soap. | Starch. | Bricks. | Sugar. | Tea. | Brandy. | Rum.  | Coffee. | Tobac. | Wine. |
| lbs.     | lbs. | lbs.  | lbs.    | thous.  | cwt.   | lbs. | gal.    | gals. | lbs.    | lbs.   | gals. |
| 1816     | 81   | 85    | 79      | 2.5     | 696    | 2.2  | 20.2    | .91   | 2.88    | 7.5    | 12.8  |
| 1817     | 78   | 88    | 64      | 2.4     | 697    | 2.9  | 20.8    | .88   | 2.85    | 8.6    | 13.5  |
| 1818     | 77   | 86    | 68      | 3.4     | 812    | 1.4  | 22.6    | .77   | 3.13    | 7.9    | 13.6  |
| 1819     | 80   | 83    | 69      | 4.2     | 1,065  | 2.4  | 22.6    | 1.06  | 3.01    | 7.4    | 12.9  |
| 1820     | 82   | 83    | 74      | 4.3     | 979    | 2.5  | 22.4    | 1.13  | 2.96    | 6.9    | 13.0  |
| 1821     | 87   | 88    | 79      | 4.4     | 964    | 2.6  | 22.8    | 1.20  | 2.76    | 7.3    | 12.9  |
| 1822     | 80   | 86    | 81      | 5.9     | 977    | 2.6  | 23.9    | 1.30  | 2.67    | 7.4    | 12.9  |
| 1823     | 102  | 87    | 97      | 5.7     | 1,263  | 2.8  | 23.7    | 1.39  | 2.79    | 8.2    | 13.4  |
| 1824     | 109  | 93    | 100     | 5.5     | 1,493  | 2.9  | 23.7    | 1.57  | 3.05    | 7.9    | 13.0  |
| 1825     | 114  | 105   | 102     | 6.6     | 1,391  | 2.6  | 24.8    | 1.68  | 2.50    | 10.7   | 14.5  |
| 1826     | 110  | 90    | 96      | 6.1     | 1,351  | 3.2  | 25.2    | 1.84  | 3.13    | 12.7   | 15.7  |
| 1827     | 115  | 94    | 104     | 7.3     | 1,123  | 3.0  | 26.0    | 1.63  | 3.01    | 14.9   | 14.7  |
| 1828     |      |       |         |         |        | 3.2  | 26.7    | 1.64  | 3.99    | 16.5   | 14.5  |

We here see that the people of this country have, in the last year, consumed one-half more of candles, soap, starch, bricks, sugar, brandy, and one-third more of tea, than they did only twelve years ago, a date which seems to most of us recent. Yet on none of these articles has there been any considerable reduction of duty. The consumption of the remaining commodities, the imposts on which have been abated, has increased in various proportions. Within the last six years coffee has doubled, rum and wine have grown by one-half, tobacco at a slower rate. Of raw silk, six times as much, and of thrown silk there has been introduced three times as much as at the close of the war. In tracing on the table the steps of this general progress, we find that the year 1825 shows, in every column, sudden advance, which is not surprising, for that was the year of excess, but we also find that this spring-tide of consumption has had no countervailing ebb; a higher level was reached in that year, and has been maintained even under

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our present discouragement. The sudden but lasting advance extends to almost every official return of the period.

But if national consumption have increased thus mightily since the close of the war, we must not forget in how much larger proportion that contest increased the charge of our debt, or how moderate have been our subsequent payments. That charge stood in the first year of the war at nine and a half millions, in the first of the peace at thirty-two and a half, and amounted even in 1828 to twenty-nine millions, or threefold of the former annual burthen. Now, if such be the increase of debt during war, and all attempts at reduction prove in peace, as they ever have, ineffectual, bankruptcy cannot in the end be avoided, unless the public means grow also with equal rapidity. Have then our national resources kept pace, since 1793, with the triple advance of our debt? The question, in itself difficult, is yet more perplexed, by the changes which, in the meantime, temporarily affected our measure of value—the currency. We have seen how wonderfully consumption has increased since the war, and we might be tempted to infer a corresponding improvement in our resources. But though the benefit be certain which the public derives from the augmented quantity of articles purchased, the increase of value expended, with which we now have to do, is less sure. The price of most commodities has been lowered greatly. Still, that this country has been, within the last thirty years, greatly enriched, cannot be doubted. It so happens, indeed, that the records of the revenue supply us for a part of this period, in the tax on the transfer of property by will, with no inaccurate measure. For though land be exempted therefrom, and some other property also escapes by previous settlement, an equal proportion of the country's existing wealth, whatever that be, does probably, in each year, pay this gloomy tribute. *Nec præter invisam cupressum ulla brevem dominum sequetur.* This proportion, we should moreover remark, is not drawn from expended income, the uncertain resource of the current season, but from capital, from the accumulated savings of all foregoing years. The fault, then, of the tax is the merit of the measure.

*Produce of Legacy and Probate Duty.*

|          | England.  | Scotland. | Ireland. |          | England.  | Scotland. | Ireland. |
|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| 1808 . . | 710,520   | 15,294    |          | 1819 . . | 1,514,010 | 81,390    | 56,030   |
| 1809 . . | 945,030   | 34,765    |          | 1820 . . | 1,555,739 | 97,710    | 42,138   |
| 1810 . . | 860,745   | 21,632    |          | 1821 . . | 1,652,847 | 104,425   | 45,974   |
| 1811 . . | 864,025   | 25,823    |          | 1822 . . | 1,897,138 | 96,402    | 43,653   |
| 1812 . . | 880,095   | 33,957    |          | 1823 . . | 1,712,924 | 88,916    | 45,708   |
| 1813 . . | 962,378   | 42,883    |          | 1824 . . | 1,793,310 | 108,088   | 54,665   |
| 1814 . . | 1,182,662 | 38,390    |          | 1825 . . | 1,823,238 | 108,179   | 64,810   |
| 1815 . . | 1,231,179 | 66,643    |          | 1826 . . | 1,631,688 | 106,692   | 59,156   |
| 1816 . . | 1,325,876 | 42,605    |          | 1827 . . | 1,748,177 | 103,665   | 67,916   |
| 1817 . . | 1,626,285 | 48,973    | 53,775   | 1828 . . | 1,938,994 | 108,894   | 69,217   |
| 1818 . . | 1,537,854 | 57,439    | 57,305   |          |           |           |          |

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We here have it in evidence, that the amount of property annually devolved by will has been, during the last twenty years, doubled in England, and in Scotland trebled; nor need we doubt that personal property has increased at those rates in each country. But we must not hasten to infer a tantamount growth of national wealth; for the progress of debt has, in the meantime, added largely to devisable possessions, not by the production of wealth, but by the creation of consols; which latter process resolves itself into a mere transfer of ownership. Again, the price of these public securities has risen much during the peace, yet neither here is any accession to the capital stock of the country. Nor can the value of land have advanced in this proportion. Husbandry, indeed, has made great progress, and vast sums have been expended, as well in the inclosure of wild ground as in the improvement of the older soils, yet we cannot perhaps allow rents to have been augmented more than thirty per cent. However, if we throw in the former fifteen years of the war we shall perhaps be entitled to assume, that since the year 1793 the wealth of this country has increased by one-half. Even since the peace of Amiens our population has probably grown at that rate, for between the first and the third census of Great Britain, in 1801 and 1821,\* it rose from 10,942,000 to 14,391,000, and can now, therefore, scarcely be less than sixteen millions. Fifty per cent. have been also added to our debt since that illusory calm; and to this point, if our previous conclusions be just, will the country have fetched up its leeway.

This were so far well; but much, by such an estimate, would remain to be done. The advance, however, of national wealth may bear up against increase of taxation in two different modes. Either there may be added to each order of the community new members possessing the average income of their respective class, or its stores may grow in the hands of the old population. The two principles will work for the most part together, but the former seems inherent in new countries,—the latter, the peculiar resource of ancient states. Now our own nation has, within the last forty years, increased its capital, and also improved its agriculture and manufactures more than was ever known in any people under the sun. Within the same time our annual taxation has also increased by about thirty-five millions sterling. Has the growth of our surplus income, aided by the contributions of our very large new population, enabled us to bear this great addition of weight? We believe that it has.

We have ourselves no doubt that our means have kept pace with the increased load which our late struggles imposed. The

\* 1821. The mode of registration has been changed since the latter year.

present then is safe, as the past has been glorious. But our actual repose must have an end, and with war there must probably come upon us a new weight of incumbrances. Will our resources still cope with our burthens, as the arm of the smith grows over the anvil? We are not among those who believe that our population or our means of support have yet reached their summit. Our national agriculture has already attained great excellence; but we have still much to learn from the Tuscans, the Lombards, the Flemings, as to the treatment of the land actually under cultivation; and we have millions of acres that have never yet been cultivated at all. The ground, rich or poor, always lends itself to increased pains, and man has in some degree over the soil a power of creation. Much of Flanders, the garden of northern Europe, was thus gained by the churchmen of old from the sandy wilderness; and Great Britain alone, we doubt not, has yet nurture for fresh millions of sons.\* To Ireland, moreover, we ought with confidence to look for a large accession of strength. Her contributions to the common exchequer fall at present far indeed short of her relative population and size; for England is said to contain thirty-two millions of fertile acres, Scotland but five, and Ireland no less than eighteen. The last census gives to the three countries a proportion of population nearly the same—twelve millions to England, two to Scotland, and nearly seven to Ireland. These two sets of numbers keep almost the parallel proportion of six, one, and three and a half. Now we will not bring forward the forty-four millions of English revenue, because the common metropolis is an unfair weight in our scale. But if Scotland, poor by nature, puts four millions yearly into the general purse, we do think that we may fairly demand twelve at least from the triple population of Ireland. But how stands the fact? Ireland does not yield more than Scotland to our national store; yet that island has natural advantages greater than our own. England is only fertile by the engrafted tilth of the husbandman. In Ireland, the successive crops of grain which follow a hasty ploughshare are choked by the weed of the sluggard. Does she wish to part with her superfluous produce? her rivers are more than ours, her havens more hospitable, and nearer to the new centre of commerce. An English or a Scotch population would have made Ireland another Flanders, Grenada, or Lombardy. Her lawyers tell her, that misgovernment has left her one of the poor and barbarous kingdoms. We would say that religious dissension may palliate, but cannot exculpate, her backwardness. A weak mind can for excuse upon circumstances—a strong one creates them. Her children are brave, we believe generous. If they now teach themselves the virtues of peace, steadiness, content, frugality, tem-

\* For a full proof of this truth, see Mr. Sadler's admirable work upon Ireland.



perance, foresight, we may, as we do, look forward to their growing prosperity, as to a main element of our future imperial strength.

Firmly, however, as we trust in this vegetative power of our wealth, we cannot forget that he who surveys a national edifice must not look to its endurance for his short life only, or for those of his children, but must estimate its power to endure the buffets of ages. The next war may but stimulate our industry by improving our markets, and by absorbing idle capital which the stock exchange will easily supply by twenty or thirty millions yearly; nor do we much doubt that this country will pass through another contest, and another, with credit untarnished, as we trust with honour acquired. But the last century brought to us on an average alternate decennial periods of strife and repose—and, as the wise man said, the things that were yesterday shall be to-morrow. Now it certainly is to be feared, that the burthens of endless wars will at length accumulate too rapidly for the retarded growth of our wealth. Few we imagine contemplate our debt without the foreboding of such a crisis, few without the associate dread of civil anarchy. For the arrival or the delay of that day we, for our parts, look much more to moral than to political or financial causes. It will come when it does come, because we are unwilling, not unable, to fulfil our engagements. Although we believe it distant, because we know the principles of our countrymen to be as yet sound, still the weight of present incumbrances leads the mind forward to a possible, though distant, catastrophe, and a century is, after all, but a short portion of a nation's existence. General history does indeed defy human foresight, but the problem of our future finances is less complicated; a very few combinations exhaust every possible solution.

ART. IX.—1. *The Anti-Pauper System.* By the Rev. J. T. Becher, A.M. 8vo. London.

2. *Home Colonies.* By William Allen. London. 1828.

3. *Sur l'Organisation des Colonies de Bienfaisance de Fredericks-Oord et de Wortel.* Par M. le Chevalier de Kirckhoff.

4. *Rapport fait par une Commission spéciale à la Commission générale de Surveillance sur la situation physique et morale de la Colonie de Fredericks-Oord.*

5. *Plan pour l'Admission dans la Colonie de Fredericks-Oord de Familles indigentes ainsi que d'Enfans Pauvres et d'Orphelins âgés de six ans au moins.* 1819.

IN our last Number we submitted to the consideration of our readers, the necessity of augmenting the comforts of the agricultural labourer, by placing at his disposal the means of employing time and labour which, from the faulty arrangements now prevailing

vailing in many rural districts, are lost both to the individual and the community. There is another branch of the same subject, which appears to us of equal importance, and which we have on this account reserved for separate discussion. Every person at all acquainted with the present state of the labouring classes must be aware, that the changes effected in our social relations by the new manufacturing system have not only deprived the wives and children of our peasantry of the employments upon which they were used to subsist, and which profitably filled up the vacant hours of the cottager himself,—but that the introduction and use of machinery have created a surplus of male and adult population, for whose labour there is no profitable demand.

To this important crisis in our internal history, we have already more than once endeavoured to attract the attention of our readers; but, as the evil has not yet diminished—has not shown a symptom of diminishing—and does not even appear to be of a character susceptible of self-cure, we venture to return to the subject, in the hope that, by reiterating our efforts, we shall at length succeed in stimulating the public to adopt some decisive and efficient steps to alleviate, at least, the pressure which now falls so heavily upon the working classes. Although we feel intensely the importance of this subject, we shall endeavour to discuss it calmly and dispassionately, wishing, as we do from our hearts, to convince and conciliate, rather than reproach and irritate, those from whom we have the misfortune to differ, both as to the cause and the appropriate cure of an evil which all parties must be equally desirous to see removed.

Strenuous and persevering efforts have been for some time made to persuade the public that the stagnation which now prevails in our manufacturing establishments arises chiefly, if not exclusively, from the alterations which have been recently effected in our commercial code. If the re-establishment of the old system held out any reasonable expectations that it would provide employment for that part of the population of this country which, having no work, can, consequently, earn no wages, the task of the statesman would be easy and his duty clear. No consideration of the advantages which the consumer derives from a reduction of price should deter him from adopting a measure which would give work, and, consequently, food to the now unemployed and starving mechanic. But we are convinced that the opinion is erroneous; that even the utter exclusion of foreign wrought goods of every description would not produce the effects which the opponents of free trade anticipate from such a measure. This error we the more regret, because it prevents them from lending us their powerful



powerful assistance in devising and urging the adoption of those domestic measures which we shall endeavour to point out as the most efficient, if not the only, means of relieving our unemployed population. We should feel no ordinary satisfaction in seeing sincere men, of all parties and of all opinions, cordially uniting in one strenuous effort to remove an evil which they all equally acknowledge to exist, although they differ as to the causes from which it originates.

In the application of machinery to manufacturing processes this country took the lead: our exertions in this branch of national industry were both earlier in point of time, and more successful in point of effect, than those of other nations. This enabled us for some time to undersell all rivals, and by degrees to attract to our own market the great body of purchasers who had in former days been supplied with wrought goods from other European countries. The foreign consumer would not continue to give a quarter of corn for a piece of cotton cloth which we could give him for half a quarter. This extra demand to supply foreign markets obviated, for a time, the necessary effect of machinery, in throwing workmen out of employment: the additional demand for wrought commodities to be exported, absorbed the quantum of human labour which would otherwise have been displaced by machinery. The men merely changed their employment; instead of working with the hand, they worked with machines; from handicraftsmen they became mechanical craftsmen; one million of men, by the aid of machines, did the work that had formerly occupied two millions; and the goods wrought by the other million found their way into foreign markets. At that period, therefore, the effect of machinery, in abridging the employment of the working classes, was not felt in this country; it was, however, very sensibly felt in others. The manufacturing classes on the continent were reduced to great distress under the overwhelming influence of our rivalry; but, although we prospered, and that greatly for a time, from the circumstance of our having taken the lead in abridging labour by mechanical contrivances, it was unreasonable to expect that this advantage should last for ever; it was but natural that other nations, stimulated by our example, and burdened by a surplus population which our success had deprived of employment, should endeavour to follow in our steps. They, in their turn, introduced machinery; gradually acquired skill in its application; and now some of them stand in that respect upon pretty nearly the same vantage ground as ourselves. Cotton goods, for example, are now fabricated as expeditiously, economically, and with as little real outlay of labour, on the banks of the Seine as on those of the Ribble.

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The late wars gave direct occupation to a great part of the population, which machinery would otherwise have thrown on our hands; but this is by no means the only effect of that state of things which we ought to take into our consideration. The excitement and disturbance attendant upon Napoleon's system of warfare \* prevented the continental nations from devoting that attention to the application of machinery to manufacturing operations which they have since been enabled to bestow upon this species of industry. Hence it was, that in defiance of all Buonaparte's decrees, we continued, to the peace of 1815, through contraband channels, to supply a great part of the continent with wrought commodities. The introduction of machinery, and the establishment of manufactories in different parts of the continent, have, in the course of ten years, done more in excluding our manufactured goods than could have been effected in the course of a whole century by Buonaparte's violent system. The operation of this might be, and in fact was, eluded; but there is no eluding the influence of the peaceful rivalry of manufacturers who apply equal industry, and equal skill with ourselves, to the production of commodities. During the war we enjoyed, moreover, a complete monopoly of supplying the numerous and extensive countries which Napoleon's hostility could not reach. The sea was then an element of which we had acquired almost exclusive possession; and if the continental nations even possessed wrought commodities which they might have exported to America or the East Indies, our maritime superiority deprived them of all means of transport. A continental trading vessel appeared on the ocean only to be transferred as a prize into a British port.

But that portion of our manufacturing prosperity which sprung from the adventitious circumstances just detailed, was necessarily of a fleeting character; every reasonable man saw that it would cease with the causes which gave it birth; that the period would inevitably arrive when other nations, released from the artificial trammels of war, would eagerly compete with us in the field of peaceful industry. That period has at length arrived; other nations have learnt to produce commodities with which we used to supply them,—the foreign demand for our manufactured productions is no longer, considering the increase of population on both sides, what it was,—it has necessarily relaxed,—and it now remains that we put our shoulders heartily to the wheel, and endeavour to extricate the labouring classes from the severe pressure of the difficulties occasioned, as we conceive, principally,

\* For many interesting details on this subject, the reader is referred to the recently published *Memoirs of M. de Bourrienne*, who was Buonaparte's minister at Hamburg during the operation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and who had special opportunities for ascertaining the course of events in Holland, as well as Germany generally, at the same period.



pally, if not exclusively, by these national changes. In short, the operation of these causes, which, in the long run, are nearly as irresistible as the laws of nature, has rendered it indispensable both for the welfare of the state and the happiness of individuals, that the labour of a considerable portion of the population of this country should be transferred to some branch of national industry other than manufacturing operations.

That, under any conceivable change, either in our own policy or in that of other nations, the demand for manufacturing industry should revive, to an extent which would permanently absorb the vast surplus of that species of labour which now remains unoccupied in this country, is an expectation in which we dare not indulge. We feel, in short, a conviction, which no argument that readily presents itself to our minds can shake, that no measure can afford our labouring classes substantial relief which falls short of producing an entire change in the character of their industry—which does not transfer their labour from the manufactories in which they starve, to the soil of the country, on which, we entertain no doubt, they might be made to subsist in comfort, at least, if not in affluence. This proposition may appear paradoxical, as we have already admitted that even our agricultural population is superabundant: it may sound somewhat strangely that we should propose pouring more water into a vessel which, upon our own showing, already overflows. With regard, however, to the idle hands which now press upon the resources of country parishes, it may be observed that their want of employment arises from the faulty organization of the district, and from the defective cultivation which the occupiers bestow upon the soil. Every intelligent person, conversant with the state of agriculture in this country, will acknowledge that scarcely one farm can be met with on which a vast addition of manual labour might not be employed, to the great benefit not only of the labourer, but also of the occupier. But laying for the present out of our consideration the number of unemployed hands which a better system of tillage undoubtedly would absorb, we venture to reiterate what we have already more than once stated, that we possess in our numerous waste and uncultivated districts a source of employment which cannot speedily be exhausted.

The natural capability of our waste lands to yield a return for the labour which might be employed in cultivating them is vehemently denied by certain economists of the day; and we are well aware that to the task of bandying words with them there would be no end. The arguments and reasonings of a pure economist of the modern school, like a hydra's head, grow the more abundantly the more frequently you crop them. But, as it happens, we are in a condition to appeal to *facts* which leave no doubt that  
a soil,

a soil, inferior in natural productiveness to most of our wastes and commons, can be made to yield the cultivator a produce exceeding the amount consumed by him while employed in tilling it.

The Pays-de-Waes is, at this time, the most fertile and most thickly-peopled district belonging to the generally well-cultivated kingdom of the Netherlands. Two hundred and fifty years ago it was nothing but a dismal tract of deep loose sand, scantily sprinkled with heath. About the middle of the sixteenth century, the duke of Parma cut a canal through this desert, in order to facilitate his military operations against the Flemings. This canal attracted many of that industrious people to settle on its banks: they built huts and began to reclaim the moor in their vicinity: their numbers daily increased, and cultivation gradually extended, until the whole surface was at length reclaimed and brought under the finest tillage. At the present moment, in this district, a field of two acres, or even one acre, suffices for the support of a whole family. Even now the traveller finds that the wheels of his carriage sink into the sand; but when he looks over the hedges, he sees the enclosures groaning under a weight of produce which has conferred upon the Pays-de-Waes no ordinary celebrity in the annals of successful agriculture.

Another striking instance of the effect of tillage upon the productive powers of land which, in its original state, would have been pronounced by the philosopher hopeless and incurable, may be seen in the duchy of Cleves. There is a very interesting colony of agriculturists settled on the right hand of the road which leads from the little town of Goch to the city of Cleves. In the commencement of the last century, the land occupied by this thriving establishment was a barren heath: about the year 1707, one of the inspectors of the royal forests caused some pines to be sowed in the neighbourhood. This was the first attempt of the kind which had been made in that district; and the plantation sprung up and prospered. Judging by the thriving appearance of these trees, a Dutch agriculturist was induced to believe that the land might be made to yield corn: he resolved upon trying what could be done, and reclaimed one hundred and seventy acres of heath, which he divided into six farms, and let to so many tenants. The experiment was completely successful; and, in the year 1740, one hundred and forty-five persons were found subsisting, in much comfort, upon the produce of one hundred and seventy acres of land, which, ten years previously, was nothing but a black moor.

In the year 1741 this little colony was increased in number by the sudden and unexpected accession of thirty families. At that period, undertakers from this country traversed almost every

part of the country in quest of land to be reclaimed, and in the year 1741 they discovered this little colony, and were induced to settle there.



part of Germany and the Netherlands in search of recruits for the purpose of colonizing Pennsylvania: for the modern doctrine, that it is an advantage to us to get rid of our people by transporting them to foreign lands, had not at that time become fashionable in England. Our fathers and grandfathers foolishly imagined that an estate or a farm was productive and profitable, both to the owner and the occupier, in proportion to the number of hands actively employed in its cultivation. But these are obsolete opinions!—To return to our history.—A party of the inhabitants of the principality of Nassau and of the Palatinate, who, at the solicitation of the adventurers, had agreed to emigrate to North America, arrived at Rotterdam for the purpose of embarkation; but the English vessels, engaged to convey them to their destination, not reaching the port at the appointed time, occasioned a delay which soon exhausted the scanty funds of these wanderers. Reduced to the last state of destitution, they were fain to solicit the Prussian government to confer upon them a grant of heath land for the purpose of being reclaimed. Frederick the First acceded to their petition, and gave them an allotment near Goch. It was a wretched sand, destitute of almost the faintest vestige of vegetation; as the sand lay bedded in extremely fine clay, without any mixture of other ingredients, in dry weather it was easily rubbed to powder—in a wet season, it formed a puddle. But, nothing daunted by the dreary prospect which lay before them, they eagerly set to work. They delved the ground and sowed their corn; and at the harvest reaped a very fair reward for their labour. Some time afterwards the Prussian monarch, pleased with their exemplary industry, conferred upon the colony some valuable civil privileges and exemptions, together with the gift of a supply of timber, which enabled them to construct convenient houses in lieu of the mud huts which they had originally raised. From that period the prosperity of the colony has been regularly progressive: its population has been from time to time increased by a fresh supply of emigrants from the palatinate; and it now consists of four hundred and twenty families, and 2539 persons. For nearly a century the colony has existed in the most flourishing condition; and the regularity, neatness, industry, and ease, which prevail throughout, never fail to excite the admiration of those travellers who turn out of their road to examine its details. It should, however, be observed, that the one hundred and seventy acres originally reclaimed by the first Dutch settlers still maintain a pre-eminence in point of fertility. Having been longest in a state of tillage, they are, as might be supposed, the best land in the whole colony.

But the most interesting, as well as successful experiment set on

on foot in any age, or any country, to enable the indigent pauper to subsist independently of charity, by the cultivation of the soil, is that which has been recently made in the Netherlands. To this we briefly alluded on a former occasion; but the principles here developed are so important in themselves, and so applicable to the condition of our own unemployed population at the present moment, that we must recur to the subject.

The inhabitants of the countries which now compose the kingdom of the Netherlands have been for ages remarkable for their manufacturing industry. For a considerable period they supplied the less skilful, or less industrious inhabitants of other parts of Europe, with a large proportion of the wrought commodities which they consumed. By degrees, the English rivalled, and then outstripped them. Borne down by our competition, the manufactures of the Low Countries sustained a gradual declension until they were somewhat revived by the operation of Buonaparte's prohibitory decrees. If these did not prove altogether successful in excluding our wrought goods, it cannot be denied that they threw such impediments in the way of their introduction as secured to the manufacturers of the Netherlands a considerable advantage in the continental market: but with the peace of 1815 this partial monopoly disappeared; and ever since, the demand for manufacturing labour has been rapidly declining in the Netherlands. A large proportion of the population has been thrown out of employment, and forced to subsist upon alms. The misery suffered by these unemployed workmen, and the burden which their maintenance in a state of idleness imposed upon others, made a deep and general impression. Various plans for relieving them were unsuccessfully tried. Attempts were first made to give them employment in manufactories established for that purpose, by the communes to which they belonged; but, as might have been expected, these entirely failed. The market of the Netherlands was already overstocked with wrought commodities; and adding to this superabundant mass was making bad worse. In a word, it was apparent that too large a proportion of the population had devoted themselves to manufactures, and that relief could only be obtained by diverting their industry to other objects; and it was proposed to transfer this surplus population from the districts in which their labour was no longer profitable, to agricultural colonies established on some of the wastes and heaths with which that country abounds. The sect of the economists argued long and pertinaciously against this plan. They contended that agriculture was already overburdened with hands, and that the transfer of the surplus population which could find no employment in manu-



factures to the cultivation of the soil, would only change the seat of the disease, and aggravate the sufferings which already pressed upon the class of husbandmen. The practical philanthropists thus replied:—‘Our plan will in no respect interfere with the quantum of employment now existing in agricultural districts. It forms no part of our scheme to bring this indigent and unemployed body of workmen into competition with the class already engaged in the labours of the field. Our object is merely to enable them, by their industry, to raise for themselves a subsistence from the produce of land which has remained uncultivated from the days of Noah.’ Somewhat posed, the economists took refuge under the wing of another dogma. They argued that the cultivation of barren land would raise the value of the produce of all the land already in tillage; and that an injury would be inflicted upon the community at large equal to the benefit which the poor weavers derived from the produce of the waste which they had rendered fertile. Here again the theorists were met, and we believe successfully met, by the practical philanthropists, who urged that the weavers, whose employment they contemplated, were either destitute of food because they had no work, or subsisting upon the benevolence of the community; that the produce of the land which they reclaimed would be consumed by its growers, and that consequently no part of it could come into the market so as to affect the exchangeable value of the productions of other districts. Fortunately, the solid good sense of our Flemish neighbours laughed to scorn the speculations of visionary and cold-blooded theorists. The plan of establishing agricultural colonies was warmly taken up by the public; and, in 1818, a voluntary association was formed at the Hague for the purpose of carrying it into effect. The first step was of course to raise funds to commence their operations. This was speedily done by the donations of benevolent individuals, as well as by a small annual subscription, (about five shillings, English money,) which each member contributed towards the resources placed at the disposal of the managing committee. As thirty thousand persons put down their names as subscribers the very first year, five thousand pounds were at once realised. Having thus laid a foundation, they determined to make, in the first instance, an experiment upon a small scale, and purchased a tract of land called Westerbeck Sloot, situated near the little town of Steenwyk, on the confines of the provinces of Drenthe, Friesland, and Overysse. It contained between twelve and thirteen hundred acres of land, covered with heath and turf—except about one hundred and forty acres, which had already been in some measure reclaimed. The whole cost the association four thousand six hundred and sixty pounds. The money

money for this purchase was raised by loan at six per cent.; the association engaging to liquidate the principal by regular instalments, in the course of sixteen years.

The one hundred and forty acres in tillage were allowed to remain in the hands of the tenants by whom they were already occupied; and three hundred and fifty acres of the waste were marked out and enclosed for the foundation of the first colony. The King of the Netherlands' second son, who interested himself warmly in the success of the undertaking, readily consented that the new establishment should bear his own name: hence it was called '*Frederick's-Oord*.'

In order to facilitate the communication of the colony with the neighbouring districts, and to reduce the expense of carriage, a little river, called the *Ab*, was rendered navigable: a schoolhouse, a warehouse, spinning-houses, and fifty-two dwellings were then built. These works were begun in September, 1818, and finished by the first day of the following November, when they were taken possession of by fifty-two indigent families, collected from different parts of the country; and who, from that moment, ceased to be burdensome to the communities to which they belonged—the association taking upon itself exclusively the responsibility of their subsequent maintenance.

It is needless to observe that these fifty-two families possessed no funds of their own on which they could subsist till the ensuing harvest, which was the earliest period at which they could expect to reap the fruits of the labour which they bestowed upon the land. This difficulty had, of course, been foreseen and provided against: the association found them in clothing and food, and employed them in reclaiming and preparing the land for the first crop: for this labour, the colonists themselves were paid, just as strangers would have been paid, in proportion to the quantity of work which they executed. It was calculated beforehand, that to settle one family, consisting of from six to eight persons, upon one of these seven-acre allotments, would require, on the part of the society, an outlay of 1700 guilders, or 143*l.* 18*s.* st. But most of the houses which have been subsequently built have cost the society considerably less than the original estimate. All the labour of building is performed by the colonists themselves at the fixed rate of wages; and all the bricks are made of clay, and burnt with turf,—both of these materials being found on the land.

The association feel that the welfare, and even the existence, of the colony depend essentially upon the thorough tillage of its soil; and that the colonists must be carefully watched during the execution of the work which their allotments require, while the



slightest doubt remains either of their capacity or willingness. It was assumed by them, as an axiom, that a family of seven persons, dwelling in one of these colonial houses, and bestowing their labour upon the cultivation of seven acres of land and the collection and preparation of manure and composts for fertilizing it, would not only raise agricultural produce enough both to feed and clothe themselves, but also an annual surplus, which would, in the course of sixteen years, repay the advances made on their first settlement, together with interest, at the rate of five and a half per cent. We can well conceive how the political economists must have stared at the outrageous extravagance of expecting such things from seven labourers, settled on seven acres of uncultivated heath, the fee-simple of which cost only four pounds per acre, and the produce of which, in its natural state, could scarcely maintain a brace of moor-fowl. But no matter for that; troubling themselves but little with philosophical refinements, the Benevolent Society went on. Their first maxim being that a labourer regularly employed in cultivating one acre of land can raise food enough for his own support, together with a surplus, they laid down another maxim, which may be considered as an inference immediately deducible from the first,—that no colonist shall ever be, even for the shortest period which might be fairly devoted to labour, unemployed. The whole establishment is placed under the superintendence of a superior director; over one hundred families presides a subdirector. These are again divided into twenty-five families, over whom a quarter-master is appointed. The quarter is also subdivided into two sections, at the head of each is placed a section-master,—a practical cultivator, whose province it is, both by example and instruction, to direct those under his command in the proper performance of any work which they may be required to execute.

‘At first,’ observes Mr. Jacob, ‘a proportion of the men work at making bricks, preparing lime and timber, and building the small barns and dwellings; but the greater portion is employed in field labour. The chief, almost the only implements, are the spade and the hoe; and though the artisans and handicraftsmen from cities and towns are at first awkward in the use of such implements, with a few days to instruct them, and active examples to incite them, they soon become sufficiently expert. Every kind of labour is performed by the piece, nothing by the day. At the end of each day’s labour the workman receives a card, specifying the amount of his earnings, for which he may procure, at the public store, food for his support in stipulated quantities. If, at first, his earnings fall short of his wants, credit is given him, which is discharged as his future earnings increase. Such cards circulate freely within the colony at their money value.’

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The female part of the community are generally employed either in the necessary domestic affairs of their households, or in spinning and weaving: the wool and flax used in these operations are at the beginning purchased by the society, and given out by weight to the female colonists; but as each colony advances, the raw materials are obtained from their own sheep and flax fields. The children, also, except during the hours which they spend at school, are employed in such occupations as suit their age and strength; both they and their mothers being, like the men, paid according to the exact quantity of the work which they have performed. The attraction of personal gain, combining with the influence of rigid inspection, has, in most instances, been found to furnish a stimulus sufficiently powerful to ensure industry without any infliction of personal punishment on account of idleness.

The colonists lose nothing by an arrangement which thus places them under a benevolent supervision; they still labour, to all intents and purposes, for their own benefit, and on their own account. They are paid by the association at a fixed rate for the task-labour which they daily execute upon their respective allotments; but if, at the close of the harvest, the produce of the land is found to exceed in value the advances which have been made to them on account of their labour, the difference goes into their own pockets. Any one that chooses may go away *as soon as the first harvest has been housed*. He who, after having by his industry and assiduity acquitted himself of his obligations, determines to stay, or requires no further supply from the Society's stores, is forthwith entrusted with the uncontrolled management of his allotment. In this case, his relation towards the association differs in no respect from the ordinary connection subsisting between a landlord and a tenant holding land on lease, with the exception of certain prescribed regulations which provide for the education and instruction of his children; a matter which the association considers too important to be entrusted exclusively to individual discretion.

These colonists perform with their own arms all the labour required for the tillage of their allotments, their principal instrument being the spade. They scarcely ever use horses, except in carrying manure into, or the crops from, the fields; for which purposes the association maintains six horses to an aggregate of fifty allotments. It is therefore manifest that each colonist gains for his own support the full value of the manual labour which the cultivation of his allotment requires.

But the cardinal hinge on which the success of these establishments depends is the indefatigable industry employed in increasing the stock of manure. To enter into a particular detail on this subject,



subject, highly deserving as it is of the attention of the practical agriculturist, would weary the general reader; suffice it to observe, that the system pursued here, and equally practicable elsewhere, demonstrates, that under suitable management, the poorest land, cultivated exclusively by the labour of man, may be made to yield a supply of manure which no farmer in this country, residing at a distance from a great city, ever thinks of applying to the soil. Here, in Britain, he is considered no contemptible cultivator who can manage to expend every year ten loads of manure per acre; and it is very questionable whether one-tenth of our farmers can actually command half that quantity. Although they be cultivated exclusively with the spade, and the operation of digging is frequently repeated in the course of the year, still it must be manifest that the mere tillage of seven acres of land would occupy but a small share of the labour of six persons during fifty-two weeks. The labour of planting, sowing, and harvesting occupies a still shorter space. Hence a considerable interval remains at the disposal of the colonists, and this is systematically and scrupulously applied to the collection and concoction of composts for manure. Devoting their surplus labour to that object, a family is, on the average, enabled to provide one hundred and fifty tons of a compost which its effects prove to be of a very enriching quality. Growner, a German agriculturist, who some years ago drew up an account of the colony, states the effective value of one ton of this compost to be equal to two bushels and a half of rye. If that grain be estimated at 2s. 8d. per bushel, it would raise the efficient value of each ton of compost to 6s. 6d., and prove that a hundred tons of this species of manure, annually expended upon seven acres of land, would produce a crop worth 48*l.*—15*l.* more than they would yield without this dressing. This, however, is placing the advantages of the system in a very inferior point of view. After mere digging and sowing, such land might, without manure, the first year yield some increase, though scarcely adequate to the subsistence of the cultivator; in the second it would scarcely produce more than the seed; and the third would probably find it reduced to a *caput mortuum*.

When these little farms are brought into cultivation, they are usually divided into four fields of near an acre and a quarter each, one field of near an acre; and the remainder is occupied by the site of the house, barn, and stalls, and by a garden and a patch for early potatoes. One of the fields is sown with rye, which in the spring is cut green for the cows; it is then sown with barley and clover seed, and the barley is harvested. Another field, of the same extent, is cultivated wholly with keeping potatoes; another is sown with rye which is harvested, and supplies the household

household with bread; and the fourth has a crop of clover partly cut green for soiling, and partly made into hay. The other field of about one acre is in permanent grass; either ray-grass, or, what is now said to have been found more advantageous, fiorin. The experience of ten years has proved, that seven acres of land, thus cultivated, will every year in succession yield produce worth, in the Netherlands, about 49*l.*, while the necessary outgoings of a family of eight persons do not exceed 41*l.*: which leaves a clear surplus of 8*l.* per annum, or one-sixth of the whole produce of their labour, at the disposal of each family.

The above statement of the comparative produce and expense of a colonial farm is not a mere loose and conjectural estimate: it is drawn up from regular accounts kept and published under the sanction of a most respectable committee; and proves, beyond all doubt, what degree of fertility may be created on land worse in quality than many millions of acres which, in this kingdom, are allowed to remain utterly unproductive. So excellent does the colonial system appear to all who have examined its results, that the common farmers, in the neighbourhood, begin to adopt it on their own land. Its superior efficiency has been also strikingly demonstrated in one of these colonies, which contained a farm that had been deserted as irrecoverably barren after the ineffectual labour of three years by former occupiers. This farm has been divided among eight colonial families. Its sterility has been completely subdued, and it now produces the finest crops which can be anywhere seen.

The various advances made to the colonists during the first year of their settlement constitute a loan which they are expected to refund; nor have they, in any instance, found the repayment of this loan either impracticable or oppressive. By the month of July, 1820, or in less than two years after their first arrival, the fifty-two indigent families originally settled in this colony, were found to have discharged one-fifth part of the debt which they had contracted. Notwithstanding this outgoing, their condition appeared in every respect comfortable; and it is obvious that their circumstances are gradually rendered more easy as their debt diminishes.

'I have visited,' says the Baron de Keverberg, in his interesting account of this colony, 'a great number of these family establishments. In every place the females were seen cheerfully occupied either in cleaning their dwellings or in preparing the family meal: the children, neatly clothed, and full of health and spirits, rivalled one another in the alacrity with which they turned their spinning-wheels. The mothers boasted of their comfortable condition, and the productive industry of their children: indeed, it is not by any means an unusual  
circum-



circumstance that these, should, from the age of seven to eight, earn weekly ten, fifteen, or even twenty sols. The greater part of these earnings is carried to the account of each family; but a small proportion is distributed among the children, to encourage them in their industry. I have scarcely observed a single dwelling which did not exhibit some trace of extra labour, gratuitously performed by the colonists themselves, solely for the purpose of embellishing their modest habitations. Their little gardens, tastefully and carefully laid out, present models of well-regulated cultivation; they are nearly all ornamented with flowers, which gracefully surround the beds in which the nutritive vegetables are grown. These not only delight the eye of the spectator, but leave a pleasing impression in the mind of the man who traces these embellishments back to the causes to which they owe their origin.

Another traveller, who more recently visited these colonies, speaks thus of their condition in 1826:—

The crops were luxuriant, the people healthful, and the houses comfortable. Several of the colonists had acquired considerable property. Many gardens were planted with currant-bushes, pear and apple trees, and tastefully ornamented with flowers. Additional live stock, belonging to the colonists themselves, was frequently pointed out; and around not a few of the houses, lay webs of linen bleaching, which had been woven, on their own account, by persons who only four years before were among the outcasts of society. The families found at dinner had quite the appearance of wealthy peasants; and from the quantity and quality of the food before them, they might have been considered as not inferior to the smaller tenantry of this country.

Not only do these admirably-managed institutions provide profitable employment for the adult pauper, but arrangements have been made to render them an economical and invaluable asylum for the maintenance and education of the orphan and destitute children of the poor. Without entering into a detail of particulars, it is enough to say that the society contracts for the maintenance and nurture of these children at a rate which does not quite equal one-fourth of the average cost of maintaining them in ordinary workhouses. Six children are then placed under the care of some aged couple already settled in the colony, who happen not to have any children of their own; or, if two guardians of this description cannot be found, they are placed under the superintendence of some trustworthy female equal to the charge; and proper regulations are laid down which effectually guard this trust against abuse. This infant establishment has the same quantity of land set out for its support as a family containing an equal num-

101. *An Account of the Poor Colonies and Agricultural Workhouses of the Benevolent Society of Holland, 1823.*

ber of adults. The children themselves cannot, of course, perform the whole of the work required in tilling the land thus allotted for their maintenance; they are therefore assisted by other colonists, who are paid for their labour: this expenditure, advanced in the first instance by the society by way of a loan, on the security of the growing crop, is deducted from the value of the produce at the time of harvest; and the balance which remains after the liquidation of this debt is the property of the infant establishment. Independently of the field-labour executed by these children, a portion of their time is also devoted to spinning: from which source they derive some further revenue. As they advance in age, they are enabled to increase gradually the amount of their farm-work, until at length it becomes unnecessary to employ hired labourers to assist them; and the produce of the allotment, after the usual deduction of what is due to the society, falls entirely to their own share. Nothing can be more judicious or efficient than the system which has been thus organized. The young people are plentifully fed, comfortably lodged, and warmly clothed; they are regularly sent to school, to acquire every species of instruction which can prove useful to them in their future pursuits; and their industry and capacity are *gradually* developed. This admirable mode of providing for orphan and indigent children presents a striking contrast to our system of educating them in parish workhouses. In the agricultural colonies of the Netherlands they are placed under the care of kind and experienced superintendents who generally fill towards them the place and the duties of the parents whom they had lost: they are carefully guarded from every moral contagion which may corrupt or brutalise their hearts and feelings; living principally abroad under 'the blue and expanded vault of high heaven,' they are enured to habits of rural industry, and trained up in a way which seldom fails to render them laborious and contented members of the community. We might present the reverse of this picture; but we may safely leave the blank to be filled up by the memory of most of our readers. It is indeed by no means the least of the evils arising from the change which has taken place in the rural economy of this country, that it has destroyed the system under which the peasantry used, in olden time, to be enured to habits of industry and docility. Even the cottage, while it had a croft and a common right attached to it, was no bad school for the young peasant; as he advanced in years, he was received into the family of the small farmer, who did not disdain to eat and associate with the inmates of his dwelling. But all this has been changed, and, as some persons would fain persuade us, for the better; the orphan and destitute children of the



the British peasant are now brought up in parish workhouses, where, as matters are generally managed, they receive the best possible training to prepare them for the treadmill, the hulks, and the gallows.

Both with regard to its influence upon the welfare of its immediate objects, and the interests of the world at large, we consider this by far the most important and interesting experiment that was ever made. The great and difficult economical question—whether beggars, and indigent persons in general, provided they possess ability to work, can be rendered independent of charity, has been solved in the affirmative. It has been proved, beyond all possibility of cavil and doubt, that the unemployed denizens of cities and large towns may be transferred into the country, and placed in a situation which may enable them, by their own industry, to provide an ample subsistence both for themselves and their families.

The mass of these colonists consists of artisans and mechanics, thrown out of employment by the fluctuations and mutations of commerce; they are principally the besotted and brutalized inhabitants of large towns; and on their first arrival are found generally covered with filth and rags. As soon as they reach their destination, the livery of woe and want is exchanged for a comfortable and durable suit of habiliments; and a regular supply of food is daily measured out. But the pickaxe and the spade are at the same moment put into their hands, and they are instantly set to work, in order to reproduce the food which they consume, and pay for the garments with which they have been furnished. It is indeed surprising, as well as pleasing, to observe how soon the offscourings of towns and manufactories can, by proper regulations, be converted into laborious and persevering delvers of the ground. Assured of subsistence, and stimulated by a regular demand for their labour, they set about and prosecute their rural avocations with the greatest good will and alacrity; it is indeed true that they must labour—must execute the task which is daily set out for them; but it is no less true, that at the close of the day each is sure to reap his reward; if at the end of the year the produce of his field exceed the necessities of subsistence which have been advanced to him, he receives the surplus as an extra bonus upon his industry, and it seldom happens that such a surplus does not remain for every family when the accounts of these establishments are balanced. This overplus may, of course, be disposed of at the discretion of each colonist; but what has been thus laboriously gained is not often dissipated indiscreetly: it is generally applied towards liquidating the advances made, and by that means hastening the period of emancipation from the regulations

tions which bind those indebted to the society. The association considers that a colonist who has discharged the obligations which he contracted on his first arrival furnishes the most satisfactory evidence of his possessing the skill, the discretion, and the industry required for the cultivation of his allotment, and the management of his own affairs; he is then allowed to withdraw himself from the control of the inspectors. If he fall off in his industry, the produce of his land is sure to decrease in proportion; his rent falls into arrear; he is forced to apply at the storehouse of the association; fresh aid is granted; but the necessity of this advance proves that the sinews of industry have become once more relaxed, and the cultivation of the allotment is replaced again under the superintendence of the directors.

The great body of indigent persons who have been settled in these colonies have readily, as well as cheerfully, conformed themselves to these regulations; but it is not surprising that, among the multitude already amounting to upwards of THIRTY THOUSAND persons, some should have proved incorrigible under the operation of even this well-digested discipline. For the regeneration of these refractory or sluggish spirits, other establishments, differing in character from the free colonies, have been founded. At these institutions, the settler is subjected to a more rigid discipline; here is carried into practical effect the maxim, 'if any one will not work neither should he eat;' and when a man sees a loaf of bread placed at the end of a rood of land which he must dig as a preliminary to its consumption, it may be well supposed that a long period seldom elapses before he sets about his task. When the persons sent to these establishments have shown symptoms of reform, they return to be tried once more in the original colony; and few show themselves so refractory and indolent as to call for a second dose of discipline.

The government having become fully impressed with the advantages likely to accrue from institutions of this description, appointed a committee to inquire into the number of paupers contained in the different workhouses of the northern part of the kingdom of the Netherlands, and ascertain how many of them could be accommodated in the poor colonies. Upon the report of this committee was passed an order of council, enacting that 'all paupers in the public workhouses, who had no bodily infirmity, and were capable of undergoing the fatigue of working in the fields, should be sent to the colonies; and that the contract-price for their maintenance should be paid by those communities where the paupers had obtained their last domicile.' In 1826, the number of beggars settled at Ommerchans, pursuant to this order, amounted to thirteen hundred; consisting of about equal  
 propor-



proportions of men and women. Their lodging-rooms form a quadrangular building, of great extent : at a short distance from the entrance there is a guard-house, where a company of soldiers do duty ; but beyond the mere act of mounting guard, their services have never been required. Each colonist receives, on entry, a supply of every necessary article of clothing. They are divided into classes, and employed, according to their age and strength, either in domestic or field labour ; a certain sum is fixed which a member of each class must earn every day, and for which he receives one plentiful meal from the kitchen of the establishment ; all beyond this must be paid for by extra labour ; each individual is left to his own discretion as to the quantity of extra work which he may choose to execute ; and, if of an industrious turn, he can with ease earn two or three times the minimum amount fixed by the regulations. Any surplus which the colonist may have earned beyond the expense of his subsistence is divided into three parts : one of these is immediately paid him to be disposed of at his pleasure ; another is kept in reserve for him until he leaves the colony, and the last third is transferred to the society to meet various incidental expenses, particularly the support of those, who, without any fault of their own, have been prevented from earning their maintenance.

The land appropriated to the support of this establishment is about two thousand acres of heath, which has already been reclaimed and brought to a state of the finest tillage. From the excellence of the system pursued, the crops of rye, potatoes, flax, barley, buck-wheat, oats and clover, every year improve in bulk and quality. Whenever the colonist has accumulated a saving of about forty shillings, and has conducted himself properly, the society has no longer any power to retain him ; and many yearly obtain their dismissal, taking along with them various sums, often of no trifling amount, placed to their credit in the savings bank of the establishment.

These institutions, already eight or ten in number, and gradually spreading throughout the different provinces of the Netherlands, owe their origin, as well as their success, to the penetration, ardour, and indefatigable benevolence of General Van den Bosch. This officer had served in the East Indies, and passed much of his time in the island of Java, where he purchased an estate, and entered with zeal into plans of agriculture. By accident, a number of Chinese emigrants, under a mandarin of the fourth class, named Tjan-Hoeck, an experienced cultivator, settled near him. The General soon observing that, however carefully his farm might be cultivated, the crops of the Chinese uniformly exceeded his own, was induced to form a connexion with

his neighbour, which proved highly beneficial; for, when he returned to Holland, he was enabled to sell for one hundred and fifty thousand rix-dollars an estate which had originally cost him but twenty-five thousand. After much revision and examination, the experiments and processes of the mandarin were first made known in Europe by the General, in a treatise which he published in Dutch, 'On the Practicability of instituting, in the most advantageous manner, a general Pauper Establishment in the kingdom of the Netherlands;' and as far as the difference of circumstances justified, they have been introduced into practice in the colony of Frederick's-Oord.

There seems no room to doubt, that under the extending influence of these institutions, idleness, and consequently want, will disappear from the Low Countries: the population which can find no employment in the towns will gradually migrate into country districts, until at length every acre of land capable of being rendered fertile by human industry shall have been brought under tillage. The removal of this surplus and unoccupied population has proved also in the highest degree beneficial to those who still continue to pursue mechanic or manufacturing industry; freed from the rivalry and competition which formerly injured them, they now obtain constant employment, and earn good wages. It is not the least important of the results arising from these establishments, that the produce gained by the colonists from the barren waste exceeds in value the amount of wages which, with equal labour, they earned in the most flourishing period of manufacturing prosperity. Hence it is manifest that, wherever this system shall be adopted, the wages of manufacturing labour cannot fall below the amount of what the workman could secure to himself by bestowing his industry on the cultivation of the soil. The reward of industry comes to be measured by the bounty of nature, and is no longer curtailed or annihilated by the operation of injudicious or perverse institutions of human fabric.

The influence of these colonies upon the welfare and habits of the rising generation deserves to be made the ground of especial remark. Here the forlorn orphan, the discarded foundling, and the neglected offspring of the indigent labourer find a safe and ready asylum. Those who have nothing to rely upon except the bounty of an all-beneficent Providence, find that here, at least, this blessing is not marred or intercepted by human mismanagement. The most marked regularity and order prevail throughout every department of these establishments; every hour brings its appropriate occupation; but far from clogging or depressing the animal spirits, this well-regulated system seems to inspire the youthful colo-



nists with an unusual degree of alacrity and cheerfulness. Every thing proceeds with the mechanical precision of clockwork; but the moving springs are seldom exhibited to view, and the whole appears to be the combined result of individual volition. Under the influence of a wise and gentle discipline, which unites instruction, and even amusement, with industry, a race of peasantry is reared peculiarly fitted and trained to discharge the duties of their future destiny! Into these public nurseries of industry and instruction, destitute and orphan children pour from every quarter of the Netherlands: whence the community receives in return a regular supply of healthy, vigorous, and moral domestics and labourers. When communities or individuals have once advanced the capital required for the settlement of a labourer in one of these colonies, it becomes a species of endowment which remains ever afterwards at their disposal. When the colonist so settled happens to die or remove, his place may be filled up without any additional expense, either by an individual or a parish. It has been already stated that the outlay incurred on account of eight persons settled in these colonies amounts to less than 143*l.*, and the community which may have advanced such a sum to the funds of the association becomes entitled, without any subsequent payment, to have eight persons always employed and maintained in the colony.

By men of all classes,—from the king upon his throne to the scavenger who cleans the streets of Brussels,—these institutions have been warmly supported. The subscribers to the funds of the society, by which they were originally formed, and continue to be administered, are already very numerous and daily increase. Almost every community (a term which answers to our parish) throughout the whole kingdom of the Netherlands also contributes; and by this means entitle themselves to the privilege of sending to these colonies any unemployed and destitute persons for whose labour there may be no demand in the districts to which they respectively belong. Vagrancy and mendicancy are rigidly suppressed by the local authorities: every able-bodied labourer who attempts to maintain himself by begging is immediately laid hold of and despatched to one or other of these institutions.

It may be asked why any subscriptions should be now necessary, if the produce derived from the labour of the colonists be adequate to their subsistence? To account for this apparent contradiction, it must be borne in mind that the original establishment of institutions of a character so novel, must unavoidably have been attended with extraordinary outgoings. It will be also recollected that, after all deductions for food, rent, and management,

his neighbour, which proved highly beneficial; for, when he returned to Holland, he was enabled to sell for one hundred and fifty thousand rix-dollars an estate which had originally cost him but twenty-five thousand. After much revision and examination, the experiments and processes of the mandarin were first made known in Europe by the General, in a treatise which he published in Dutch, *On the Practicability of instituting, in the most advantageous manner, a general Pauper Establishment in the kingdom of the Netherlands*; and as far as the difference of circumstances justified, they have been introduced into practice in the colony of Frederick's-Oord.

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Far from retrograding in productiveness, each allotment is found annually to improve in fertility; and from this increase in the bulk of crop arises necessarily a yearly augmentation in the quantity of manure. As to markets for the sale of the productions of these colonies, it must appear at once manifest that such outlets are not wanted: the whole produce is consumed within the limits of the district in which it is raised. It is no doubt true, that they have no surplus commodities to send abroad in exchange for manufactured articles; but it is equally true that they stand in need of no such surplus, for all the wrought commodities necessary for their use are manufactured at home by the hands of their own wives and children. In a word, the object which the founders of these establishments had in view was, not to create a surplus supply of agricultural produce to feed large towns and manufactories, but to furnish able-bodied labourers, who, having no employment elsewhere, were, in consequence, a burden upon the rest of the community, with the means of providing for their own wants by the exertion and application of their own industry; and this object has been attained.

Indeed, the enlightened founder of these institutions appears designedly to have avoided the selection of a district which presented any peculiar facilities for his experiment. He placed his colonists on a barren heath situated at a distance from all the great towns and populous districts of the country; and he has proved that, spite of every local disadvantage, any number of human beings applying their muscular powers to the cultivation of the soil, may secure to themselves every necessary article of subsistence. Previously to these experiments, the wastes which by their means have been brought under tillage were utterly unproductive; and thirty thousand persons, who now live comfortably upon the produce of their own industry, subsisted, in a state of idleness and profligacy, upon the alms which their misery extorted from the benevolence or disgust of others.

The number of our own unoccupied poor is becoming every day more and more overwhelming; the tax levied for their maintenance annually increases; and, it should be recollected, that what is thus extorted from the affluent, to be expended upon the idle, not only diminishes their own enjoyments—of this evil it would be easy to estimate the amount—but abridges their means of giving employment to industrious labourers.

It is not a little singular, that notwithstanding the millions annually squandered in this country on the maintenance of the poor, and whilst this lavish waste of resources has been going on for centuries—no rational or consistent attempt should have hitherto been made to enable the able-bodied pauper to maintain himself

himself by husbandry. From the time of Queen Elizabeth down to the present period every effort seems to have been made to force the industry of the country into a manufacturing channel. So completely has this prejudice become ingrained into the habits and feelings of the community, that even your peasant-overseer, whose whole life has been passed at the plough tail, never dreams that the labour of the unoccupied pauper at his elbow could be rendered productive otherwise than if employed upon some branch of manufacture. It never enters into his calculation, that this sturdy idler might be made to earn his own subsistence by the use of a spade. It has even, we believe, got into the head of some of our political economists that to exact from paupers any species of productive labour in return for their maintenance—is positively injurious to the industrious classes. They urge, forsooth, that this adds to the supply of labour, already too abundant in the market; but here is a shallow fallacy. They forget that the food consumed by the pauper diminishes the funds for the employment of labour,—in at least as great a ratio as the idleness of the pauper diminishes competition in the labour market.

This absurdity of these sciolists is the true parent of the ingenious devices so generally adopted to render the labour of the inmates of our penitentiaries, houses of correction, and even parish-workhouses, as *un-productive* as possible. We recollect, not many years back, passing by the incorporated workhouse of an extensive agricultural district; behind the house we saw a considerable number of its inmates busily occupied in paving with stone one side of a large courtyard; returning by the same road, about a fortnight afterwards, we found the paupers taking up the stones from the part of the courtyard which we had seen them paving, and laying them down in another division: we were tempted to inquire into the reason of this Penelopean proceeding—and were informed that it was done to keep the paupers employed, and preserve them from the demoralizing influence of idleness; we were also informed, that, variety being charming, they were occasionally employed one day in excavating a hole in the courtyard, and to-morrow in filling it up again! Divided from these premises only by a stone wall, lay an extensive field belonging to one of the chief landed proprietors of the district, and upon whom consequently a large proportion of the burden of maintaining these pavours necessarily fell: but it had never occurred to him, that the cultivation of a few acres of this field by manual labour would have enabled them to raise food enough for their own consumption, together with a larger surplus of produce than he then received in the form of rent.

11 We admit that, in some rare instances, the labour performed in these



these establishments is turned to a better account. The zeal and exertions of private individuals called forth by some peculiar or local emergency may, for a time, infuse a spirit of industry even into institutions which seem expressly formed for the promotion of idleness; but the zeal of the individual gradually evaporates, or the individual himself disappears perhaps from the scene; when the system reasserts its paralyzing and demoralizing influence, and every thing returns to its old course. But, admitting that effectual provision were made for the maintenance of industry in our parochial workhouses, still the nature of the work usually performed at these establishments is not such as will replace the food consumed by the labourer while engaged in his task. One man, with the aid of machinery, in a large manufactory, will produce as large a quantity of wrought commodities as can be fabricated by many men employed in a parish workhouse on the old manual system; hence it is manifest, that although none of these additional persons can be described as unemployed, still it may be said, that their labour is thrown away: the result of the manufacturing labour of the whole number, when exchanged for agricultural produce, will only replace the food consumed by one, and the maintenance of the remainder must, therefore, be just so much loss inflicted upon the inhabitants of the parish. And it is also such as has a tendency rather to aggravate than alleviate the distress occasioned among the working classes by a deficiency of productive employment. The evil under which we now labour is an excess of wrought commodities. The cry is, that there is but a very languid call for manufactures, and that the manufacturers are, therefore, obliged either to discharge their workmen altogether, or reduce their wages to a ruinous point. In the manufacturing districts, around Manchester, for instance, a very large portion of the subsistence of the cotton-spinner is drawn from the funds of the parish: his earnings are so inadequate to his support, though he work fourteen or even sixteen hours for six days in the week, that he must either starve or have the deficiency made up to him from some other source; by this means a very large proportion of the real cost of fabricating cotton goods is made to fall upon the owners of land and other property rateable to the poor; a bonus of great amount, and of very injurious character is thus levied upon the property of the non-manufacturing classes, in order to support a branch of industry which ought to be allowed to find its own level. Hence it is manifest, that by the amount of wrought commodities fabricated in parish workhouses, these establishments injure the manufacturing classes for whose labour the demand is already but too inadequate.

That the internal economy and industry of parochial workhouses should formerly have been organized upon a manufacturing

ing basis—was both natural and proper. But the almost incalculable extent to which machinery has been made to supersede human labour has produced a revolution in our national industry, requiring the reorganization of all social institutions which depended for support upon our ancient manufacturing system. We should no longer look to manufactures as the means of giving employment to the able-bodied labourers whom the constantly spreading application of machinery may have thrown out of work; an attempt should be made to remove this surplus population from the scenes of their idleness and misery, and settle them in some part of our territory where they can provide for their own subsistence by the fair application of their industry.

Where, the dampers will ask, is the land to be found on which our unemployed paupers may be made to raise for themselves a supply of food by their own industry? We do not apprehend that, in this respect, much difficulty could be experienced in a country which contains a trifle of between twenty and thirty millions of acres of waste land, setting aside some ten or twelve additional millions of meadow and dry pasture land, which, as far as concerns the employment of our population, are little better than mere wastes. But the fact, that this land remains in a state of waste is, say the economists, a demonstrative proof that it will not repay the expense of tillage. To this argument a plain man would merely reply, that in the age of Julius Cæsar it would have applied to the whole island. But we shall make no attempt to argue this matter with these gentlemen, being well aware that we should never be able to bring the discussion to a conclusion: we should be compelled to begin with 'land last taken into cultivation;' stand a raking fire through 'surplus produce,'—'living profit,'—'the last dose of capital applied to land lessens the profit of all previous doses,' and end we know not where. From their logic we take the liberty of appealing to facts. Upon soil of a quality infinitely inferior to ten millions of acres of sheer waste, which we would undertake to point out within the limits of our home territory, our Flemish neighbours have settled thirty thousand paupers,—men, women, and children,—who derive from land which, from the creation of the world, up to the period of their taking possession of it, was entirely barren, not only every thing they want for food, clothing, and lodging—but a clear actual surplus of one-fifth part of the whole produce.

But the cost of cultivation is less in the Netherlands than in this country; and, therefore, what is practicable there cannot be adopted here! The expense of cultivating the land which the agricultural colonists of the Netherlands now occupy is the food which they consume while tilling the ground or fabricating the apparel which they want for wear; and the expense of cultivating



land, of any quality, under a similar system, in this or in any other country, would be precisely equal, if we do not suppose that a Flemish peasant can subsist upon a smaller quantity of food, while executing a given quantity of labour, than an English one. Under the arrangement which has been made in these colonies, the market value of the produce is not an object of the slightest importance, except as to the small surplus which they raise beyond their own consumption. By the exertion of their own muscular strength,—by the use of their own fingers, these colonists erect their own dwellings, fabricate their own clothing, as well as the necessary furniture for their households, and raise the whole supply of corn, milk, butter, and cheese, which is wanted for their family consumption.

It seems to us to admit of no question, that the experiment, which has answered in every respect in the Netherlands, would, if fairly put to the test on any of our thousand and one wastes, succeed equally here. Every undertaking must have a beginning; and we earnestly call upon the wealthier inhabitants of some particular district, or even county, to combine their efforts. In many parts of the country, manufacturing workhouses already exist, for the reception of paupers belonging to several parishes. These institutions are annually attended with a vast expense. The value of the manufacturing labour executed in them seldom bears the proportion of one to a thousand, when compared with the cost of maintaining them. They are moral pest-houses, for the encouragement of idleness and profligacy, where, at a great charge to the public, a host of outcasts are reared and trained for a career of misery. For these costly and demoralizing establishments, which the English poor dread even more than imprisonment or transportation—for

That pauper-palace which they hate to see,  
we would fain see substituted a district or county colony, where every able-bodied human being out of employment might find both work and subsistence. If such an experiment were set on foot in any part of England, and conducted with a due attention to its necessary details, its success would, we think, be certain. It must, however, be added, that without a rigid adherence to these details, any attempt of the kind would run great risk of miscarrying. This observation is of importance, not only with reference to what we hope to see tried, and that speedily, here in England, but also on account of an experiment of this kind about to be set on foot in the sister island. From the regulations which have been laid down for the foundation of these Irish colonies, we are inclined to suspect that the cardinal feature of the Dutch system of colonization has been overlooked. Our neighbours seem to think that—given ten acres of land, eight colonists, and an amount of capital adequate to sustain

sustain them until the first harvest—the result must be an abundant and never-failing subsistence for the settlers. It is very true, that the Flemish association has land, and capital, and colonists, but it has something more: something without which all these ingredients would prove utterly unavailing; it has a well-organized plan of cultivation, and an efficient system of superintendence and control, which ensures the due execution of this plan, in defiance of any want of skill or want of will among the colonists. This constitutes, in fact, the essence of *the scheme which has succeeded*. The Irish association seem to imagine, that by increasing the allotments from seven to ten acres, the necessity of rigidly superintending the labours of the colonists will be obviated; but in this expectation they will find themselves woefully mistaken. Without a careful supervision, their settlers—Irish settlers!—will be found too deficient, both in skill and in industry, to draw a subsistence from three times ten acres of land. This was, in truth, the only point with regard to which any difficulty was experienced in the establishment of the Dutch colonies: there was no difficulty in raising capital, in purchasing land, or in obtaining colonists; but it was not without considerable exertion that they found or prepared a sufficient number of managers and directors—competent to superintend and enforce the due execution of the scheme in its practical details. They felt that no increase in the size of the allotments, no addition to the amount of capital, would counterpoise a deficiency in this respect. Experience soon taught them that seven acres of land were as much as a family, consisting of from six to eight persons of various ages, could cultivate with effect, and that any addition to this extent would rather diminish than augment the general produce; seven acres well cultivated by the spade, and thoroughly saturated with manure, were found to yield a much larger return of produce for a given quantity of labour, than three times seven acres imperfectly tilled.

We are by no means called upon to show that this system of tilling land solely by manual labour would answer the purposes of the landed proprietor, or great farmer, who studies to extract from his land as great a surplus as he can beyond the amount of the food consumed by the men and the animals employed in its cultivation. But even with regard to this point, we are inclined to suspect that very gross and injurious errors prevail among us; we are not quite sure that we should find an insuperable difficulty in showing, that there is scarcely an acre of land throughout many of the finest counties in England, which would not, under the system of tillage pursued in the Flemish colonies, admit of ten times the quantity of manual labour now bestowed upon it, and at the same time yield an increased rent to the owner, as well as increased profits to the occupier. This, however, is a matter with



with which we shall not now attempt to deal; it is wide of our present object, which is merely to show that a portion of the unproductive territory of Great Britain might, under proper management, be so cultivated as to yield employment and subsistence to the distressed and increasing multitude of unemployed labourers who press so heavily upon the resources of the country.

It will, perhaps, be said that, upon our own showing, a considerable outlay of capital will be required in the first instance; it will be necessary to provide the means of maintaining the colonists while tilling the ground during at least one year: and it may be urged, probably, as an additional objection, that this amount of capital must be withdrawn from the general capital of the country; and that the gain of one spot will be counterbalanced by an equivalent loss in another district. This seems, at the first blush of the matter, to be a formidable objection; but when closely analysed, it will, we apprehend, entirely vanish. The question is, not whether it may be expedient to transfer a certain capital from a branch of industry, in which it is now productive, into another department,—but whether it be expedient to render productive, both to the owners and the public, a certain amount of capital which is now utterly wasted and yields no return to anybody. We speak of the enormous capital annually squandered upon the maintenance of able-bodied paupers. The food consumed by this class of persons is pure and unalloyed loss: for all the purposes of the experiment which we thus earnestly recommend, the proper application of this wasted capital would be more than sufficient; and surely the advantage to the parish, from the adoption of this system, would be immediate and palpable. Supposing even that some fifty quartern loaves, advanced to the transplanted pauper for his maintenance during the first year as an agricultural labourer might not be repaid—(in the Netherlands it is repaid, and that with interest)—still this one loss would be a mere feather in the scale, when compared with the long series of annual losses sustained by the owners and occupiers of land under the present system. In the event of success, this man requires no further assistance: the crop raised by his own industry constitutes the capital, or supply of food, required to subsist him afterwards. But, if he be allowed to consume his fifty quartern loaves in idleness, there is nothing reproduced at the end of the year; and, therefore, every subsequent year, as long as he remains unemployed, it will be necessary to furnish him, from the parish stock, with an equal supply of food, to be in its turn wasted and lost. All that is required is, that those who now throw away their capital upon the unemployed labourer, should combine to lay it out in a manner which would enable the same man to raise food for himself by the sweat of his own brow.

*Note*

*Note on a 'Letter' of Sir Rufane Donkin.*

Our notice of Sir Rufane Donkin's 'Dissertation on the Niger' has given much offence to that gentleman; and he has consequently put forth two letters, one to the *Literary Gazette*, and another to our *Publisher*, on which we must take the liberty of making a few observations. The General, in the second of these productions, uses a great deal of very coarse language, which however shall not tempt us from our propriety—for we know of old the sensitiveness of *young* authors upon very slight occasions; and we think we know enough of Sir Rufane to be safe in taking for granted that, at this distance of time, he could not read what he wrote in the moment of excitation, without feelings of no enviable description.

We said, for we believed, that Sir Rufane Donkin was something of a scholar, and attributed his numerous mistakes to the hurry of impatient and unpractised authorship. He rejects this view of ours with much scorn. 'His *scholarship*,' he says, 'will not allow him to subscribe to our critique on the word *επιβάλλον*. He cannot persuade himself that it ever could mean 'conjectured' or 'supposed.' 'The preposition and the verb taken together, when translated, are *con* and *jacio*—*con-jicio*, meaning neither more nor less than *to throw together*—out of which (he continues) I cannot, by any analogy, make anything like *conjecture*.' Now, if Sir Rufane Donkin had conjugated his verb as he used to do at Westminster—*con-jicio*—*con-jeci*—*con-jecitum*, we apprehend he might have arrived at something like an *analogy*; or, if he had explored beyond the first sense of *con-jicere* in his Ainsworth, he would have found that shrewd interpreter writing distinctly, 'to guess, to divine, to conjecture.' In the same effusion he attacks our explanation of Ptolemy's error in placing the western coast of Africa 7° too far to the eastward of Ferro, because, in that case, 'a number of places,' he says, 'would be transferred into the valley of the Nile.' Sir Rufane does not perceive, that whether we take the coast of Africa at 2° east of Ferro, as we know it to be, or at 9°, as assumed by Ptolemy, the distance of the Nile would be precisely the same, and he would have the very same room for all his *places*. It is obvious that the real gravamen of our offence is the exposure we ventured to make of these slips. We could not but see that Sir Rufane had got rusty in his grammar, and that, as to geography, he had put his skiff to sea without ballast; mistaken the south point of his compass for the west—the Cape de Verd Islands for the Canaries—and, finally, swamped in the gulf of the Syrtis—*Hinc ille lachrymæ*.

These are the real points that have discomposed the General: he was annoyed on finding we could neither approve at first sight his crotchet of fixing on 'the quicksands of the gulf of Sidra, as the point at which the Nile of Bornou (or the Niger) enters the sea;' nor consider his hook, well stuffed as it is with Greek (which he cannot construe), and importations fresh from India of *Néils*, *Nerls*, and *Niles*, (to be had in every geographical dictionary or gazetteer,)—to say nothing of some rather oblique puffs on the Duke of Wellington—as having established the truth of his hypothesis. To explain his meaning, and to enable the reader to see it more clearly, he draws two maps, each exhibiting—at the bottom of this gulf—an inlet terminating in a *cul de sac*, about eighty-five geographical miles in depth, for the reception of this mysterious, invisible, subarenaceous—we really are at a loss for a name—river, as Sir Rufane calls it. This inlet, though he did not invent it, but only prodigiously enlarged its longitudinal dimensions, he might have known, from looking into Beechey's book, had no existence; that, in point of fact, there is no such thing. So strange an hypothesis as was here broached, we felt ourselves called upon to prove was inadmissible. Every known fact was against it. The very nature of the desert to the southward of the Syrtis—whose general level, as deduced from the barometrical observations of Oudney and Denham, appears to be from twelve to fifteen hundred feet above the sea—made it physically impossible that any river could flow *northward* from Soudan, the sink of North Africa, towards which the general slope of the country declines; while, even supposing a river, yet undiscovered by any traveller, to exist on so unpromising a spot as the Sahara or Desert, its course would be completely barred against all access to the Syrtis, by the great chain of black basaltic mountains—known as the Soudah, or Black mountains, and supposed to be the *Mons Ater* of Pliny—which, branching off from the great group of Atlas, passes Sokna and



and Angela, and stretches even as far east as Siwah. But of all rivers, the Niger, as it is called, is one that could be the least suspected, after its course had been traced *southerly* as low as the ninth degree of latitude, of returning *northerly* some fifteen hundred miles, to fall into the Mediterranean sea; or, as Sir Rufane has it, when deriding the opinion of Mungo Park as to its southerly direction, (subsequently proved to be well founded,) 'first of all taking one decided course for a great many hundred miles in one direction, and then turning back towards the very point of the compass from which it had started; so as to enter the ocean by a sort of *Geometrical* process, by a course parallel to and the very reverse of its original one.' When, therefore, we found him scouting, in one instance, and adopting in another, the absurdity he has here so wittily described, and also making this same Niger to flow directly east from its source, 'into the Tehad, under the name of Yeou,' which any one might know from Clapperton it does not, we goodnaturedly, as we thought, ascribed these extraordinary mistakes to his strange neglect of modern discoveries. It was abundantly clear he could not have consulted them with attention; and now—*de facto*, from his own shewing, it turns out that it is only since the publication of our last Number, that he has looked into even Beechey as to the character of the Syrtis.

It is true he there found marshes and swamps, and all those sort of things, which he had gathered for his Dissertation from Strabo and Solinus, but they were partial and out of place. The General, however, has made the most of his mare's nest.

To understand the case clearly, it may be right to mention, that the whole circumference of the shores of the gulf of Syrtis is upwards of four hundred geographical miles, from Cape Mesurata on the west, to Bengazi on the east; that the first hundred miles from Mesurata consist of a flat, marshy plain, which Beechey says 'finishes at Giraffi'; that at about a hundred miles farther down is the bottom of the gulf; and throughout this latter space, and also the remaining two hundred miles, the shores are composed of stones, rocky cliffs, hills of sand, and firm solid ground, on which are found the remains of numerous castles and other buildings. This kind of ground neither answering the description of Sir Rufane's book, nor, of course, the purpose of his Letter, he flies off to the first hundred miles, the only portion of the shore that does; nay more, he lays claim to 'the whole of the gulf, as the probable reception of the Niger;' asserting that 'it was never in his thoughts to conduct the Niger into the bottom of the Syrtis.'

Now, we are sorry to say, that Sir Rufane has forgotten, while writing his letter, what he has printed in his dissertation. No man can read his book without seeing that, if he really had any distinct meaning, he *did* mean to conduct his Niger into the bottom of the Syrtis, and nowhere else. We must take the liberty of proving to him, that his 'Thoughts,' and his pencil, and his pen, all pointed to the bottom of the gulf, and to that nonentity which he has there drawn on his maps. It shall not avail him to say, that we have not gone to his text, 'whither, in fairness, we ought to have gone, but to his map.' We did go both to his maps and his text, —and we found the former, as he has truly described them, neither calculated 'to give accurately all the latest discoveries, nor drawn with strict geographical exactness in every part.' Erroneous, however, as, by his own confession, which was not at all necessary, they may be, he assures us in the same page, that 'they will exhibit the author's meaning; and that 'they will show the relation of places, mentioned in the text, to each other.' That the reader may see what this 'meaning' of Sir Rufane is, and what the relation of the course and termination of the Niger to the Syrtis, we annex a *fac simile* of this part of his precious map. In this map and his description of it, there is no question as to 'geographical exactness;' none as to whether any given point is a mile or a degree misplaced as to latitude or longitude; the question simply to be answered is, towards what point or part of a certain line of coast does a certain river flow? The 'meaning' and the 'relation' are here clear enough to answer it for themselves.



But

But we ought to go 'to the text;' and we will do so:—here we shall at once find that his 'sentiments, clearly expressed in *words*,' are in perfect concordance with his maps; that they both clearly enough express his 'meaning,' and that 'the point indicated in the gulf of Sidra' is the *point at the bottom of the cul de sac*, and nowhere else—for 'first,' says he, 'it (the point) is in the direct prolongation of the general course of the Nile of Bornou:—which 'general course,' i.e. it observed, is a discovery entirely his own. To convey it to any other part where 'plashy quicksands' may be found, could *not* be done in the *direct*, but *crooked or circuitous* 'prolongation of the general course.' But 'secondly,' he says (and we beg the reader's attention to this), 'secondly, it is the *NEAREST POINT* at which a river, disappearing where the river is said to disappear, (said? by whom?) in the deserts of Bilmah, could reach the sea.' The *bottom* of his Syrtis, to which he has conducted his Niger, is described 'in his maps' as the *nearest point* to Bilmah; and the *bottom* of the Syrtis is also described 'in his text as the *nearest point* to the same place; but the only *part* of the Syrtis where 'plashy quicksands' are found is *not* the nearest point, but is full one hundred miles *farther* from Bilmah than this *nearest point*, and not in a direct course. 'But,' says he, 'I claim the whole gulf for my Niger'—we say, take it, and you will perceive, Sir Rufane, unless you are no better mathematician than geographer, that in the whole four hundred miles of coast there can only be *one* nearest point.

In this consists our guilt of 'misrepresentation;' and on it also rest certain blustering charges of 'misquotation,' and 'suppression.' In corroboration of our opinion, that the bottom of the Syrtis was not of a description to receive a river from the desert, where indeed no river did or could exist, we quoted a general remark of Beechey, that 'the idea which appears to have been entertained by the ancients of the soil of the Greater Syrtis is not confirmed by an inspection of the country.' Now it unfortunately happens,—but we solemnly declare from nothing but some casual inadvertence on the part either of transcriber or printer (we cannot now be sure which),—that the two little words '*in question*' are omitted after 'the country.' Which words, being left out, have the effect, quoth Sir Rufane, 'of utterly falsifying the whole;—of giving 'a meaning the very reverse of what was intended by Captain Beechey;' in so much that 'the re-insertion will alter the *whole sense*, and force, and intent of the passage.' And why? 'because those two words confine the observation of Captain Beechey to the bottom of the gulph, and to the bottom of the gulph *only*,—for *that*, and not the whole circumference, or "every foot of the shore," was the country *in question*.' This clamour, which runs through about twenty pages, is *vox et præterea nihil*. Whether these little words were intended to apply to the whole gulf or the bottom of it only, is a mere matter of moonshine, and does not in any one way affect the matter in dispute. *We* might, indeed, have availed ourselves of these words in the sense in which the writer of the 'Letter' wishes to have them applied, as proof cumulative to show that the spot to which he has conducted his invisible river, is not such as the ancients have described the Syrtis, for in his part *in question* there are no plashy quicksands, no *terra vadosa*, no *terra perfabilis*, &c. &c., and therefore no river. Or, we might just as well have omitted the whole sentence, having already abundantly proved our case. And here we would just hint to Sir Rufane that it would have been candid, when he was rum-maging Beechey, had he not 'suppressed' another passage (at page 261) which makes directly against his construction of the former one. Beechey, after speaking of the erroneous measurements of the Syrtis by the ancients, thus writes: 'Should we pass from the measurements to the *general character* of the Syrtis, we shall find that, if the ancient authorities have erred in their dimensions of it, *they have been no less deceived! with regard to its nature and resources*. The whole country from Bengazi to Mesurata (that is, the whole circumference of the Syrtis) appears to have been generally considered, by the writers of antiquity, as a dreary tract of sand.' All this Beechey found to be utterly erroneous, and that 'their idea of the soil was not confirmed by inspection.' We need go no farther.

There remains but another accusation, which is, that the author 'has been made to say what he has nowhere said.' Had this been true, which it is not, *he* who made Herodotus say what he has nowhere said might have passed it over. We had said, in winding up our argument against the new and extraordinary termination given by him to the Niger:

Thus



Thus then perishes that mighty subarenaceous stream, by the help of which all our "geographical difficulties" with regard to the 'termination of the Niger' were to be settled.

Sir Rufane Donkin's charge is, that the 'words "termination of the Niger" are placed in inverted commas, as if they were *mine*.' We deny that the words are placed in or within inverted commas; the only words we used as quoted, or meant to be quoted, and as such placed within inverted commas, are, 'geographical difficulties,' which we presume he will not deny to be his. There happens to be an inverted comma before the word termination, but none after it in any part of the sentence; it is he himself that has made it appear as a quotation, by marking the word Niger with an inverted comma; and then he accuses us of misquoting him. But though we never intended to quote or misquote his words, we did intend to express his meaning from recollection. Every dabbler in printing—especially in printing, as we do, by steam—must know that nothing is more common, in the haste of composing and working off the sheets, than to omit or slip in a little comma, more especially when dealing with inverted ones. No such dabbler will doubt for a moment that the *one* in question so slipped in by accident; but was the other, which is foisted in after Niger, placed there by accident? let Sir Rufane Donkin answer that. Be that as it may, it has served his turn to charge us with 'misrepresentation.'

Sir Rufane Donkin, in short, stoutly denies that there is 'a single passage' in his whole book which implies that any 'geographical difficulties' were to be settled by his 'hypothetical termination of the Niger.' Indeed! let us see. After his grand display of the extraordinary discovery of Meinherr Schweighauser, and the extraordinary purpose to which he applies it, he tells us, in page 18 of his 'Dissertation,' that

'He now comes to the course of the Niger,' and that 'the moment we apply a generic term instead of a specific one' . . . 'the moment we adopt the original term for all great rivers, Neil, Neel, or *Niles*, and apply it to the river in question (that is, the Niger) we shall find our *geographical difficulties* dispersing one after the other, like mists before the sun.'

Does not this imply, and in stronger terms than we used, that it is the Niger, and the Niger alone, that is to clear away the mists, open our eyes, and enable us to settle all our 'geographical difficulties'? It is, in fact, the course and termination of this mysterious river, when once known, that will render all other 'difficulties' light. We know its source, we know about two thousand miles of its course, but its termination is yet hidden from human, at least from European eyes. How is it possible then that Sir Rufane can deny that it was the *termination* of the Niger which was to clear up these difficulties, when the whole scope of his book, as announced in the title-page, and printed at the head of every page, professes to be on 'the Course and Termination of the Niger'?

Having answered all the points of the 'Letter' that appear to be necessary for our own justification, we decline noticing any of the personalities, and other irrelevant matters, in which the public cannot be supposed to feel any concern; and a great part of which is something very like what the excellent Mr. Burchell would have called—*fudge*. To be serious—we are not conscious of having departed from the strict line of *impartiality* in this case; and, as to the fairness or soundness of our criticism, on the three points which embraced the whole question, we shall cut the matter very short,—let Sir Rufane submit his book and our review, his 'Letter' and this reply, to any competent geographer and competent Grecian of his own choosing, and if he or they shall, under his or their signature, pronounce the General right and us wrong, we shall be most ready to bow to the decision, to acknowledge our error, and make the *amende honorable*.—As for the *ton de garnison* language of his pamphlets, let him be assured once more we contemplate all that sort of thing with infinite composure.

'You think yourself abused and put on,

'Tis natural to make a fuss;

To see it, and not care a button,

Is just as natural for us.'

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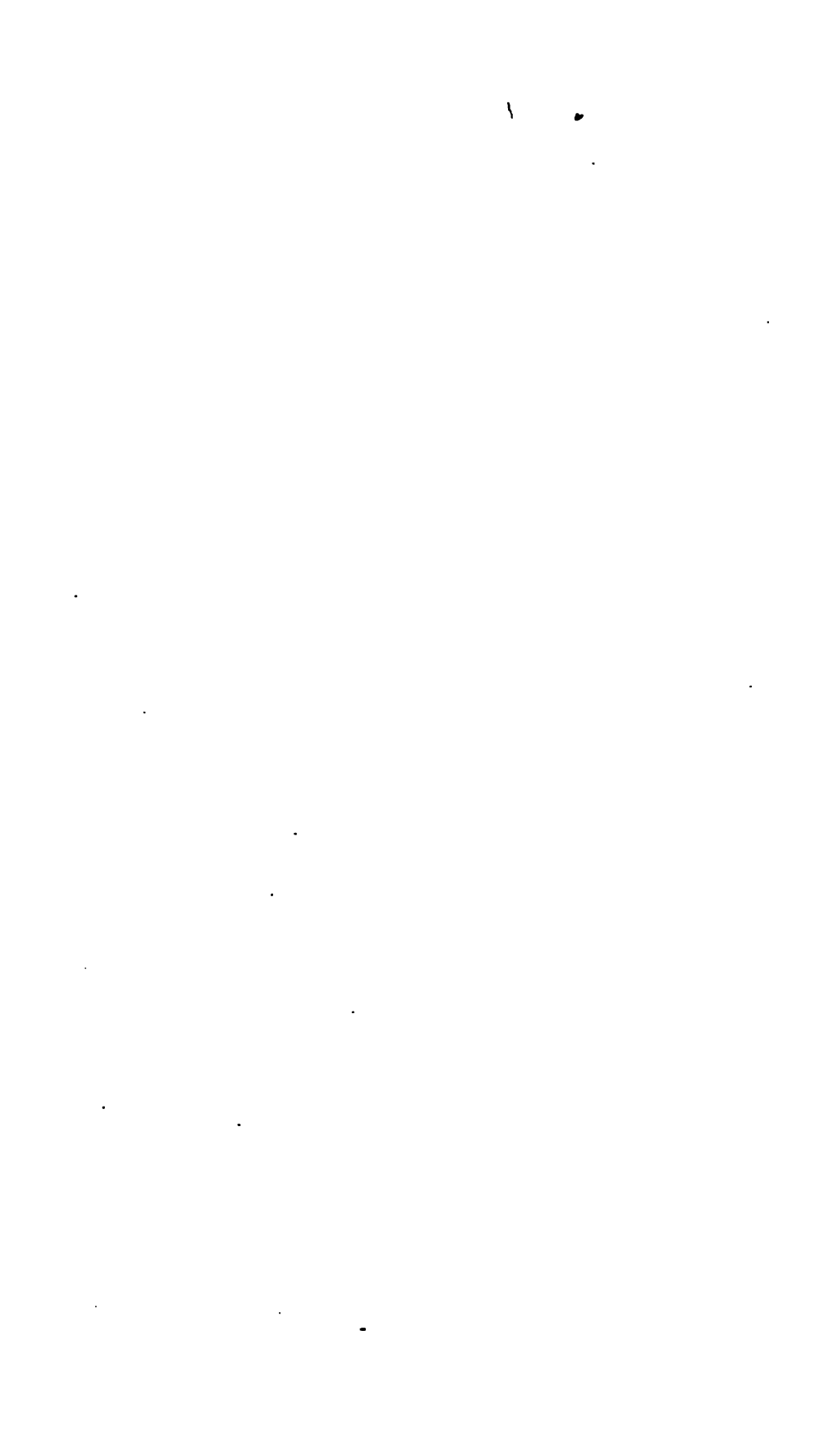
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